

A COMPANION TO
PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI



Edited by

TORRANCE KIRBY, EMIDIO CAMPI,
& FRANK A. JAMES III

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A Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli

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LOCI COMMVNES

D. PETRI

MARTYRIS VER-

MILII FLORENTINI, SACRARVM

LITERARVM IN SCHOLA TIGVRINA

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liæ, qui profert ex thesauro suo noua & vera. MAT. XIII.



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Emidio Campi
Frank A. James III
Torrance Kirby

Easter, 2009

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
BIB	J.P. Donnelly with Robert Kingdon, <i>A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli</i> . Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Vol. XIII, 1990.
CER	<i>Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tigure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes</i> London: John Day, 1564.
CICan	<i>Corpus juris canonici</i> , ed. Emil Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879.
CICiv	<i>Corpus juris civilis</i> , ed. Krueger, Mommsen. 3 vols. Berlin, 1912–1920.
CLJ	<i>Commentary on the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah</i> . ed. Daniel Shute. PML, vol. 6. 2002.
CNE	<i>Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics</i> . eds. Emidio Campi and J.C. McLelland. PML, vol. 9. 2006.
CJ	<i>Most fruitfull & learned cōmentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Uniuersitye of Tygure</i> . London: John Day, 1564 [running title: <i>A commentarie upon the book of Judges</i> .]
CO	<i>Ioannis Calvini opera quæ supersunt omnia</i> ... Brunswick: Schwetschke, 1863–1900. [Corpus Reformatorum, vols. 29–87]
COR	<i>In selectissimam S. Pauli Priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam... Commentarii</i> . Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1551.
CP	<i>Common Places... divided into four principal parts</i> . trans. and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten. London: Henry Denham and Henry Middleton, 1583.
CR	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i>
DES	<i>Defensio Doctrinæ veteris & Apostolicæ de sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento... adversus Stephani Gardineri... librum</i> ... Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1559.
DRS	<i>Defensio... ad Riccardi Smythæi... duos libellos de Caelibatu sacerdotum & votis monasticus</i> . Basel: P. Perna, 1559.
DSE	<i>Disputatio de sacramento eucharistiæ, habita in universitate Oxoniensi</i> . London: R. Wolfe, 1549.

- DTN *Dialogue on the two natures in Christ.* ed. J.P. Donnelly. PML, vol. 2. 1995.
- EW *Early writings: creed, Scripture, church.* ed. J.C. McLelland. PML, vol. 1. 1994.
- GEN *In Primum Librum Mosis qui vulgo Genesis dicitur Commentarii.* Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1569.
- IUD *In Librum Iudicum... Commentarii.* Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563.
- LAM *In Lamentationes Sanctissimi Ieremiæ Prophetæ Commentarium.* Zurich: Jacob Bodmer, 1629.
- LC *Loci Communes.* ed. Robert Masson. London, 1576.
- LLS *Life, letters, and sermons.* ed. J.P. Donnelly. PML, vol. 5. 1999.
- NE *In Primum, Secundum, et Initium Tertii Libri ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum.* Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563.
- MEL *Melachim id est, Regum libri duo posteriores cum Commentariis.* Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1566.
- OL *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation,* edited by Hastings Robinson for the Parker Society. Cambridge, 1847.
- OS *Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta.* Edited by Petrus Barth and Guilelmus Niesel. 5 vols. Munich, 1926–52.
- OTD *Oxford Treatise and Disputation on the Eucharist.* ed. J.C. McLelland. PML, vol. 7. 2000.
- PG J.-P. Migne. *Patrologiæ cursus completus... Series Græca.* Paris, 1857–1866.
- PJ *Two Theological Loci: Predestination and Justification.* Frank A. James III, ed. PML, vol. 8. 2004.
- PL J.-P. Migne. *Patrologiæ [Latinæ] cursus completus... Series Latina.* Paris, 1844–1864.
- PML *Peter Martyr Library.* Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishing/Truman State University Press, 1994–.
- PMR *Peter Martyr Reader.* eds. J.P. Donnelly, Frank A. James III, and J.C. McLelland. 1999.
- PMV *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation.* Geneva, 2002.
- PW *Philosophical works: on the relation of philosophy to theology.* ed. J.C. McLelland. PML, vol. 4. 1996.
- PS *Preces Sacræ ex Psalmis Davidis desumptæ...* Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564.
- ROM *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos... Commentarii.* Basle: P. Perna, 1558.

- SAM *In Duos Libros Samuelis Prophetæ... Commentarii*. Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564.
- SCJ *Sixteenth Century Journal*
- SP *Sacred prayers drawn from the Psalms of David*. ed. J.P. Donnelly. PML, vol. 3. 1996.
- TSE *Tractatio de sacramento eucharistiæ, habita in universitate Oxo-niensi. Ad hec. Disputatio habita M.D. XLIX*. London: R. Wolfe, 1549.
- WA Martin Luther, *Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Weimar, 1883–.
- VOT *Defensio... ad Riccardi Smythæi... duos libellos de Cælibatu sacer-dotum & votis monasticus*. Basel: P. Perna, 1559. Z *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke*. Berlin/Leipzig/Zürich 1905ff. (Corpus Reformatorum 88ff.).



'Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562)' in Henry Holland. *Herwologia Anglica: hoc est clarissimorum et doctissimorum. aliquot [sic] Anglorum, qui floruerunt ab anno Cristi. MD vsq[ue] ad presentem annum MDCXX viuæ effigies vitæ et elogia: duobus tomis.* Arnhem: Jan Jansson for Crispijn van de Passe, and London: Jan Jansson for Henry Holland, 1620. Part 2, p. 165.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

On the cover 'Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562)' in Henry Holland. *Heruologia Anglica: hoc est clarissimorum et doctissimorum. aliquot [sic] Anglorum, qui floruerunt ab anno Cristi. MD vsq[ue] ad presentem annum MDCXX viuae effigies vitæ et elogia: duobus tomis.* Arnhem: Jan Jansson for Crispijn van de Passe, and London: Jan Jansson for Henry Holland, 1620. Part 2, p. 165. p. xvi

Frontispiece *Loci communes D. Petri Martyris Vermilii, Florentini, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris: ex varijs ipsius authoris scriptis, in vnum librum collecti, & in quatuor classes distributi.* London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583.

1 Theodore Beza. *Icones, id est Veræ imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium: quorum praecipuè ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrûmque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitæ & operæ descriptionibus, quibus adiectæ sunt nonnullæ picturæ quas emblemata vocant.* Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580. Fol. Piv. p. 93

2 *In Aristotelis ethicorum ad Nicomachum, Librum primum, secundum et initium tertii libri clarissimi & doctissimi viri D. Petri Martyris Vermilij, Florentini, Sacrarum literarum in Schola Tigurina quondam Professoris commentarius doctissimus.* Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1582. p. 132

3 *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiæ: habita in celeberrima vniuersitate Oxoniensi in Anglia, per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, Regium ibidem Theologiæ professorem, cum iam absoluisset interpretationem. II capitis prioris epistolæ D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios. Ad hec. Disputatio de eode[m] Eucharistiæ Sacramento, in eadem Vniuersitate habita per eundem D. P. Mar. Anno Domini MDXLIX.* London: ad æneum serpentem [R. Wolfe], 1549. p. 194

4 *[In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos commentarii doctissimi.] Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tigure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes: wherein are diligently [and] most profitably entreated all such matters and chiefe common places of religion touched in the same Epistle. Lately tra[n]slated out of Latine into Englishe, by*

- H[enry] B[illingsley]. Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per decennium. London: John Day, 1568.* p. 304
- 5 *[In librum Judicum commentarii doctissimi.]*
Most fruitfull [and] learned co[m]mentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Vniuersitye of Tygure: with a very profitable tract of the matter and places... Set forth & allowed, accordyng to thorder appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions. London: John Day, 1564. p. 399
- 6 *[Preces sacræ ex psalmis Davidis desumptæ.]*
Most godly prayers compiled out of Dauids Psalmes by D. Peter Martyr. Translated out of Latine into English by Charles Glemhan. London: William Seres, 1569. p. 432

INTRODUCTION

The central aim of this *Companion* is to examine the unique contribution of the great Florentine reformer Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) to the emerging hermeneutics and exegesis of Early Modern Europe, where scholars, philosophers, and theologians of the Renaissance and Reformation engaged classical theories of interpretation with new methods drawn from Humanism and Hebraism. The revival of classical learning in the Renaissance inspired a renewed interest not only in the study of Greek letters but also in the language of the Hebrew Bible. For Christian humanists the study of Hebrew was put on par with that of Greek and Latin. ‘Trilingual colleges’ where Hebrew, Greek, and Latin were taught, were established in France, England, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere (e.g. Collège de France, Corpus Christi College, Oxford and St John’s College, Cambridge). Entire schools of Christian Hebraists emerged, often working in close contact with Jewish scholars or Jewish converts to Christianity. Vermigli’s biblical commentaries provide an extraordinarily rich mine for the confluence of Humanism and Hebraism, as well as late-medieval scholasticism. Peter Martyr Vermigli was an Italian humanist and reformer whose distinguished career in the Catholic Church in Italy, until his flight north in 1542, was followed by one equally distinguished in Protestant Europe, where he taught in Strasbourg, Oxford, and Zurich. As Professor of Old Testament he was one of the pioneers in acknowledging and harnessing the work of the medieval Rabbis, just then becoming widely available through the Bomberg Bible (1517). During his lengthy training as member of the Augustinian canons regular of the Lateran Congregation, he acquired significant exegetical tools through his mastery of the three biblical languages of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as well as thorough grounding in classical, patristic and medieval literature, and an extensive knowledge of the philosophy of Aristotle while a student at the University of Padua which he attended for eight years. In the course of this extensive academic training Vermigli developed a unique hermeneutical method, faithful to the original texts but spiced with numerous *loci/topica* on a wide range of subjects relevant to controversies of the time. These latter were gathered together from his various biblical commentaries in 1576 by a disciple, Robert le Maçon or Masson, Sieur de la Fontaine, minister of the French congregation in London, and published in the

famous four-volume *Loci Communes*. The *Loci* went through fourteen editions between 1576 and 1656, and was destined to become the favourite source for seminarians from Zurich to Harvard well into the seventeenth century, even outselling Calvin's *Institutes* for decades.

Peter Martyr Vermigli was a reasonable and reasoning partisan of the Protestant cause in the sixteenth century, when reason too often gave way to mere polemic. He wrote major works on the Eucharist and celibacy, and his lectures on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* were posthumously published. For the most part, however, he earned his living by lecturing on the Christian Scriptures, both Old and New Testaments. Most biblical commentators are assigned to one 'school' or another within the history of interpretation. A very few can be said to be genuinely unique; Vermigli is one of those. This means that he can be studied both for his own sake as well as for the impact he made on subsequent interpreters.

Vermigli's significance in the history of biblical exegesis is threefold. First, it is evident that he arrived in northern Europe from Catholic Italy with impressive credentials as a biblical interpreter, including mastery of the three 'biblical languages'. This helps us to understand better the phenomenon known as the 'Italian Evangelism' of the *spirituali*. His first Strasbourg period (1542–47), whose lecture series survive only in the Lamentations and Genesis commentaries, provides crucial insight into the formation of these proto-Reformers, many of whom, like Juan de Valdés, remained in the attitude of Nicodemites. Secondly, Vermigli's skill in Hebrew and Aramaic led him to employ the recent Bomberg Bible which printed medieval rabbinical commentaries surrounding the Hebrew and Aramaic texts on each page. He was a pioneer in the Renaissance development of 'Hebraism,' not only through a return to the original language of the Hebrew scriptures, but to the significant body of interpretation by their rabbinical interpreters, a mine for scholars left largely untapped hitherto. These interpreters were distinctive in promoting philological exegesis as an alternative to the traditional fourfold hermeneutical method inherited from the Patristic era (i.e. literal, moral, allegorical, anagogical). Thirdly, Vermigli moved away consciously from the fanciful, often allegorical, exegesis of the Middle Ages, towards the newer, more philological methods of interpretation developed by Renaissance humanists. This meant seeking the most correct texts available from which to extract the original meaning. Taken together, these elements in Vermigli's method signalled a return to a

tradition dating back to Jerome's sort of Hebraism, and overcoming the contrived and arbitrary sort of exegesis then prevalent.

The contributions gathered in this Companion include lectures given at the Third International Conference of the Peter Martyr Society hosted in Montreal by the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, in August 2007. The conference built upon two important previous consultations held to investigate the thought of Vermigli: the first also hosted by the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University in 1977,¹ and the second hosted at Kappel am Albis, Switzerland by the Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, University of Zurich in 1999.² In addition to these major conferences the annual meetings of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference continue to provide an annual forum for panels covering a range of topics on Vermigli's thought. The *Peter Martyr Library* (PML) is witness to the increased scholarly commitment to this project of rehabilitating a seminal sixteenth-century thinker.³

Given that Vermigli was first and foremost a biblical scholar, it is time for his chief works to be analyzed in light of their contribution to Renaissance and Reformation theories of interpretation. Once the Renaissance motto '*ad fontes*!' had become well established and the revival of classical authorities secured, the traditional scholastic fourfold exegesis gradually gave place to a new understanding of the 'literal' sense of the text. Vermigli's first biblical lectures in Protestant Europe were on the Minor Prophets, but only traces of them have survived. He subsequently lectured on the Hebrew elegy known as Lamentations; for this work, Vermigli had few Protestant or Catholic models

¹ The papers at the 1977 conference were edited by Joseph C. McLelland, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian reform* (Waterloo, Ont.: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980).

² See *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation*, edited by Emidio Campi in cooperation with Frank A. James III and Peter Opitz (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

³ The Peter Martyr Library will eventually comprise 24 volumes of the reformer's major works. The First Series will conclude with the Commentary on Genesis which will provide a fitting transition to the Second Series which, in addition to a new modern English translation of the *Loci Communes*, will include editions of Vermigli's mature exegetical works, namely his commentaries on the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

and relied mostly on the Jewish commentaries.⁴ After commenting on Lamentations, Vermigli began to lecture on the first five books of the Hebrew Scriptures; of these lectures on the Pentateuch, only those on Genesis 1–43 have survived in their entirety. Genesis not only begins the Hebrew Scriptures but also provides the doctrinal foundations for both the Jewish and Christian faiths. When Vermigli set to work, he had assembled a vast array of Jewish and Christian sources from which to work, which included: the Genesis commentaries of the medieval Jewish scholars Ibn Ezra and Rashi, the Jewish chronicle *Seder Olam*, two Targums to Genesis, the Jewish homiletical commentary known as *Genesis Rabbah*, and works of Protestant Reformers on Genesis, viz. the Genesis commentary of the humanist reformer Johannes Oecolampadius, the Genesis annotations of Huldrych Zwingli and Sebastian Münster, and Wolfgang Capito's work on Genesis chapter one (a *Hexæmeron*); Aristotle and Aquinas were so familiar to his audience that he usually used them without reference and usually without attribution. All of these sources Vermigli anthologized and incorporated into his commentary.

Since the method of lecturing in Early Modern Europe continued the tradition of scriptural commentary, using texts (sometimes as 'pretext') to develop articles of dogma, the whole theological curriculum is on display in such lectures. In Vermigli's case this is all the more evident since he was a master of composing *scholia*, following the model of Aristotelian *topica* and scholastic method developed from the earlier *quæstio* into the formalized structure epitomized by Aquinas. Such was his reputation for scholasticism that when his chief *scholia* were gathered into the *Loci Communes* and published posthumously,⁵ the treatise came to be widely regarded as of his own compilation, even by Karl Barth. The irony of this label 'scholastic' being derived from Vermigli's biblical exegesis is part of the history we wish to uncover and place in context in this volume of essays. In addition, the work of scholars such as Robert Kingdon, J.P. Donnelly and Richard Muller serves to shift the question of Vermigli's supposed 'Calvinism' to a focus rather on a 'Reformed' identity with two chief centres, viz. Zurich

⁴ See the translator's introduction to Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on the Lamentations of the prophet Jeremiah*, ed. Daniel Shute, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 6 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002).

⁵ *Loci Communes*, ed. Robert Masson (London, 1576; Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1580, 1587; Basle: P. Perna, 1580, 1581, 1582; London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583).

and Geneva. The Zurich connection, of which Vermigli became an outstanding representative at the pinnacle of his career, offered an alternative perspective on such concerns as, sacramental and political theology as well as exegesis. Thus, in seeking to define the hermeneutics of Vermigli, a re-definition of some basic assumptions of Reformation studies is also in order.

The essays in this volume begin with Vermigli's international career and then address in turn his hermeneutical method, his biblical commentaries, his theological *loci*, and finally the reception and influence of his thought. Even before his break with Rome and departure from Italy in the summer of 1542, Vermigli had already become familiar with the work of the evangelical exegetes in Strasbourg—Martin Bucer in particular. By autumn of that first year north of the Alps, he was already ensconced at Bucer's invitation as professor at the recently founded (1538) Senior School at Strasbourg, whose prestige and reputation for quality was rapidly attracting students from all across Europe. The departure of Calvin for Geneva and the death of the Hebraist Wolfgang Capito, both in 1541, made this a natural appointment. In his essay R. Gerald Hobbs shows how Vermigli employed the characteristic methods of the upper Rhine school in his lectures on the Old Testament, none of which were however published during these years. After an interlude in Oxford as Regius Professor, he returned (1553–56) to his Strasbourg post. During these years he honed his skills as a Hebraist and exegete; the fruits of these endeavours are evident in the rich and magisterial commentaries he published after taking up his last position in Zurich upon the death of the resident Hebraist, Konrad Pellikan. R. Gerald Hobbs examines Vermigli's activity in the context of the Strasbourg school as the formative stage in the career of the great biblical interpreter.

In 1548, in the wake of the Interim imposed by Emperor Charles V in the German lands and the death of Henry VIII in England, Vermigli accepted an invitation from Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and moved from Strasbourg to Oxford, where he took up the distinguished position of Regius Professor of Divinity, from which his predecessor Richard Smyth had recently and forcibly been evicted. The Florentine took his place as a member of a university which had hitherto proved firmly opposed to reform and palpably hostile to his presence. While in Oxford, Vermigli lectured on Romans and I Corinthians, both of which Pauline texts he saw as exceptionally pertinent to the contemporary situation of the church. He became a close and trusted

confidant of Cranmer and was intimately involved in the formulation of the *42 Articles of Religion*, the revision of the second Edwardian Prayer Book, and in Cranmer's abortive attempts to reform the canon law. Charlotte Methuen's essay seeks to situate Vermigli's use and understanding of Scripture in the context of the University in which he worked for the five years at the apex of his career (1548–1553), and considers the extent to which his exegetical methods and his theological methodology were both similar to and different from those which he encountered in Oxford. Dr Methuen also investigates the extent to which Vermigli's exegetical lectures can be viewed as informing the theology of the 1552 *Book of Common Prayer*.

In his chapter on Vermigli and the *Schola Tigurina* Emidio Campi pursues the narrative of reformer's career to its final phase in Zurich from 1556 until his death in 1562.

At the outset of the second part of the Companion devoted to discussion of the sources of Vermigli's biblical hermeneutics David Wright addresses the profound influence of the Patristic sources. Wright begins by examining what is known of the key stages in Vermigli's broad familiarization with the Fathers, in both his Catholic and his Protestant periods, and proceeds from there to determine the extent and depth of his knowledge, that is, to answer the question how expert a patristic scholar he in fact was. Who precisely *were* the Fathers for Vermigli? On this basis, Wright places his central focus on the kinds of authority Vermigli accorded to the testimony of the early Fathers, in relation to other competing *loci* of authority, especially Scripture, with regard to different interpretative tasks at hand, such as ecclesiastical controversy and biblical exegesis. He gives special attention to the influence on Vermigli's evaluation of the Fathers regarding the major currents in his intellectual formation, chiefly scholasticism and humanism as well as the new Protestantism, with a comparative dimension provided by setting him alongside significant contemporaries such as Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger and John Jewel in their appeal to the Fathers. Wright aims to 'fix' the particularities of Vermigli's appreciation of the Fathers, not least given his very unusual distinction among the front rank of Protestant Reformers of having had an earlier career as a Catholic Reformer—and even his other distinction of never having enjoyed high ecclesiastical office in a church undergoing evangelical reform (with the exception of his canonry at Christ Church, Oxford).

The way in which Vermigli handles the Aristotelian-scholastic heritage of western theology and integrates it into his own biblical commentaries is addressed by Luca Baschera, an associate of today's *Schola Tigurina*. Baschera deals with the question concerning the penetration of Aristotelianism and scholasticism in Vermigli's thought. He begins by sketching the contours of reformed theology's increasing reception of the Peripatetic and scholastic tradition, concentrating on the one hand, on the issue of the relationship between philosophy and theology, and, on the other hand, on scholasticism. In order to investigate Vermigli's attitude towards the Peripatetic tradition, special attention is paid to his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, a work in which his views concerning the relationship between philosophy in general and Aristotelianism in particular with theology come to the fore most clearly. Baschera reconstructs Vermigli's general attitude towards scholasticism on the basis both of his explicit judgements about medieval theology and of his actual use of scholastic terminology and argumentative patterns. Secondly, the issue of the influence of specific currents of scholastic theology on Vermigli is addressed, leading to the conclusion that he might be labeled a Thomist as well as a Nominalist depending on which specific aspect of his thought is taken into consideration. In his reception of both the Peripatetic philosophical and the scholastic traditions, Vermigli reveals a tendency to embrace one of the marked features of Renaissance intellectual culture: namely its eclecticism. However, Vermigli's eclecticism—as that of his fellow reformed theologians—was motivated above all by his deep, theological conviction that scripture alone was authoritative in itself. All human authorities, in the field of both philosophy and theology, should be considered as derivative and subordinate. According to Vermigli, therefore, the biblical interpreter should feel free in any situation to decide (eclectically) which school of thought furnished the most convincing explanation of a given philosophical or theological problem.

Critical editions of the Bible were not an invention of Protestant Reformers. Some years before Luther's first translation of the Bible (1522 New Testament, 1523 first part of the Old Testament), Alberto de Castello produced a first critical edition of the Bible with variants (Venice 1511), Erasmus his Greek edition of the New Testament (*Novum Instrumentum*, Basel 1516), and the Polyglott of Alcalà was published between 1514 and 1522. From the beginning of the Reformation there was a dramatic increase of interest in biblical studies, critical new

translations of the Bible in Latin, German, Italian and French appeared (new English Translations were not influential on the Continent), and many new commentaries were published. From Luther, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon in Wittenberg, Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Capito in Basel, Zwingli, Megander, Pellikan, Bullinger, and Leo Jud in Zurich, to Calvin in Geneva, Max Engammare outlines the frame of Protestant Old Testament hermeneutics before Vermigli began his biblical work. Employing Vermigli's own copy of the Hebrew Bible (Daniel Bomberg, Venice, 1524–25), which now belongs to the Genevan Public and University Library, Dr Engammare compares Vermigli's new hermeneutics with his manuscript marginal notes in his copy of the Rabbinic Bible.

It has often been observed that the Reformation produced little in the way of an ordered or 'systematic' theology prior to the period of Early Orthodoxy, with Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* and Calvin's *Institutes* constituting two notable exceptions that prove the rule, so to speak. What has been noted of late is that much of the theology of the Reformation period was achieved in the course of biblical commentary by means of a method that self-consciously kept the practice of exegesis and theological reflection in close proximity, namely through composition of the *scholium*. Two noted practitioners of this particular art were Peter Martyr Vermigli and Martin Bucer, who were colleagues in Strasbourg from 1542 to 1547, and subsequently in England where both were invited by Thomas Cranmer to take up senior appointments at Oxford and Cambridge respectively during the Edwardian Reformation. In his essay on Scriptural hermeneutics and theological method, Scott Amos examines what distinguished Vermigli's and Bucer's hermeneutical approaches, and asks what this comparison reveals about the trajectory of theological method in the years of transition from the Reformation to early Reformed orthodoxy.

In his essay '*Ex parte videntium*' Maurice Boutin explores the hermeneutical significance of the structural analogy between Vermigli's Christology and his formulation of the Eucharistic theology in the *Tractatio* and the Oxford Disputation.⁶ According to Boutin, where

⁶ See Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Tractatio de sacramento eucharistiae, habita in universitate Oxoniensi. Ad hec. Disputatio habita M.D. XLIX* (London: R. Wolfe, 1549). *A discourse or traictise of Petur Martyr Vermilla Flore[n]tine, the publyque reader of diuinitie in the Vniuersitee of Oxford: wherein he openly declared his whole and determinate iudgemente concernynge the sacrament of the Lordes supper in the sayde Vniuersitee* (London: Robert Stoughton at the signe of the Bysshoppes Miter, 1550). For a recent English translation with an introduction and notes, see *The Oxford Treatise*

Vermigli emphasizes ‘seeing’ at the basis of the distinction between seeing and sacrament, his Christology remains focussed on the ‘two nature’ distinction in the ‘one person’ traditionally held since Chalcedon (451). Such a discrepancy in the proper structure of the analogy between Christology and the Eucharist in Vermigli’s theology has been clouded by the focus on transubstantiation theory in the disputation of 1549 and his vigorous rejection of it. He proposes that this discrepancy could be corrected through drawing a distinction among three ways of seeing: viz., by faith, by reason or intellect, and by history—which correspond respectively to apprehension of the sacrament ‘by faith’, ‘by mind and spirit’, and ‘by the senses’. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologiae* suggested a similar distinction in his treatment of the question ‘Whether the body of Christ as it is in this sacrament can be seen by some eye at least glorified’ (IIIa q.76 a.7). Aquinas refers to three senses of sight: ‘*oculus corporeus*’ or ‘*corporalis*’, ‘*oculus intellectualis*’ or ‘*intellectus*’ also called ‘*spiritualis*’, and ‘*oculus fidei*’. The latter, the eye of faith, has to be privileged according to Aquinas as long as the human ‘condition’ of ‘*homo viator*’ prevails. Vermigli’s preference also goes to ‘*oculus fidei*’. Consequently, Boutin concludes, both the methodology and the content of Vermigli’s approach to definition of the sacrament have a distinctly scholastic tone.

The third part of the *Companion* is devoted to five of Vermigli’s major biblical commentaries. Without any doubt Vermigli was an eminent exegete. With his lecture series and massive commentaries on the scriptures the Italian reformer steadily established himself as one of the most important interpreters of the Bible in the sixteenth century. Scholars have already devoted considerable attention to Luther’s, Zwingli’s, Oecolampadius’, Bulliger’s and Calvin’s influential commentaries on *Genesis*. The gateway to understanding Vermigli’s distinctive contribution to early-modern biblical exegesis is his series of lectures on *Genesis*. They combine the elements of his Humanism, Hebraism and Scholasticism in a unique approach to biblical interpretation. The lectures were delivered in Strasbourg in 1543–44 and published posthumously by Christopher Froschauer of Zurich in 1569, with a dedication to Bishop John Jewel, Vermigli’s former student and

and *Disputation on the Eucharist*, ed. Joseph C. McLelland (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000).

disciple in Oxford and Zurich.⁷ Not only do these lectures introduce his exegetical method and skills, but they relate his approach to the long tradition of patristic and scholastic ‘hexæmeral’ literature, commentaries on the six days of creation. For the first time, Emidio Campi addresses Vermigli’s interpretation of *Genesis* in general and his treatment of the ‘history of creation’ (Gen. 1:1–2, 4a; 2:4b–25) in particular. The commentary on *Genesis*, which was published posthumously in 1569 by Josiah Simler but goes back to Vermigli’s lectures delivered in Strasbourg in 1542, became an immediate sensation among scholars.⁸ The commentary documents the impressive Biblical knowledge as well as the exceptional familiarity of this former Augustinian canon with the rabbinic and Jewish literature, which was not itself a *creatio ex nihilo* but rather the result of his diligent philological studies during his life as a scholar in Italy.

As a commentator on Scripture, Peter Martyr Vermigli differed markedly from his Patristic and medieval predecessors in both method and interpretation. So argues Gary Jenkins in his exploration of the commentary on the Book of Judges.⁹ From a purely polemical standpoint, it is easy to cite Vermigli for simply using his Protestant theology as a prism through which to view and interpret the Scriptures—a new tradition, supplanting an old one. While in some cases this assessment may not be avoided, Jenkins asks whether this judgement unjustly straps Vermigli to a new scholasticism and correspondingly serves to slight his commitment to humanism. Such an assumption may erect an artificial wall between ‘heretical’ Protestant interpreters and their ‘orthodox’ Catholic antecedents whereby the former are consigned to a confessional limbo outside a putatively ‘received’ hermeneutical canon. In his approach to the commentary and especially to the *scholia* of Vermigli’s *In librum Iudicum*, Jenkins considers how far Vermigli existed within the old scholastic canon of interpretation, and to what degree as both Protestant and humanist he rejected or altered it.

⁷ On the dating of Vermigli’s lectures in Strasbourg, see Frank James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and predestination: the Augustinian inheritance of an Italian reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 48–49.

⁸ *In Primum Librum Mosis qui vulgo Genesis dicitur Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1569). An English translation in the Peter Martyr Library is forthcoming.

⁹ *In Librum Iudicum...Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563). *Most fruitfull [and] learned co[m]mentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Vniuersitye of Tygure* (London: John Day, 1564).

While a recent refugee from Catholic Italy, as the newly minted Reformer Vermigli earned a living in Protestant Europe by lecturing on Scripture in Protestant schools in Strasbourg, Oxford, and Zurich. Unlike traditional Christian interpreters, both patristic and scholastic, Peter Martyr rarely resorted to allegory; rather his biblical exposition, in theory and in practice, centred on careful philological exegesis and application. His lectures on the Old Testament book of Lamentations, delivered early in his Protestant career, are an instructive case in point. Peter Martyr faithfully exegetes the lamenter's experience of torture over the fall of Jerusalem and the consequent destruction of the Temple, but also applies this disaster to the interpretation of events in sixteenth century Europe where Catholics were oppressing Protestants (and vice versa, of course), and the Ottoman Turks were knocking on the gates of Vienna. Daniel Shute reconsiders the tradition in Christian theodicy to identify the cause of calamities as God's punishment of the Church's infidelity; for Augustine, Attila was 'the scourge of God'. The Turkish conquests, according to Vermigli's scholium in Lamentations, were a judgment on the empty formalism pervading European Christianity.

Vermigli lectured on Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians in Oxford in the late 1540s in the wake of such important previous expositions of this text by the likes of Konrad Pellikan, Philip Melanchthon, and John Calvin. The epistle itself contains themes of enormous interest to Reformation hermeneutics, including a Christian preacher's use of rhetoric, the notion of schism, and the soteriological message of Christ crucified. Jon Balserak explores Vermigli's treatment of these themes in the context of a comparison of his exegesis with that of other reformers, and in light of the exegetical history of I Corinthians more generally. Balserak highlights distinctive qualities found in Vermigli's exegesis of this New Testament text and particularly those ways in which he deviates from the already well established Protestant exegetical tradition of the epistle.¹⁰

Among Vermigli's biblical writings, his commentary on Romans was arguably the most influential.¹¹ Vermigli clearly set out to expound not only the text, but also to draw out the full theological implications

¹⁰ *In selectissimam S. Pauli Priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam... Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1551).

¹¹ *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos... Commentarii* (Basle: P. Perna, 1558). *Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor*

in an extended *locus* on justification, a doctrine he believed was taught explicitly in the epistle to the Romans. Frank James focuses on Vermigli's most extensive treatment of justification and its relation to sanctification as articulated in his Romans *locus*.¹² One of the important historiographical insights garnered from the study of Vermigli's interpretation of this doctrine is the fact that the Protestant account of justification was not static, but went through a process of theological amelioration from a dynamic view that stressed the complementarity (but not identification) of justification and sanctification towards a more restrictive understanding that stressed a sharper distinction between these 'two kinds' of righteousness. The reformed doctrine of justification first emerged in a period of intensive theological transition. Like other Protestant scholars, Vermigli was a theological pioneer who was casting off his traditional theological training and braving a new world of Protestant theological exegesis. In view of this theological transition, James argues that it is probably more historically accurate to speak of the 'perimeters' of a Protestant doctrine of justification, recognizing that within those boundaries there were considerable differences of interpretation among early Protestant theologians.

The fourth part of this *Companion* turns to a consideration of some of Vermigli's critically noteworthy theological *loci*. William Klempa's scrutiny of Vermigli's Christology begins by looking at two letters to the Reformed Church in Poland which he wrote toward the end of his theological career in 1560 and 1561. The aim of these letters, as well as of an earlier one in 1556, was to address and refute the claim of Francesco Stancaro, another Italian-born reformer who was briefly professor of Hebrew at the University of Kraków and who had caused a controversy in the Polish Reformed Church by contending that Christ was mediator only in his human nature. Stancaro's teaching created divisions in the Polish congregations and so they appealed to theologians in Basel, Geneva, Strasbourg and Zurich to assist them. Martyr wrote his two letters on behalf of the Zurich ministers. These letters provide Klempa's point of departure in his essay on Vermigli's 'classical' Christology. Klempa notes Martyr's use of both the Alexandrian

of diuinitie in the schole of Tigre, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes (London: John Daye cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, 1568).

¹² See *Two Theological Loci: Predestination and Justification*. ed. Frank A. James III, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 8 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2004).

and Antiochene principles of biblical interpretation in his approach to the New Testament Christological texts in his response to Stancaro's claim. Klempa also explores Vermigli's *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ* (1561) which was prompted by the Lutheran/Reformed controversy over the Eucharist.¹³ He also looks at Vermigli's exposition of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed—one of his earliest works, and his sole publication in Italian—as well as the sermons and various biblical commentaries.¹⁴

Although it is occasionally said that the *Thirty-Nine Articles* of the Church of England are generally dependent on the theological position of John Calvin, the details of the Articles frequently differ from historical positions of Calvin, and there are verbal dependencies on non-Calvinist early Reformation texts. By means of a close examination of the account of Predestination and Reprobation in Book 3 of the *Common Places*, David Neelands shows that Vermigli was the more likely source of the distinctive features of Article 17 of the English Articles, which in turn leaves unsaid some of the more characteristic features of Calvin's account of these doctrines.

Robert Kingdon turns to the *loci* on ecclesiology in his exploration of the views of Vermigli on actual contemporary use of excommunication to enforce Christian discipline in the communities with which he was acquainted in sixteenth-century Europe. He notes that there was a significant difference of opinion among leaders in the earliest Protestant communities on the right use of excommunication. There was a general feeling among Protestants that Catholics had gone too far in using excommunication to force Christians to behave in a truly Christian manner. Luther and his followers insisted that justification was by faith alone, and that the sanctification that led to good behaviour could only follow justification. Antinomians concentrated on faith alone and ignored all attempts to improve behaviour. By way of contrast, John Calvin in Geneva was able to persuade a local government to introduce strict discipline, exercised by a new semi-ecclesiastical institution called the Consistory. Professor Kingdon lays out Vermigli's views on the exercise of discipline through excommunication as revealed in his

¹³ *Dialogus de utraque in Christo Natura...* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1561). *Dialogue on the two natures in Christ*, ed. J.P. Donnelly, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 2 (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1995).

¹⁴ *Una Semplice Dichiaratione sopra gli XII Articoli della Fede Christiana* (Basel: Johan Hervagius, 1544). See also *A Briefe and most excellent exposition of the xii articles of our fayth, commonly called the apostles creede* (London: H. Jackson, 1578).

published biblical commentaries. Vermigli spent most of his career in jurisdictions that accepted a Zwinglian view of discipline, where powers to exercise it were reserved mostly to the civil magistrate, and not to the church. This was true of Strasbourg, where he began his career, of England, where he spent a crucial middle stage of his career, and also of Zurich, where he ended his career. Curiously, as Kingdon points out, Vermigli seemed to support one view in his writings, but to allow another within the churches in which he lived. Through close examination of Vermigli's career and correspondence, Kingdon aims to gain insight into this apparent paradox in Vermigli's ecclesiological orientation.

The roots of Vermigli's sacramental theology and doctrine of the Eucharist can be traced back to his struggle for a more 'pure religion' in the context of his contact with the Italian *spirituali* in the late 1530s. Vermigli became acquainted with their leader, Juan de Valdés, at the time of his appointment to the post of Abbot of the house of San Pietro ad Aram in Naples. According to Peter Opitz, Vermigli's eucharistic theology nonetheless has all the connotations of 'Reformed' Protestantism: he rejected the concept of transubstantiation, the efficacy of the sacrament *ex opere operato*, the sacrificial character of the mass, and the adoration of the host. At the same time, Vermigli strongly affirmed the real character of the sacramental change, the power of the sacraments as resting solely upon God's authority, the Eucharistic celebration as an event whereby the participants are truly nourished by Christ's flesh, give thanks for Christ's sacrifice, and offer themselves anew to God. Against the Lutheran tradition he rejected the *manducatio impiorum*, the ubiquity of Christ's glorified body, and consubstantiation. He nevertheless firmly maintained that faith is God's undeserved gift to believers, that the power of the sacrament is independent from the merit of the receiver, and that Christ's body is truly, though not 'really' in a sense of an earthly body, present in the Eucharistic celebration. Vermigli also affirmed the necessity of faith for an efficacious reception of the sacraments. According to Dr Opitz, the particularity of Vermigli's hermeneutic in this larger context is that he combines a very high exegetical approach, which tries to do justice to the biblical proof texts on the grounds of his humanistic education, with a great knowledge of and esteem for the scholastic and patristic traditions, an analytical and logical clarity which surpasses most of his colleagues, and an 'ecumenical' intention. Opitz identifies these different lines of hermeneutical tendency and shows how they are woven into a

complex, coherent whole. In the process he sheds further light on the knotty question concerning the relationship between Italian humanism and Aristotelianism during the sixteenth century.

Through numerous *scholia* in his commentaries on the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings as well as on the Epistle to the Romans, Vermigli played a key role in defining the political theology of both Zurich and England in the second half of the sixteenth century. His distinctive treatment of the religious authority of the Civil Magistrate in particular cemented a close bond between the Swiss republic and the northern kingdom. According to Torrance Kirby, Vermigli's characteristic exegesis of scripture with its delicate balance of humanist and scholastic propensities exercised a significant influence on the formulation, implementation, and consolidation of the institutions of the Elizabethan constitutional and religious settlement through the end of the sixteenth century. Looking particularly at Vermigli's *scholium* on Judges 8, Kirby explores Vermigli's incorporation of arguments of the canon lawyers into his exposition of the office of the Civil Magistrate within the context of these biblical commentaries. He also examines Vermigli's critical, humanistic reading of the forged Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore in his evaluation of the authority of canon law.

Vermigli was a famous preacher in Italy, but when he fled persecution to teach at Strasbourg, Oxford, and Zurich, he appears not to have learned German or English. This inevitably restricted his pastoral activity. John Patrick Donnelly offers an account of Vermigli's prayers based on the Psalms. These are drawn largely from the first Strasbourg period, 1542–47.¹⁵ After his death the Latin text of the prayers was published, and went through ten editions with translations into English, French, German, and Czech.¹⁶ There are 297 prayers in all—79 psalms have two prayers. They often compare the on-going troubles of the church with those of Ancient Israel. The mood is more often dark than joyous, probably because many were written during and after the First Schmalkaldic War. Only eleven of Vermigli's sermons have survived. Ten are

¹⁵ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Preces Sacrae ex Psalmis Davidis desumptæ...* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564). *Sacred prayers drawn from the Psalms of David*, ed. J.P. Donnelly, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 3 (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1996).

¹⁶ John Patrick Donnelly, ed. with Robert M. Kingdon and Marvin W. Anderson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Kirkville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990), 72–81.

printed in *Life, Letters, and Sermons*.¹⁷ One sermon recently discovered deals with a rebellion against Edward VI in England.¹⁸ Almost all of Vermigli's sermons were given in an academic setting; mostly at Oxford. Four deal with chapters of scripture. One reflects on the resurrection, another on the Lord's Supper, three encourage the study of scripture or theology. One is on the dignity of ministry. Vermigli's inaugural oration at Zurich contrasts his joy to be there with the many troubles of his previous career. Calvin invited Vermigli to serve as pastor of the obstreperous Italian congregation in Geneva where preaching would have been a major concern. Vermigli very politely declined the invitation. He preferred lecturing and writing in Zurich.

Christian Moser's paper on Vermigli's correspondence analyzes extant sources of Vermigli's epistolary, the distribution of senders and recipients, as well as the chronological and geographical circulation of the letters. He compares these findings with what is known of the networks of other leading reformers, such as Theodore Beza, Heinrich Bullinger, and Martin Bucer. On the basis of this empirical study Moser focusses attention of key theological topics in the correspondence and examines these in the light of relevant theological writings of Vermigli and of his correspondents. For the first time in Vermigli research we have in Moser's study a detailed analysis of the epistolary in the light of the sixteenth-century Protestant news networks. Moreover, the discussion of the theological themes in the letters helps to situate Vermigli in the theological debate of his time, as well as to provide an aid to discerning the contours of the development of his theological thought, both of which until now have been explored mainly on the basis of his published theological writings alone.

In the fifth and final part of the *Companion*, the contributions turn to 'Nachleben'. Michael Baumann offers an account of the Josiah Simler's funeral 'Oratio' as more than simply a biographical work but also as a theological work in its own right in the hagiographical tradition.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Life, letters, and sermons*. ed. J.P. Donnelly, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 5. (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999).

¹⁸ 'Sermo Petri Martir manu propria scripta in seditionem Devonensium,' Corpus Christi College Cambridge, MS 340, no. 4, fols. 73–95.

¹⁹ Josiah Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu viri optimi, praestantissimi Theologi Petri Martyris Vermilii, Sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina Professoris* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1563). See also the English translations by Anthony Marten, *An Oration of the life and death of that worthie man and excellent Divuine d. Peter Martyr Vermillius, professor of Diuinitie in the Schoole of Zuricke*, in *Another Collection of certeine Diuine matters and*

Baumann demonstrates that Simler and many other biographers of the reformation era used the lives of the first generation of reformers to construct legends and traditions for 'Church edification'. He shows that it was Simler's approach to represent not only Vermigli's *vita* but also to depict him as one of the founders and pillars of the Reformed tradition. Baumann also demonstrates that Simler's famous biography is one of the reasons that Peter Martyr as a person and his writings became so influential among reformed theologians for the next two generations. As Jason Zuidema demonstrates in the penultimate chapter of the *Companion*, Vermigli's relationship with the French Reformation is viewed in most accounts as short-lived and not very substantial. Generally scholarship has noted that his knowledge of the French language was weak, at best, and his direct participation is limited to his involvement in the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561. Dr Zuidema argues that this common picture of Vermigli's influence is a substantial understatement of what can be seen in the actual sources. By re-examining these sources (many of which remain entirely neglected in Vermigli literature to this date), he seeks to draw a more clearly focused picture of Vermigli and the French Reformation. The new picture that develops is one of a respected scholar who had continual contact with and influence on French Protestantism during his life and exercised considerable influence long after his death.

In the final chapter Joseph McLelland relates the history of the posthumous compiling of what is arguably Vermigli's most influential work—the *Loci Communes*. Indeed the *Loci* proved to be the vehicle that spread his influence throughout the Reformed world, with no fewer than fourteen editions following the first edition of 1576. The method of pursuing theology by *topoi* or *loci* is a singular feature of Renaissance and Reformation learning. Following in this rhetorical tradition, Vermigli 'peppered' his various biblical commentaries with *scholia* whenever a text seemed to him an appropriate place to raise question or discussion on a particular subject. Some of these are just short paragraphs, while others blossom into full treatises. The gathering together of these *loci* was contemplated but never executed by Vermigli himself. This task fell to Robert le Maçon, Sieur de la Fontaine, minister of the French congregation in London, formerly minister in Orléans. His edition of Vermigli's *scholia* constitutes a sort of theological textbook, a

doctrines of the same M.D. Peter Martyr, translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten (London: H. Denham and H. Middleton, 1583) and by J.P. Donnelly, *LLS*.

systematic presentation of Reformed theology modelled to some degree on Calvin's *Institutio*.

Now that contemporary philosophy regards itself as 'post-modern,' claiming to advance beyond the 'Enlightenment project' with its trust in autonomous reason, it is well to look at the 'pre-modern' scene to see whether alternatives in rationality, at least in epistemology, are available. Martin Heidegger charged classical theism, typified in the Thomist synthesis of nature and grace, with the error of 'onto-theology.' This implied that theology shared the same aim as philosophy, namely the highest Being, rather than personal Deity. His 'linguistic turn' helped end the hegemony of Enlightenment rationalism, and introduced the modern form of hermeneutics. Thus the soil is prepared for a thinking that may recover a right use of reason and a proper ontology. This broad philosophical hypothesis underpins Joseph McLelland's broad re-evaluation of what he has designated Vermigli's 'stromatic' theology in his final conclusion to this *Companion*. Vermigli lived at the frontier of modernity when traditional theism, forged largely by the Platonic worldview of Church Fathers, was being challenged by new texts and new ideas; hence the recent shift in focus of Reformation scholars to the study of 'Early Modern Europe.' Vermigli's lectures on the *Nicomachean Ethics* stand as the leading exemplary Reformed work of properly philosophical commentary. McLelland shows us that through study of Vermigli it is possible to recognize that Aristotle could be a positive influence in the Reformed tradition of thought. His was not a 'scholastic' turn away from scripture but rather the gift of a vibrant new method for interpreting the same. Vermigli's role in the development of philosophy and theology today should be reckoned in terms of his remarkable ability to combine such polarities as humanist aims and scholastic logic, Platonic-Augustinian spirit and Aristotelian-Thomistic method, Reformed hermeneutics and medieval rabbinic commentary.

The editors of this volume are very saddened by the loss of our colleague and friend David Wright, sometime Fellow of New College, Edinburgh, distinguished church historian and theologian of the Church of Scotland. Professor Wright was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by Edinburgh University in 1997, and in 1999 he was appointed to an Edinburgh University chair in patristic and reformed Christianity. David Wright was widely recognized for his scholarship in the areas of Patristics and Reformation theology, and so his contribution to this volume provides a most fitting epitaph.

CONVOCATION ORATION

This *Companion to Peter Martyr Vermigli* is dedicated to Joseph Cummings McLelland—philosopher, theologian, mentor, and friend. The following is the Public Oration delivered by Professor Emidio Campi (University of Zurich) at the Convocation of 10 August 2007.

At the conferring of the degree of Doctor of Divinity
(*honoris causa*) on Joseph C. McLelland
McConnell Professor Emeritus, McGill University
Presbyterian College, Montreal,
10 August 2007

by Emidio Campi, *Orator*

Mr Principal, *doctores et magistri*, honoured guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a tremendous privilege and a great pleasure to present Professor Joseph Cummings McLelland of McGill University and the Presbyterian College for the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

An Orator naturally takes pleasure in presenting for an honorary degree persons distinguished in various walks of life, but there is a particular satisfaction in presenting a man who is a philosopher and theologian of great distinction. It is my office to say a few words about the person and career of Professor McLelland and about his work as a university teacher and scholar. Yet to undertake this duty in the lovely city of Montreal, where he has served as professor of theology and the philosophy of religion since 1960, collecting academic honour upon honour, and at the Presbyterian College, whose Library has recently been renamed in tribute to him, would seem like ‘carrying coals to Newcastle’. Even to venture to highlight Professor McLelland’s contributions as a philosopher of religion would seem improper, since by profession I am a mere historian dealing mostly with the small world of Reformation history. I can only reiterate with conviction what I have learned about the career of this learned man. Professor McLelland’s important book *Prometheus Rebound: the irony of atheism* (1988) represents his mature reflection on ‘belief and unbelief’, and led to considerable discussion in this country, culminating in a symposium at Trinity College, Toronto

in 1990, with the proceedings subsequently published in *The Toronto Journal of Theology*.²⁰

Following the popular saying 'Cobbler, stick to your last', it is surely wise to focus on one specific aspect, for which, I can only guess, I was invited, and why I gladly accept the opportunity to deliver this oration: namely, Professor McLelland's distinguished contribution to Vermigli research. Prof. McLelland's name will forever be enshrined in his book *The Visible Words of God: the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli*.²¹ This publication of his doctoral thesis is justly celebrated for developing the deceptively simple idea—to put it in his own words—that 'Peter Martyr's teaching on the sacraments is not only the fullest expression of his theology but also its key doctrine'. It should be noted that the title is a marvellous example of English understatement—or perhaps I should say 'Scottish'. Prof. McLelland's presentation of Peter Martyr's sacramental theology is interwoven with a rich variety of other theological motifs, including the doctrine of revelation, Christology and ecclesiology. The (then young) author did this through impressively sharp and rigorous scrutiny of the texts, thorough historical analysis, and sound theological sense. His research cut through inessentials, and focused unerringly on what mattered. It soon became—and remains still—the standard work on the subject. Summing up all these aspects together less technically but perhaps more usefully, Prof. McLelland's *opus primum* was not just a piece of excellent scholarship, but it served forcefully to reintroduce the neglected Reformer into contemporary historiography and paved the way for a large number of subsequent monographs.

In 1977 Prof. McLelland organized at McGill University the International Conference on '*Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Humanism*', which for the first time brought together Vermigli scholars from Europe and North America. The papers were edited by him and published under the title *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*.²² At this meeting it was agreed to form *The Peter Martyr Library*, and an Editorial Committee elected. Since then, as senior General Editor of *The Peter Martyr Library*, Prof. McLelland has been in constant contact with some twenty-five editors and translators in Europe and North America. The edition involved planning in such areas as the selection of texts,

²⁰ 7.2 (1991).

²¹ (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1965).

²² (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980).

the method of translation, and the definition of topics from the *scholia* to be developed either in the introduction or elsewhere. Through his academic and policy contributions—sparse, precise, and uncluttered—as well as through his personal flair and style in communication, a new international circle of Vermigli’s scholars emerged and continues to do so. More specifically he sought contact with the Institute for Swiss Reformation History of the University of Zurich in order to collate the research on Vermigli with that on Bullinger and the *Zurich school* to which Vermigli belonged in his final years. Together we organized the second *Peter Martyr Vermigli International Conference: ‘Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation’* held at Zurich in 1999. Most recently we have worked together on the English edition of Vermigli’s *Commentary on Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics*, which has just been published in the Peter Martyr Library.²³ On both occasions his profound erudition and his own personal qualities made a deep impression.

On behalf of the Vermigli scholars on both sides of the Atlantic it is right and proper to thank Professor McLelland for all his creative achievements:

ILLUSTRI VIRO
Josepho Cummingo McLellando
 QUI STUDIORUM PETRI MARTYRIS VERMILII
 VEXILLUM
 PER DIMIDIUM SAECULUM PRAETULIT
 NOBIS ANTESIGNANUS
 PLURIMOS DEINCEPS ANNOS
 ET SALUTIS PLENITUDINEM
 CONFRATRES ET SYMMYSTAE
 GRATO ANIMO MEMORIQUE SEMPER MENTE
 PRECANTUR A DOMINO

Simply stated, we are grateful to Professor McLelland, not only for the many wonderful scholarly contributions he has given over the last 50 years, but also for the fact that he was always willing to share them with us, inspiring, as no one else, modern Vermigli scholarship. Mr. Principal, I have the honour to present to you, and to the whole College, Professor Joseph McLelland, for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*.

²³ (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006).

PART ONE

INTERNATIONAL CAREER

CHAPTER ONE

ITALY: RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL FERMENT

Joseph C. McLelland

Until well into the fifties of the twentieth century, Peter Martyr Vermigli's Italian years, the first forty-two years of his life, tended to be neglected in the study of his biography and theology. This has resulted in an underestimation of the familiar environment and cultural education in Florence and Padua, of the decisive experiences in Spoleto, Naples and Lucca. To be sure, Vermigli's intellectual and theological development did not take place without rupture or correction. But we must not lose sight of the formative power of those years, if we wish to rightly understand the rest of Martyr's life. Luigi Santini¹ and particularly Philip McNair² have helped to redress this imbalance. Recently Simonetta Adorni Braccesi supplemented these works with a monograph set within the framework of broader research into heresy and reformation in Lucca,³ which widens and deepens a track laid by Marino Berengo.⁴ The result of these foundational studies is a

¹ Luigi Santini, 'Appunti sull'ecclesiologia di P.M. Vermigli e la edificazione della Chiesa', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 104 (1958), 69–75; id., 'La tesi della fuga nella persecuzione nella teologia di P.M. Vermigli', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 108 (1960), 37–49; id., 'Scisma e eresia nel pensiero di P.M. Vermigli', *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 125 (1969), 27–43; id., *Pier Martire Vermigli (1499–1562): l'eredità umanistica e italiana di un riformatore europeo*, in Domenico Maselli (ed.), *Tra Spiritualismo e Riforma* (Florence: Pierucci, 1979), 143–59.

² Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967).

³ Simonetta Adorni Braccesi, *'Una città infetta': La repubblica di Lucca nella crisi religiosa del Cinquecento* (Florence: Olschki, 1994), esp. 109–143; id., 'Un catechismo italiano della Riforma: 'Una semplice dichiarazione sopra i dodici articoli della fede cristiana di M. Pietro Martire Vermigli fiorentino' in Achille Olivieri (ed.), *Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499–1562). Umanista, Riformatore, Pastore* (Roma: Herder, 2003), 105–129; Susanna Peyronel Rambaldi, 'Una semplice dichiarazione sopra i dodici articoli della fede cristiana' di Pier Martire Vermigli: catechismo o pamphlet religioso?' in *ibid.*, 131–156; Achille Olivieri, 'Pietro Martire Vermigli: "Una semplice dichiarazione sopra i dodici articoli della fede cristiana" (1544) e le immagini di Dio', in *ibid.*, 157–175.

⁴ Marino Berengo, *Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento* (Torino: Einaudi, 1965; repr. 1974), 399–419; Leandro Perini, 'Pietro Martire Vermigli e Lucca', in Achille Olivieri (ed.), *op. cit.*, 93–104.

lattice-work of complicated and interwoven problems, out of which some biographical aspects can be picked out and followed upon.

Thanks to McNair's careful research, we know that Vermigli was christened Piero Mariano on September 8th, 1499 in Florence to a lower middle-class family and not, as less well-informed biographers have written (and sometimes still write) to nobility in 1500. Well researched are the socio-cultural questions pertaining to his family background, childhood and schooling. We know that he spent the formative years of his youth in Florence, where he was able to profit from the intellectual, scientific and artistic achievements of Florentine humanism. Contrary to the family's expectations, Piero Mariano became a novice in the summer of 1514 in the Badia Fiesolana, which was operated by the Augustinian congregation of the Lateran canons. There he took vows in 1518 and the new name of Pietro Martire, latinised as Petrus Martyr, which he kept for the rest of his life. In the same year, he moved to Padua, where he began his studies in philosophy and theology.

Also for the formative years at Padua McNair's work remains a valuable foundation. He investigates Vermigli's academic development thoroughly, taking into consideration the intellectual and cultural conditions of the university there. Nevertheless, some aspects of these years deserve further study. On the one hand, we know beyond doubt that Martyr gained detailed knowledge of the philosophy of Aristotle and that his basic theological training was that of the Thomist school, known as the '*via antiqua*'. On the other hand, the first biographer of Vermigli, Josias Simler, expressly states in the memorial eulogy in honour of his beloved teacher that the young Augustinian canon was acquainted with the theology of Gregory of Rimini, the so-called *via Gregorii*.⁵ Simler's *Oratio* is generally a dependable account on the life

⁵ Josias Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri et praestantissimi theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii divinarum literarum professoris in schola Tigurina*, (Zurich, Froschauer 1563), 5^v: 'Eodem tempore frequenti exercitio consionandi excitatus, qui pro scholarum consuetudine hactenus se potissimum in Scholasticis Theologis, Thoma [Acquinati] praesertim et [Gregori] Ariminensi, et interea quoque patrum scripta congoverat, diligentius quam ante hac ipsos fontes Theologiae sacras literas utriusque testamenti perscrutari coepit.' [ET: in J.P. Donnelly, *Life, Letters and Sermons*, PML vol. 5 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1999), 17.] Cf. on the philosophical-theological education of Vermigli John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), as well as the introduction by Joseph C. McLelland in vol. 4 of *The Peter Martyr Library: Philosophical Works* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1996), xix–xli, and more recently Frank A. James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: the Augustinian inheritance*

of Vermigli, especially in the treatment of theological questions. If that is true, this polarity about Martyr's theological training should have some bearing on all his literary production. Yet in spite of the learned labouring of earlier and latter-day Vermigli scholars, it does not appear that an illuminating and perceptive discussion has taken place, which does justice to the question. This represents a gap in the research both from a biographical aspect as well as in the theological consequences that it would be fruitful to fill.

The exploration of this early period of the Florentine theologian suffers also from the lack of precise details—Vermigli himself was not given to autobiographical utterances—concerning his extraordinary familiarity with the writings of the Church Fathers, especially those of Augustine and Chrysostom, which made him one of the most knowledgeable Patristic scholars of the Reformation era, and practically became a trademark of his future scholarly activity.⁶ In addition, the question of whether and to what degree Vermigli's profound knowledge of the *Decretum Gratiani*, the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*,⁷ as well as the ancient Roman legal and political philosophers who lay so close to his heart, can be traced back to this time has not yet been extensively examined. At the very least it is highly probable that he made abundant use of the monastery library of San Giovanni di Verdara, where he stayed during his studies in Padua.⁸ It may be considered as certain that he was ordained to the priesthood in 1525; there are however only indications that he was awarded his doctorate in the following year.

In April 1526 the fathers of his Lateran Congregation gathered in Piacenza for the annual Chapter General, elected him to the office of public preacher.⁹ In this capacity Vermigli visited Brescia, Rome,

of an Italian Reformer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 132–50; Luca Baschera, 'Predestinazione, libertà e reprobatio in Bernardino Ochino e Pietro Martire Vermigli', in *Bollettino della Società di Studi Valdesi* 197 (2005), 3–22.

⁶ On Vermigli and the Fathers see Alfred Schindler, 'Vermigli und die Kirchenväter', in Campi (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 37–43; Douglas H. Shantz, 'Vermigli on Tradition and the Fathers. Patristic Perspectives from his Commentary on I Corinthians,' in James (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 115–138.

⁷ *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. Emil Friedberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz, 1879; reprinted Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1955; 1959).

⁸ Cf. Emidio Campi, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562): Europäische Wirkungsfelder eines italienischen Reformators', in *Zwingliana* 27 (2000): 29–46, here 32.

⁹ McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 116–38 is the basis of what follows.

Bologna, Fermo, Pisa, Venice, Mantua, Bergamo, and Casale Monferato. His first biographer, Josias Simler, notes that unlike the seasonal preaching of other Orders (usually Advent and Lent), the Augustinians were able to preach regularly, and as invited. He also states that 'he interpreted the sacred letters and philosophy in the communities of his congregation at Padua, Ravenna, Bologna, and Vercelli'.¹⁰ In the last he also lectured on Homer.

In view of this extensive activity throughout Italy, the question remains, can we reconstruct the content of his preaching? The few extant sermons we possess date mostly from the Oxford Period.¹¹ McNair admits that we can but speculate in this regard, and makes do with quoting an illustration from a Neapolitan sermon of Vermigli's reported by Galeazzo Caracciolo, Simler's account of his preaching style (compared with Bucer's) in later years, and Vermigli's own remarks on preaching in his *Credo* (1544): 'Not with indulgences, papal bulls, and ceremonial benedictions, but with the divine Word, diligent admonitions, and frequent corrections. By these the unbelieving are converted, indolent believers are awakened, and fervent souls consoled. These are the skills by which the Body of Christ is maintained.'¹²

After serving as visitor in various locations in northern Italy, Vermigli settled in Bologna from 1530 to 1533 as Vicar to the Prior of S. Giovanni in Monte. McNair observes astutely: 'He came upon this hub of intellectual life a little too late to enjoy the society of Gasparo Contarini and his circle, and left a little too early to see its Papal allegiance affronted by an outbreak of 'Lutheranism' in 1533.'¹³ According to a brief remark in Simler's *Oratio*, he learned Hebrew from a local Jewish doctor so well that he later became one of the leading Old Testament scholars in Europe. Vermigli scholars generally tend to rush over this aspect of his development. They limit themselves instead to either a brief mention of Simler's statement, or to connect it to Immanuel Tremellius, a Jewish convert to Christianity from Ferrara who worked with Vermigli in Lucca.¹⁴ But the story of his amazing knowledge of Hebrew as well as

¹⁰ See Simler, *Oratio*, in Donnelly (ed.), *LLS* 17.

¹¹ See Simler, *Oratio*, in *LLS* 5–6.

¹² *Una Semplice Dichiaratione* (Basel: Johan Hervagius, 1544). For an English translation see Mariano Di Gangi in *Early Writings*, PML vol. 1 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Studies & Essays, 1994), 65; McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 119, 157.

¹³ McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 124.

¹⁴ So McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 223–25. On Tremellio see Wilhelm Becker, *Immanuel Tremellius: Ein Proselytenleben im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Breslau:

of the medieval rabbinical interpreters and of the Jewish scholarship is intricate and extremely difficult to assess. It still awaits its monograph and cannot be treated here in detail.¹⁵ It suffices to say that in order to get a methodical grip on these pertinent biographical questions, it seems best to delve into the Hebrew intellectual world of Bologna in particular, and of oriental studies in sixteenth-century Italy in general. In this sense one can only agree with the research program formulated by Alessandro Pastore concerning Vermigli's contemporary and brother in faith Marcantonio Flaminio: to situate him in the 'contemporanea cultura ebraizzante in Italia'.¹⁶ On the whole, the picture of Vermigli in these years remains uncertain; for this reason, this phase is a high priority for further research.

Beginning with the year 1533, the picture becomes sharper and more complete. From this time, Peter Martyr was no longer a novice or an ecclesiastical nobody, but rather a learned theologian and relatively well-known churchman who was thoroughly in a position to accomplish a reform of his own order. So much has been written on his activity in the following years in the framework of the intellectual and religious streams of Italian society of the time that one can be brief here.¹⁷ It

C. Düsler, 1887; 2nd edn., Leipzig: J.C. Hinrische Buchhandlung, 1890), and now Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: the life and writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007).

¹⁵ A first attempt is provided by Dan Shute, Introduction to Vermigli's commentary on *Lamentations*, PML, vol. 6 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1999), xv–lxviii. See also in this volume the contributions of Emidio Campi and Max Engammare.

¹⁶ Alessandro Pastore, *Marcantonio Flaminio: Fortune e sfortune di un chierico nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1981), esp. 79–84.

¹⁷ This comes as a result of the intensified investigation of the history of the Italian Reformation in the last four decades. As important as the progress in this area since McNair's study (1967) has been, it must remain outside of consideration. We will point to just a few recent works that provide access to the sources as well as to the state of the question and to other secondary literature: John Tedeschi, 'The Cultural Contributions of Italian Protestant Reformers in the late Renaissance', in Adriano Prosperi and Albano Biondi (ed.), *Libri, idee e sentimenti religiosi nel Cinquecento italiano* (Modena: Panini, 1987), 81–108; Manfred E. Welti, *Kleine Geschichte der italienischen Reformation* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1985); Silvana Seidel Menchi, *Erasmus als Ketzer: Reformation und Inquisition im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden: Brill, 1993); Massimo Firpo, *Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Rom-Bari: Laterza, 1993); Salvatore Caponetto, *La Riforma protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento* (Turin: Claudiana, 1997), the latter in English translation, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Kirkville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999). For further studies see the monumental bibliography compiled by John Tedeschi, *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (Ca. 1750–1997)* (Modena: Panini; Ferrara: ISR, 2000).

suffices to mention that Vermigli was named abbot of Spoleto in May 1533 and devoted himself for a triennium to the task of reforming many houses of the order that had fallen into moral decay. During this time, Vermigli entered into contact with the group of cardinals and prelates who worked out the *Consilium de emendanda ecclesia*, the recommendations of which were presented as reform measures to the pope in 1537. The question is whether its leading author, Gasparo Contarini, invited Vermigli to Rome in 1536 to help prepare this *Aureum Consilium*. McNair thinks it highly likely, in part to account for the 'uncharted' year in Vermigli's life, and in part because he had come to know leading evangelicals who would later intercede on his behalf at Naples. If this hypothesis is correct, it discloses the intellectual climate in which Vermigli lived and provides and added dimension of depth to his preparation for the 'conversion' he experienced in Naples.

In the year 1537 Vermigli was transferred to Naples as abbot of the influential convent of San Pietro ad Aram. This new field of activity offered him the opportunity to form close connections to the '*spirituali*' grouped around Juan de Valdés who strove for a renewal of Christian life through an undogmatic religiosity.¹⁸ There he began to read the works of Erasmus and the Reformers, especially those of Bucer and Zwingli.¹⁹ No doubt Valdés had direct, personal influence on Martyr,²⁰ but he lacked the Valdésian coloring that marked the larger part of the *spirituali* of Naples. Instead, he found in Zwingli's religious ideas much that harmonized with his own tastes, although Martyr's theology 'cannot be characterized by assigning it to a narrowly defined orientation.'²¹

¹⁸ Cf. Massimo Firpo, *Tra alumbrados e 'spirituali': Studi su Juan de Valdés e il valdesianesimo nella crisi religiosa del '500 italiano* (Florence: Olschki, 1990); M. Firpo (ed.), *Juan de Valdés. Alfabeto christiano* (Turin: Einaudi, 1994), esp. vii–cl. See also Massimo Firpo–Dario Marcato, *I processi inquisitoriali di Pietro Carnesecchi*, vol. 2 (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2000) which casts new light on Vermigli's connection to the *spirituali* in Naples.

¹⁹ Simler, *Oratio*, in LLS 20 mentions explicitly: *Enarrationes perpetuae in sacra quatuor evangelia* (1530) and *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque* (1529) by Bucer and *De vera et falsa religione commentarius* (1525) and *De providentia* (1528) by Zwingli, as well as 'some works of Erasmus.'

²⁰ See Joseph C. McLelland, 'Valdés and Vermigli: Spirituality and the Degrees of Reform,' in James (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 238–250, esp. 245–50.

²¹ Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542–1547* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 56: 'nicht durch Zuordnung zu einer eng umgrenzten typischen Richtung charakterisiert werden kann.'

At any rate, the Neapolitan sojourn is perhaps the key to Vermigli's spirituality. Association with such a group of proto-evangelicals in the salon was bound to reinforce his reading in Bible, Fathers and Reformers. In particular, the emphasis on the Spirit bred an indifference to instrumental means of grace. While this developed most in Valdés himself, Vermigli's own career shows his constant struggle to maintain a golden mean between too much and too little weight accorded the sacraments. As he notes in his *Tractatio*'s Dedication to Thomas Cranmer, it is like steering between 'the hyperboles of the Fathers and the contempt of the Anabaptists.' This 'median position' was the subject of the third proposition agreed on for the Oxford Disputation of 1549, but unfortunately the lengthy discussion of transubstantiation prevented adequate treatment. However, the companion *Tractatio* shows clearly enough that by that time Vermigli was more concerned with bridging the gap between Luther and Zwingli.²²

Another question related to the Neapolitan sojourn concerns Vermigli's use of the Psalms. During his triennium in Naples (1537–40) he encountered the commentaries of Juan de Valdés (1537), Martin Luther, and Martin Bucer (distributed under the pseudonym of Aretius Felinus). But there is no explicit mention of his own exposition of the Psalms until Lucca. The published results of his studies appear only in the *Preces Sacrae*, published posthumously in 1564, and dating probably from his first Strasbourg period (1544–47).²³ There is, however, some possibility that he expounded Romans at Naples, making this his first foray before doing so in Lucca, Strasbourg, and Oxford.²⁴

The new theological development showed itself increasingly in his sermons beginning in Advent 1539, which provoked, for instance, the conversion of the nobleman Galeazzo Caracciolo to the evangelical faith.²⁵ Most significant is his series on First Corinthians, a bold choice bound to contradict orthodox teaching. Inevitably Vermigli ran into trouble with the Theatines (extricated by the intervention of the cardinals Pole, Gonzaga, Fregoso, Contarini, and Bembo) when he came to chapter 3, traditionally interpreted not as referring to the Day of

²² See Joseph C. McLelland, *The Oxford Treatise and Disputation*, PML vol. 7 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 2000), xxiv, 121–25.

²³ See Emidio Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae* of Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in James (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 251–266, esp. 252–58.

²⁴ See F.A. James, *Predestination and Justification*, PML vol. 8 (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 2003), xx.

²⁵ Benedetto Croce, *Galéas Caracciolo. Marquis de Vico* (Geneva: Droz, 1965).

Judgment but to Purgatory. Simler states: 'Even though Martyr was not yet openly opposing the fire of purgatory which the monks had made into a sort of prison, still he showed and did so from the ancient Fathers that Paul here was in no way dealing with the fire of purgatory, seeing that he set up a kind of fire which good and bad builders experience equally.'²⁶

In May 1541 the general chapter of his order named Peter Martyr prior of the influential monastery of San Frediano in Lucca. Vermigli's short-lived time at Lucca forms the crux of his shift from Nicodemite to Reformer, and displays his remarkable ability not only to preach and teach with evangelical result, but also to administer with firm but gracious hand. McNair has provided such information as can be gleaned about the 'low moral state of the city's clergy' which helped make Lutheran ideas attractive to the laity. He has also examined the unique Academy ('the first and last reformed theological college in pre-Tridentine Italy'), its teaching faculty and their curriculum. Martyr himself instructed the younger students in 'both Greek and religion' (Simler) by interpreting the Pauline letters; he also expounded the Psalms publicly, as well as preaching weekly.²⁷

However, the ambiguities could not remain forever. A series of revelations alarmed the church authorities. Threatened by the inquisition, he faced the impossible alternative of giving up the convictions nurtured during his time in Naples and Lucca or disguising his views and activities under a Nicodemite veil. As is well known, Vermigli decided to leave Italy in the summer of 1542, after composing a detailed justification for his flight.²⁸ From such data one may conclude that Vermigli's developing evangelicalism had proceeded from *in membris* to *in capite*, and from willingness for internal and individual reform through teaching, preaching and discipline to a recognition that these must be related to outward and structural reform, that the true *notae* of the church—'true preaching of the Word, right administration of the sacraments, and discipline'—could no longer be pursued within the Roman obedience. It is unfortunate that so little seems to have come from the diligent research others have pursued since McNair's book appeared in 1967. No doubt there still lie hidden in libraries resources

²⁶ *Oratio*, in *LLS* 21.

²⁷ See Simler, *Oratio*, in *LLS* 23–24; McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, ch. 8, 206–38.

²⁸ 'Letter to the Canons of S. Frediano in Lucca, dated Fiesole, August 24, 1542.' Text in McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 287–88.

that would shed more light on the Academy and the fate of those who taught there. We know of those who followed Vermigli northwards, especially his star pupil Girolamo Zanchi,²⁹ and the Capuchin Vicar-General Bernardino Ochino.³⁰ We know of that remarkable circle at Viterbo led by Reginald Pole, the new leader of the *spirituali*, a group that included Pietro Carnesecchi, Marcanontio Flaminio, and Vittoria Colonna.³¹ We need to learn more of other likeminded communities, of Nicodemites who endured in their underground fashion. We should also pay attention to the broader Lucchese story, its patrician will to reform, and its example of the struggle between moderate and radical movements in general. The neglected figure of Aonio Paleario belongs here too.³²

Thus the last act of his Italian career saw Vermigli fulfilling the promise of his early years in Padua, Spoleto, Naples, and throughout his Congregation's communities, as preacher and administrator. And it saw his crisis of conscience, leading to the illicit celebration of the Eucharist *Christiano ritu* in Pisa, before making his way with Ochino across the Alps to become colleague of Reformers known to him only through their writings and reputation. He was crossing his own Rubicon, never to return to his beloved homeland, spending the remaining twenty years of his life in three centres of Reform, Strasbourg, Oxford and Zurich. At last and in the last he found his true milieu, the *schola tigurina*.³³

²⁹ See the Introduction to Girolamo Zanchi, *De religione Christiana fides*, ed. Luca Baschera and Christian Moser (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1–13.

³⁰ Gigliola Fragnito, 'Gli "spirituali" e la fuga di Bernardino Ochino', in *Rivista Storica Italiana* 84 (1972), 777–811; Emidio Campi, 'Bernardino Ochino's Christology and "Mariology" in His Writings of the Italian Period (1538–1542)', in Bruce Gordon (ed.), *Protestant History and Identity*, vol. 1: *The Medieval Inheritance* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), 108–122.

³¹ Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy: Cardinal Pole and the Counterreformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972); Massimo Firpo, 'Valdesianismo ed evangelismo alle origini dell'Ecclesia Viterbiensis (1541)', in Id., *Tra alumbados e 'spirituali'*, 155–184.

³² Salvatore Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario (1503–1570) e la Riforma protestante in Toscana* (Turin: Claudiana, 1979); Adorni-Braccesi, *La repubblica di Lucca*, 186–200, 202–209.

³³ See *Schola Tigurina. Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*. Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 25. Mai bis 10. Juli 1999 in der Zentralbibliothek Zürich (Zurich: Pano Verlag, 1999); Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

CHAPTER TWO

STRASBOURG: VERMIGLI AND THE SENIOR SCHOOL

R. Gerald Hobbs

I

When Peter Martyr Vermigli received the invitation from Martin Bucer in mid-October 1542 to come to Strasbourg with a view to a teaching position in that city, he was gratified, but can hardly have imagined the role Strasbourg would play throughout the next fourteen years of his life.¹ His nearly eight years of teaching in the Senior School²—late 1542 until autumn 1547, and again from late 1553 until mid-summer 1556, with the six intervening years as Regius Professor at Oxford—represent a central period in his adult life. In Strasbourg he experienced the life of an evangelically reformed city on a daily basis both as a resident and increasingly as an accepted religious leader. There too he came into immediate relationship with Bucer, a tie he valued and maintained by correspondence during their respective exiles in England. In Strasbourg he met and married Catherine Dammartin, a former nun from Metz in Lorraine; she joined him eventually in Oxford, and was honoured

¹ Martyr reports this in his letter of 25 Dec 1542 to his fellow-evangelicals at Lucca. It is in fact not clear whether this was a direct letter to Martyr, or an invitation sent indirectly in response to Oswald Myconius' letter to Bucer concerning Martyr. Jean Rott does not include such a letter in his register: *Correspondance de Martin Bucer. Liste Alphabétique des Correspondants* (Strasbourg: Association des Publications de la Faculté Protestante de l'Université des sciences humaines de Strasbourg, 1977).

² It is customary in Strasbourg writings to refer to this institution, which will be a central part of this paper as the Haute-Ecole, French rendering of the older Hochschule. English 'High School' carries too many unhelpful connotations to be useful. Bucer himself referred to it as the 'ludus literarius': to Calvin, 28.10.42, CR 11, #430. Although directly analogous to the Genevan Academy, the Strasbourg school only received that official status from the emperor Maximilian II in 1566; prior to May 1567 the term is therefore anachronistic. Schindling in his study refers to the early period as Gymnasium (*Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichstadt. Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538–1621. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 77*, (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977), a term also fraught with potential misunderstanding for North American readers in particular. I have preferred therefore to use the term 'Senior School'.

upon her death in 1553 by a prominent, if temporarily disturbed burial in Christ Church Cathedral.³ Vermigli's acceptance of the English invitation was formally blessed by the Strasbourg city magistrates, a fact which probably facilitated his successful release from the hostile religious environment of Marian England, and enabled his return to his old post at the Strasbourg School. Most important of all, however, Vermigli arrived in 1542 with a reputation for learning as yet largely untried beyond the walls of his Augustinian priories. The five years of his first Strasbourg period enabled him to explore and develop his method within an already well-established context of evangelical biblical interpretation, such that he has since been regarded, through his published commentaries and the doctrinal compendium assembled from them, the *Loci Communes*, as a pillar of Reformed biblical exegesis and teaching. Within this volume, the task of this paper is to examine Vermigli's relationship to the Strasbourg school and to its exegetical tradition in particular.

The term 'Strasbourg School' has in fact an ambivalence which this paper will exploit in order to engage two dimensions of the Martyr-Strasbourg connection. I shall speak, first, of the context of Martyr's Strasbourg years in terms of the Senior School and his place in it. Here I acknowledge with appreciation the work of earlier researchers, building upon their studies and setting these more firmly within the Strasbourg context.⁴ Klaus Sturm's examination of Martyr's first Strasbourg period was primarily focused upon Martyr as theologian.⁵ Subsequent to Sturm's work, Anton Schindling has given us a study of the origins and functioning of the 'Gymnasium und Academy', the early pages of which are directly related to our work here.⁶ In 1988–9, celebrations of the 450th anniversary of the founding of what became the Strasbourg university gave rise to both a history of that school part of which today is called the Gymnase Jean Sturm, and a series of papers exploring different facets of the School, published in the *Bulletin de*

³ Simler reports the degradation of her remains during the Marian period, and their subsequent restoration to a place in the tomb of St. Frideswide, Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford: *LLS* 31–2; see McLelland, *Visible Words*, 15.

⁴ See the still useful Johannes Ficker, *Die Anfänge der akademischen Studien in Straßburg*. Rede gehalten am 1. Mai 1912 (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1912).

⁵ *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542–1547*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der reformierten Kirche 31, (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1971).

⁶ *Humanistische Hochschule*, see *supra* n. 2.

la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.⁷ Finally, an exhibition in autumn 2007 at the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire in Strasbourg honoured the 500th anniversary of the birth of Johannes Sturm, the School's first rector. Its catalogue includes a series of papers, and I shall draw upon these as well, to set the pædagogical and ecclesial context of Martyr's Strasbourg years.⁸

Secondly, I shall take a broader look at the exegetical context. In the years since Joseph McLelland's and Philip McNair's ground-breaking Martyr studies, we have learned a great deal about the evangelical approach to biblical studies, or to be more precise, about the varieties of approaches, within the common ground of Renaissance biblical humanism.⁹ I shall identify the history and salient characteristics of the so called Upper Rhine School, and through examination of his biblical commentary situate Martyr the exegete of Scripture within this context.

⁷ Ed. Pierre Schang & Georges Livet, *Histoire du Gymnase Jean Sturm*, Société Savante d'Alsace et des Régions de l'Est, 34 (Strasbourg: Oberlin, 1988); and *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français* 135 (1989), hereafter BSHPF.

⁸ Matthieu Arnold and Julien Collonges, *Jean Sturm. Quand l'humanisme fait école*, Studies & Exhibition catalogue, 10 October–1 December 2007 (Strasbourg: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 2007). Admittedly, there are probably still materials within the Strasbourg Archives to be exploited; an in-depth study for example of Martyr's own correspondence in relation to that of Bucer, Johannes Sturm, Bullinger, Calvin, Conrad Hubert, Sleidan, Zanchi and Wolfgang Musculus, as well as that of Johannes Marbach. To this can be added examinations of the acts of the Strasbourg scholars as well as of the Conventus of the pastors, and of the city Magistrate, although Sturm covered some of these materials. There is substance here yet for a determined doctoral student. On the other hand, the burning of the city's ancient library housed in the old Dominican church in the Franco-Prussian War seems to have removed permanently further manuscript traces of Martyr's courses, along with those of Bucer and others. Fortunately, Martyr kept carefully his own lecture notes; and these, in Zurich, complemented by student notes, were the basis of the posthumously published commentary.

⁹ Roussel, *Le temps des Réformes et la Bible*, (BiToTe 5 Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), chap. 6; Roussel & Hobbs, 'Strasbourg et "l'école rhénane" d'exégèse,' BSHPF 135 (1989) 36–53; Hobbs, 'Martin Bucer and the Upper Rhine School' in *Hebrew Bible Old Testament* II/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007), chap. 19/1. Thirty years ago, my study of the Psalms commentaries of Bucer in the context of his relationships to other evangelical exegetes, their published writings and their correspondence, led me to posit the unstructured but real existence of a scholarly *sodalitas* of upper Rhine reformers, in particular in the cities of Basel, Strasbourg and Zurich, to which can be added secondarily Berne and Isny. The brief attention I gave then to the commentaries of Peter Martyr suggested he probably should be understood in this context. My work along with that of Bernard Roussel and others, has since confirmed the usefulness of this concept of an Upper Rhineland School.

II

Vermigli's arrival in Strasbourg in late October 1542 brought an end for him to an emotionally difficult few weeks. The brief visit to Zurich had been cordial, establishing relationships and respect that would eventually bring him back as Conrad Pelikan's successor in 1556.¹⁰ Vermigli had no German, however, and there was no opening in the circle of scholars functioning as the *Prophezei* that he might fill. Basel likewise offered nothing suited to his talents and sense of mission, and it is clear from his Christmas letter back to Lucca that he had become profoundly discouraged, not least because his financial resources were under strain.¹¹ Bonifacius Amerbach helped with the latter;¹² while Myconius' recommendation to Bucer bore long-term fruit. The invitation to Strasbourg was doubly welcome. There is every reason to accept Simler's claim that Vermigli had known Bucer as biblical commentator since his days in Naples,¹³ and therefore he would have welcomed the opportunity of personal acquaintance.

In the event, Bucer hosted Martyr and companions in his home for two and one-half weeks, i.e. into November. To the evangelicals of Lucca Vermigli sang Bucer's praises. His home was a veritable 'hospice for those forced into pilgrimage for the sake of Christ and the Gospel'; the domestic arrangements were marked by sober godliness, with prayers and a word of exhortation from Scripture before and after the meal. Bucer himself was described as the very model of a 'true, holy bishop', working a longer day than his guests to tend to the varied and multiple tasks of his ministry: frequent sermons, the oversight of the churches, supervision of schools, counsels to the magistrates, appearances in law courts, as well as his studies and prayer life. The polemic of this text against the general run of pre-Tridentine Italian Catholic bishops is obvious; this said, it is apparent that Vermigli was pleased with his host and the evangelical piety being developed in Strasbourg. For his part—and this enables us to fix Vermigli's arrival in Strasbourg

¹⁰ On Pelikan, Hobbs, 'Conrad Pellikan and the Psalms: the ambivalent legacy of a pioneer Hebraist,' in *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 1 (1999), 72–99.

¹¹ *LLS* Letter 6, 96.

¹² Anderson (*Chronology*, 77 & n. 25) and Sturm (*Theologie Vermiglis*, 18, n. 40) quote a letter reporting this to Bullinger. Vermigli's own letter to Amerbach (8 Oct 1543) in a fine Italianate hand, is reproduced by Donnelly in *LLS* 64.

¹³ *LLS* 20.

before the 28th of October¹⁴—Bucer wrote to Calvin that if Strasbourg church life was in some ways tepid, the School was going well, and a new arrival looked promising: the former head of the Augustinian canons of Lucca, ‘he is quite learned in Greek, Hebrew and Latin and splendidly versed in Scripture, forty-four years of age, of sober morals and sharp judgement, Peter Martyr by name’.¹⁵

An appointment at the Senior School, at least on a trial basis, was an obvious decision. Since the death in 1541 of Strasbourg’s senior Hebraist, Wolfgang Capito, and the reluctant departure of John Calvin back to Geneva that same year, the theology lectures were seriously under-staffed. Paul Fagius, Capito’s brilliant student, had been called from Isny, where he nonetheless lingered, contentedly engaged in translation and publication of *Hebraica* in collaboration with his famed house-guest, Elias Levita.¹⁶ Discussion of Fagius’ reluctance to take up this post is a prominent feature of the Bucer-Blaurer correspondence in 1542–43. Meanwhile, if Bucer had the requisite ability and reputation for the Old Testament lectures, if he seems to have filled this role at times, he was needed in New Testament as well; and in any case the larger agenda of the cause of evangelical reform of the church was his major preoccupation. Within a few weeks of Vermigli’s arrival, Bucer headed downriver to Cologne, where he remained for months, seeking to advise and implement the intention of the elector-archbishop, Hermann von Wied, to reform the archdiocese.¹⁷ Accordingly, upon his recommendation, Vermigli was promptly given a one-year appointment as lecturer in Hebrew Bible at a salary he termed initially and perhaps unrealistically ‘a fair salary on which I could live comfortably’.¹⁸ If he under-estimated his cost of maintaining a household, this should not surprise; religious accustomed to having their material needs supplied by their house probably fell regularly into this error of judgement. One

¹⁴ Anderson (*Chronology*, 79) has Nov. 16, but gives no source.

¹⁵ CR 11, 456–7; also in Herminjard, A.-L. *Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française* (Genève-Paris: H. Georg, 1866–97) vol. 8, 169–70.

¹⁶ R. Raubenheimer, *Paul Fagius aus Rheinzabern*, (VVPfKG 6 Grünstadt: Emil Sommer, 1957).

¹⁷ That this is a regular topic in the Blaurer correspondence of winter-spring 1542–43 suggests the importance attached to this mission, as well as awareness of the threat to Bucer’s safety. On the abortive Cologne reformation attempt, see *Bucers Deutsche Schriften* vol. 11/1, and Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer* (Munich: Beck, 1990), chapter VI. 3.

¹⁸ LLS 98.

sees the same naiveté in Conrad Pelikan's anticipation of his appointment in Zurich in 1526.¹⁹

At the Senior School Martyr quickly found his place. Already in a letter of 1 December to Ambrose Blaurer, Bucer includes 'Peter Martyr, an excellent theologian', between Caspar Hedio and himself in his list of the School's leaders.²⁰ A review after the first year's appointment expressed the general satisfaction of the scholars and colleagues, by granting a longer appointment, and an increase in salary. Sturm has shown that Schmidt's claim that the scholars found Vermigli inappropriately arrogant in the classroom is incorrect; Schmidt apparently misread a June 1544 document whose reference was to another person.²¹ Vermigli considered Bucer his benefactor in these promotions, as in his election to a canonry in the St. Thomas chapter and the use of a chapter-owned residence.²² Although there is in Vermigli's style a certain humanist hyperbole, there is no reason to call into question either Bucer's benevolence or his own gratitude; witness the affection and concern for Bucer's well-being expressed in his later letters from England.²³ About this time Vermigli was also awarded Strasbourg citizenship.

What was the urban social and religious setting within which Vermigli would exercise his ministry? The city that had become Vermigli's new patria was entering its third decade as a centre of evangelical reformation.²⁴ The first evangelical preaching took place in Strasbourg by 1521 at the latest, and by 1523 Matthias Zell was openly espousing the cause from the great cathedral pulpit built a generation earlier for Geiler of Kaysersberg.²⁵ That same year, the humanist cleric Wolfgang Capito was cautiously staking his colours at St. Thomas, while Martin

¹⁹ *Das Chronikon des Konrad Pellikan*, ed. B. Riggensbach (Basel: Bahnmaier, 1877), 109–112.

²⁰ Schieß, *Briefwechsel*, 2, 164.

²¹ Sturm, *Vermigli's Theologie*, 23, n. 64.

²² Martyr to Bucer, 13 April 1544, # 9: 'I have you to thank for everything', quoted in Schmidt (*Leben*, 62).

²³ On his style, see e.g. his use of conceits around the Latin name of Strasbourg (Argentina), *Original Letters*, 2, 475; his deep concern for Bucer, *ibid.* 468–76, letters ## 18, 21 winter (1548–9), and his letter to Conrad Hubert on Bucer's death, #56 (8 March 1551), *ibid.* 490–2.

²⁴ See Thomas Brady, *Ruling Class, Regime and Reformation at Strasbourg 1520–1555*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

²⁵ On the church life and institutions of pre-evangelical Strasbourg, see the invaluable comprehensive study by Francis Rapp, *Réformes et Réformation à Strasbourg: Église et Société dans le Diocèse de Strasbourg (1450–1525)* (Paris: Ophrys, 1974).

Bucer, already a married ex-Dominican, was finding refuge and an eventual pulpit in the city. By 1524, following his example several clergy had married publicly, and the Sunday mass was being celebrated *evangelico more* in German, once weekly, with communion in both kinds, in a majority of the parish churches. The next year Strasbourg, having come successfully through the potential social threat from the nearby armies of the Peasants War, elected an evangelically minded majority in the city's councils, and these confirmed the religious direction espoused by Capito, Bucer and colleagues. Evangelical literature poured from the city's presses. The city's Assembly formally abolished all celebration of the Latin mass in February 1529, despite caution from the magistrates, and shortly thereafter stood with the 'protesting' party at the Diet of Speier.

That German evangelical unity was openly shattered at Marburg in late summer 1529, when the Strasbourg reformers (and their Swiss allies) failed to resolve the Eucharistic difference with the Wittenbergers, and were refused by Luther the right hand of fellowship. As a direct consequence, the following year, Strasbourg was not associated with the Lutheran party in the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to the emperor at the Diet, instead joining with three other upper Rhine cities (Constance, Lindau, Memmingen) in its own Tetrapolitana, written principally by Bucer. This discord of confessions on the eucharist would return to trouble Vermigli's second Strasbourg period.

With respect to the old order, this summary may give the impression of an uncontested evolution. There were in fact significant foyers of Catholic resistance, although the public field had been left largely clear after the acrimonious engagement of the Augustinian prior, Conrad Treger, with Bucer in 1524. On the institutional level, if the chapter of St. Thomas had proved itself relatively amenable to evangelical reform, the opposite was true for the two St. Peter's, as for the cathedral; the maintenance of a pro-Roman succession of canons there was well-known, would ultimately resurface in the period of the Augsburg Interim (1548 following), and be decisive for the religious future of Strasbourg after the city's surrender to Louis XIV in 1685. Some of the small religious houses also vigorously resisted the city's attempts to close them. Felt as a greater tragedy by the evangelical leaders were the personal decisions that strained and even ruptured friendships: while amongst the printers, only the venerable Grüninger remained loyal to the Roman church, several leading humanists like Beatus Rhenanus took the Erasmian path, breaking with old friends and allies like Bucer. In the immediate,

however, the greater religious challenge to the evangelical consensus of magisterial reform came from the radical, or dissenting, front; a steady flow of religious refugees into the city for periods of shorter or longer duration encouraged a significant native resistance to the official clergy and their policies. From the brief visit of Michael Sattler around Christmas 1526, a distinguished host including Hans Denck, Ludwig Haetzer, Pilgram Marpeck, Melchior Hoffmann, Sebastian Franck, Miguel Servetus, Caspar Schwenckfeld and others, sought to draw the city's active evangelicals into divers religious channels, all away from the state church Christendom model whose visible hallmark was the practice of infant baptism.²⁶ Bucer and Capito themselves were open to conversation, and for a time Capito in particular favoured adult baptism. Their association, for a time at least, with the opponents of Luther in favour of a spiritualized understanding of the eucharist also suggested a willingness to envisage further breaks with the catholic past. In the end, a variety of considerations, including the need for political allies on the German Protestant front, but also the tangible threat within the city of sectarianism with its manifest dangers for civic unity, brought Bucer in particular to espouse a process that, culminating in the Strasbourg civically sponsored Synods of 1533–4, enforced a public doctrinal consensus with concomitant uniformity of practice. Those clergy and laity known as dissenters and unwilling to conform publicly or at least maintain silence, were required to leave the city.²⁷

This stability was achieved at a cost of course. If radical agitation ceased for the most part to excite parishes, the clergy lamented, as we saw Bucer above, the settling into a religious torpor. For his part, however, Bucer was increasingly freed to be employed on the wider European front, both at the city's request and that of external territories themselves, as a religious counselor and diplomat. His sincere desire for evangelical unity and apparently indefatigable energy to that end, was a principal force in bringing about the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 on the eucharist, which saw Strasbourg accepted as an appropriate ally by the Lutheran states, while introducing formal acceptance of the Confessio

²⁶ The city's most remarkable radical was the market-gardener, Clemens Ziegler, on whom see R. Peter, 'Le maraîcher Clément Ziegler: l'homme et son œuvre', *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 34 (1954), 255–282.

²⁷ For greater detail on the intricacies of this story, see Miriam U. Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: a study in the process of change* (New Haven: Yale, 1967); and Marc Lienhard, *Un temps, une ville, une réforme: la Réformation à Strasbourg* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990).

Augustana within the city. Bucer was consulted by Hesse on a variety of matters, including the treatment of Anabaptists and toleration of the Jews. He advised city states like Ulm and Augsburg. Then in 1538 began his public involvement in talks between Protestant and Catholic churchmen, with a view to a possible consensus that might allow reunion of the German church. The peak although not the conclusion of this activity came with the Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541, where Bucer was pre-eminent among the Protestant interlocutors, as was Cardinal Contarini for the Catholic side. The tantalizing apparent consensus reached on justification did not prevent the failure of the talks on other subjects, including the eucharist. Contarini is said by Simler to have visited Vermigli in Lucca on his return to Italy, while Bucer pursued attempts at dialogue, and was drawn directly as a result of this engagement, into the attempt by the archbishop to reform the Cologne archdiocese. On the imperial front, this last was certainly a contributing factor to the gathering war clouds, since a Protestant elector of Cologne would have tipped the seven-man imperial electoral college to the Protestant side, something the Hapsburgs could never have tolerated. Probably the most durable consequence of this activity was the reinforcing of Bucer's image in England as a useful architect of a *via media* in a church retaining episcopacy and much of traditional liturgical forms.²⁸

Luther's 1524 summons to the city magistrates of Germany to establish schools fell in Strasbourg upon ground long-prepared and fertile.²⁹ The city had in fact a strong tradition from the last quarter of the fifteenth century of reform Catholicism driven by a conservative humanism, an association whose greatest names included Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg, cathedral preacher from 1478, Jakob Wimpheling (1450–1528), founder of the Strasbourg *sodalitas litteraria*, and Sebastian Brant (1458–1521), author of the famed *Ship of Fools* (1494) and from 1503 Latin Secretary of the city government. All three were friends of the younger Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) and acquaintances,

²⁸ Bucer had been in contact with England already around the Henry VIII divorce question; in 1536 he dedicated his Romans commentary to Archbishop Cranmer, and his Gospels third edition to Bishop Fox. See the 23 Oct 1538 letter to Cranmer in *Original Letters*, 520f. For Bucer's extraordinary role throughout these years see the relevant chapters in Greschat, *Martin Bucer*.

²⁹ *An die Rathherren aller Städte deutsches Lands, daß sie christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen* 1524, WA 15, 9–53; LW 45, 347–87.

even close friends of Erasmus.³⁰ Wimpfeling and Beatus lived into the new evangelical era. Despite the close ties of the former with the patrician magistrate Jacob Sturm and the latter with Bucer, they chose like Erasmus to remain with the old church. Unlike neighboring Basel, Freiburg and Heidelberg, Strasbourg had as yet no university; more surprising given the quality and reputation of these humanists, there was no humanist Latin school of the calibre of that in nearby Sélestat (Schlettstadt), where Bucer had studied and formed his friendship with Beatus. In 1524–5 the evangelical reformers urged in memoranda as in person that the magistrates found and fund a school system worthy of the city, using revenues sequestered from the religious houses. Finally in 1528, a school commission composed of three scholars from the councils was established, and in addition to German-language elementary schools for boys and girls, two Latin schools were put in place, with a third added in 1533.

These schools were intended to bring a humanist orientation to the formation of evangelical youth. The teaching of biblical languages was so central to the reformers' educational preoccupations, that some outsiders construed this to be a rejection of Latin, and the impression had to be corrected in letters to both Luther and Beatus. His reverence for Hebrew, the *lingua sacra*, was so great that Bucer could allow himself in 1529 the naïve hope that one day it would be spoken in every Christian city, in super-fulfilment of an Isaiah prophecy!³¹ But alongside the formation of a new generation, Bucer and Capito located themselves already in 1523 in a context which was a direct antecedent of the role into which Vermigli would step in 1542: public lectures on Scripture. Delivered both in German and in Latin, they occurred in space provided within the Cathedral precincts by Matthias Zell, priest of the St. Lawrence cathedral parish, then, as the crowd exceeded the space, in various ecclesiastical venues: at the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and eventually located more permanently at St. Thomas parish church, where the chapter would enjoy a deserved reputation for scholarship.

By 1526 Strasbourg printers were transforming lecture notes into print commentaries. Both Capito and Bucer report in early prefaces something of the form and programme. Biblical books were treated

³⁰ On Wimpfeling and this circle, see Lewis Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1963), chap. 3.

³¹ See Hobbs, *HBOT* II/1, 462–3.

seriatim. In the initial phase, Capito, a recognized Hebraist with a published Hebrew grammar to his credit, worked his way through Habakkuk, Malachi, Hosea, then Genesis and Jonah; Habakkuk subsequently appeared both in German and in Latin, as did a Latin Hosea (1526–28). Bucer, with growing competence in Hebrew, apparently lectured on the Psalms in German, but gave his principal effort to the Synoptics, John and Ephesians, before returning to the First Testament with Zephaniah and a magisterial Psalms (1526–32), which issued under a pseudonym circulated widely in Europe and, as we have noted above, was read by Vermigli in Naples.³² In the flush of early enthusiasm for evangelical teaching, the audience was certainly drawn from the general public. By the late 1520's Bucer and colleagues were envisaging the needs of a clerical audience in particular, whose formation as evangelical preachers could be met by attendance at these studies, in place of the singing of the daily office.³³

The details of this public Bible study *cum* lectures belong elsewhere. What must not go unnamed is the close parallel with that extraordinary Zurich institution, the *Prophezei*.³⁴ Undergirding this remarkable activity was Zwingli's reading of the fourteenth chapter of First Corinthians, *let the prophets speak, and let the others weigh carefully what is said* [I Cor 14: 29].³⁵ The *Prophezei*, would have a profound influence throughout the Reformed world. In the case of Strasbourg, our interest here, it acted in two ways. First, for the memoranda that Bucer and company addressed to the city's magistrates, it furnished a direct and honourable example which they did not fail to cite. 'Look at what has been instituted in Zurich!'³⁶ In the immediate term, they were looking for the Magistrate's support for the transformation of the obligations of the traditional canonical daily offices into a once-daily session that would at least formally be required of all city clergy. Once the celebration of the Latin mass had been formally forbidden throughout the territories of the city-state, it was undoubtedly also fervently hoped that village clergy would attend as a means of learning the new evangelical faith, and gathering matter for their weekly preaching obligation. Given the

³² Hobbs, *HBOT* II/1, 466f.

³³ For more detail, see Hobbs, *HBOT* II/1 455–7.

³⁴ See Ph. Denis, 'La prophétie dans les Églises de la Réforme au XVI^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 72 (1977), 289–316.

³⁵ Zwingli, *Handlung des Versammlung in Zurich 1523*, CR 87, ZW 1, 495–99. Interestingly, the editors overlooked the invocation of 1 Cor. 14.

³⁶ Bucer, *Deutsche Schriften*, Bd. 2, 466–7; 519–23.

exigencies of village life and the complications of travel even of short distances, this may have been for many more of a pious hope, or at least only infrequently observed! But the second impact was to reinforce their own evangelical hermeneutic and ideology of Scripture in community. We see this most explicitly present in the frequent invocations of these Spirit gifts, in the speaker *cum* writer, but also in the audience *cum* readership. In a preface dedicated to the Strasbourg magistrate, Jacob Sturm, Capito set such spiritual discernment as sufficient remedy for the oft-cited dangers of arrogant individualism. For his part, Bucer regularly concluded his commentaries with an appeal to the discernment of his readers, and an invitation for them to amend his interpretations if and when this need was revealed by the Spirit. He should be judged by his fidelity to Scripture and to the *analogia fidei*, the rule of faith, and whatever in his interpretations that 'conflicts with the Word of God, with the decrees of the holy Church of God, and with the opinions of the orthodox Fathers' he begs his readers to correct! It is in this spirit that we must understand the development of theological teaching in the Senior School.³⁷

The catalysis that combined these three forces—a civic pride and sense of national destiny, a passion for a humanistic-directed education of youth, an evangelical determination to open the Scriptures to the understanding and discernment of the community—was the arrival in Strasbourg in January 1537 of Johannes, (or in modern Strasbourg, Jean) Sturm (1509–89), one of the most brilliant pedagogues of the age.³⁸ The timing of his coming was fortunate. Bucer had concluded arrangements in 1534 with Ambrose Blaurer of Constance, including funding from patricians in Isny (in south Swabia), and had taken a substantial step forward towards an institution in Strasbourg that could train evangelical clergy, the *collegium prædicatorum*. For the Strasbourg clergy, only Marburg and Wittenberg offered such university training (although Tübingen would also become an evangelical university), and given the particular character of the south German evangelical movement, a seminary more attuned to their character and teaching was wanted.

³⁷ Capito, *In Habakkuk prophetam... enarrationes* (Strasbourg: Wolfgang Köpfel, 1526), fol. 3r.; Bucer, *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem versi et familiari explanatione elucidati* (Strasbourg: George Ulrich Andlano, 1529), Sig. 4 rv.

³⁸ On Sturm, see most recently Lewis Spitz & Barbara Sher Tinsley, *Johann Sturm on Education: The Reformation and Humanist Learning* (St Louis: Concordia, 1995), a volume that usefully contains new translations of Sturm's writings; and the 500th anniversary exhibition catalogue cited *supra* n. 8.

They were proud that they already had 'as many students as Zurich and more than Basel'.³⁹ So when Sturm arrived in Strasbourg, he found, in addition to the three Latin schools, a seminary programme functioning in the old Dominican cloisters (the present-day Temple Neuf-Gymnase Jean Sturm area). This would have involved the teaching of the biblical languages, in addition to the on-going programme of biblical lectures, tended by Bucer, Capito and Caspar Hedio. In January 1538 the scholars determined finally to centralize all the educational programme in one school, and for this school Jean Sturm wrote his *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis* ('On the right way to open schools of letters'), a systematic and detailed outline that would be adopted as design of the Senior School.⁴⁰ The heart of Sturm's vision was an evangelical humanism: 'nothing in the nature of the universe cultivates morality as does the study of letters'; and 'a wise and eloquent piety is the goal of studies'.⁴¹ The presence of the qualifier *eloquens* is key. No knowledge is finally useful that cannot be well expressed in speech. From the very earliest (the ninth) until the final grade, where theology, law and medicine were taught in what were called the *publicae lectiones*, the Ciceronian art of skilled communication was taught and rewarded.

The pattern of the lower grades (each of which could extend beyond one year) does not concern us here. The prescriptions for the teaching of theology we may expect to be a formal codification of what was already under way. Greek was taught from the fifth grade; Hebrew was added in the final two grades. The evangelical pastor was to incarnate the humanist ideal of *homo trilinguis*. Thus, when the student came to the formal teaching of theology (as distinct from the catechism and religious exercises that accompanied the student throughout) the teacher could assume some degree of familiarity with the biblical languages. The subject matter was clearly specified as selected books of Scripture. Sturm was formal. One cannot teach everything of value in the classroom, much that is good would have to be learned in private

³⁹ Texts in Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, 34–5.

⁴⁰ On the founding and organization of the Senior School, see in addition to Schindling supra n. 7, his major section in the *Histoire du Gymnase Jean Sturm*, 17–154, and Werner Westphal, 'L'organisation de la Haute École en 1538', *BSHPF* 135 (1989), 20–28.

⁴¹ Sturm in Spitz & Sher Tinsley, *Sturm on Education*, 74; and 85; in Sturm, *De recte aperiendis*, fol. 12r. (p. 49 in facsimile): 'Praepositum a nobis est, sapientem atque eloquentem pietatem finem est studiorum', a sentence rightly taken as the heart of Sturm's pedagogy: Spitz & Sher Tinsley, *Sturm on Education*, 69.

study. 'In sacred letters, anything explained beyond the Gospels and the apostolic epistles, and the books of Moses and the prophets, is more or less wholly inappropriate'.⁴² Three authors are named: Basil, Chrysostom, and 'their equal Gregory'—probably as exemplary rather than an exhaustive list, given the absence of Augustine—as home reading for the theological student. Schindling has commented on the Erasmian character of this vision, and contrasted it notably with that practiced by Melancthon in Wittenberg, where a collection of *loci communes* on principal articles of salvation was taught alongside Scripture, the forerunner, he observes, of developed Protestant systematic theology.⁴³ On the other hand, the theological student was expected to add to his general culture specific acquaintance with law and medicine, by attending the final year lectures in these disciplines as well. It would be important to add Westphal's qualification that this prescribed ideal will have varied in actual practice year by year, but that the essential unity that was Sturm's goal was maintained by the force and character of the rector himself.⁴⁴

The initial professors of theology were Capito, Hedio and Bucer. Just when the School was ready to be united in its new facilities at the re-furbished Dominican house, Calvin, summoned from Basel by Bucer to pastor the French refugee congregation, joined the team in February 1539, to lecture in New Testament. We have only fragmentary knowledge of the sequence and content of the biblical lectures; gleanings from anecdotal comments in correspondence, as well as the occasional reports Ficker found in the Strasbourg archives, from the scholars in particular.⁴⁵ Calvin is known to have lectured on John and on Romans, and the latter appeared shortly thereafter as a published commentary (Strasbourg 1540). He was also reported to have lectured on other Pauline epistles, including Philippians.⁴⁶ Bucer is reported to have earlier (1538–9) lectured on Leviticus, and in 1547 on both Isaiah and the Acts of the Apostles; other lecture manuscripts of uncertain date perished in the 1870 burning of the old Strasbourg library. The one undated lecture

⁴² Spitz & Sher Tinsley mishandle this passage completely. *Sturm on Education*, 106.

⁴³ Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, 342.

⁴⁴ Westphal, 'L'organisation de la Haute École', 20, 27.

⁴⁵ Ficker, *Die Anfänge* (supra n. 4), with extensive invaluable notes, 24–52.

⁴⁶ Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, 41; Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule*, 350; Westphal, 'L'organisation', 27.

manuscript that did survive is an incomplete treatment of Judges; it was published posthumously in Geneva by Robert Estienne.⁴⁷

III

Into this setting Vermigli moved contentedly in November 1542. He was appointed, he reported to Lucca, to relieve Bucer of the Old Testament lectures, which the latter had been tending since the death of Capito the year before. The environment of the Latin School was friendly: 'I cannot indeed explain in words how welcome and beloved I am by all, and how satisfied the whole school is with me!' That many if not all of his listeners had Hebrew meant he could work from the original text. He valued the opportunity to listen to the great Bucer preach and occasionally lecture.⁴⁸ It should be added that this is a letter written in the first full bloom of enthusiasm, and before Bucer departed for some months to the lower Rhineland.

'I am now explaining those called the minor prophets, being about to put the last touches to Amos.'⁴⁹ What determined the subject of the first lecture series is not known. If Vermigli stepped into Bucer's shoes, he may have assumed a Bucer project; we simply do not know enough detail to affirm this. From 1545 there exists a school statute prescribing the biblical curriculum: Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Kings (which would probably include Samuel, as the Latin Bible placed these four books together under that title), Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve (minor prophets), and the Psalms in the Hebrew Scriptures, Matthew, John, Acts and the Epistles, in the New Testament. Schindling considers this curriculum to bear the mark of Bucer.⁵⁰ Certain absentees may be noted. Leviticus is not there, although Vermigli and Fagius both taught that book, and Fagius continued in 1548 with Numbers.⁵¹ Neither is apocalyptic Daniel, nor the wisdom books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes,

⁴⁷ Schindling, *Hochschule*, 343 n. 7; Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, 25. Vermigli also refers to what Bucer said in the Acts lectures on the eucharist: Simler's *Life*, LLS 41. The *In librum Iudicum* is posthumous (1554); Schindling (342) incorrectly assumes a Bucer role in this.

⁴⁸ 25 Dec 1542, LLS 98.

⁴⁹ LLS 98.

⁵⁰ Schindling, *Hochschule*, 343 & n. 8.

⁵¹ On Vermigli see *infra*; on Fagius, Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, (26) reports MS notes in other libraries.

all three beloved of Melanchthon! To judge from Fagius' later work, the list was probably understood as suggestive, rather than prescriptive.

In the event, Vermigli began with the Minor Prophets. Josias Simler, whose 1563 biography is still considered reliable by its most recent editors,⁵² reported five lecture series in the first Strasbourg period.⁵³ The first two lecture series were the Minor Prophets, and then Lamentations. The chronological sequence of his lectures in Strasbourg has been the source of considerable confusion, thanks to Simler who instead had Vermigli begin with Lamentations. The confusion was probably complicated by the largely posthumous publication history. Now Vermigli's letter to the evangelical community in Lucca, of December 25th, 1543, reports that he was already at work as lecturer, and that (after perhaps six weeks on the job) he was nearing the end of the first of the Twelve, Amos.⁵⁴ This, taken with Martyr's explicit statement in his Lamentations preface referring to the antecedence of the Twelve Prophets—'... my interpretation of Lamentations [will] make absolutely plain the words of the prophet. This is the way in which I carried on my exposition of the Minor Prophets'—should, we may hope, definitively lay the matter to rest.⁵⁵ The manuscript of the Prophets lectures was apparently still in existence in 1629 in Johann Wilhelm Stucki's library; his nephew Johann Rudolph reported it was of varying character, with some sections only partially exegeted. Sturm, however, could find no trace of the manuscript.⁵⁶ On the other hand, Stucki did see through press the second manuscript from his uncle's collection, the lectures on Lamentations. The work of Dan Shute on this commentary has done much to elucidate Vermigli's early exegetical style, underlining his rank as a

⁵² Duffield in *The Life, Early letters, and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr* (Oxford: Sutton Courtney Press, 1989), 18; Donnelly in *LLS* 2.

⁵³ *LLS* 28.

⁵⁴ *Supra* n. 46.

⁵⁵ Simler has the Lamentations lectures first; and Vermigli scholars have tended simply to follow him. But this is certainly a lapsus, as the Martyr statements quoted here are definitive; *CLJ* 8. Schindling repeats the Simler order: *Humanistische Hochschule*, 352, *Histoire du Gymnase*, 120, as do on occasion the Vermigli editors. This discrepancy was noted and corrected by Sturm (20 n. 54); so too *CLJ* xlvii, & 8, n. 23). Unfortunately Anderson confuses the *Lamentations* with a Jeremiah commentary (*Chronology*, 79; this error is implicitly corrected subsequently, 294, 300); he was followed by Roussel ('École Rhénane', 38). Schmidt has the first three books of the Pentateuch first (*Leben*, 57–8); and the editors of the *Bibliography* perpetuate the confusion by naming Genesis as 'Martyr's earliest Scripture commentary' (92).

⁵⁶ Sturm, 30–31, citing Stucki's prefatory letter to Vermigli's *Lamentations*.

first-class Hebraist.⁵⁷ To this matter, his role as exegete, we shall return in the last section of this chapter.

Vermigli then began a systematic interpretation of the first three books of the Pentateuch; he was apparently at work on Leviticus when he left Strasbourg for Oxford in late November 1547. The Genesis lectures were pulled together and published by Simler from a defective manuscript in 1569, the last eight chapters of Genesis lacking in the manuscript. Sturm is surely correct when he argues that it is unlikely Vermigli would have begun Exodus with Genesis incomplete; if so, we have to do with a manuscript whose last leaves were apparently lost. Simler's first edition printed only from that manuscript, out of respect for Vermigli's integrity. The second edition saw the missing portion provided by Ludwig Lavater. Now given that Lavater was a student in Strasbourg in those years, it is possible that Lavater furnished the materials out of his own student notes of the Vermigli lectures. Of Vermigli's exegetical work on Exodus and Leviticus, no publication resulted, although Simler did find a partial Exodus manuscript. Conrad Hubert knew a copy of the Leviticus lectures.⁵⁸

In this respect, Vermigli was quite uncharacteristic of his Upper Rhine colleagues. Since Oecolampadius committed his Isaiah lectures to print in 1525, it was the custom of these interpreters to polish up expeditiously and publish most, if not all of their work as commentaries that would promote a style of biblical interpretation, and encourage a *seriatim* pattern of preaching that would further the cause of evangelical reform of the church. The accomplishment of these goals seemed amply to justify haste, and a certain roughness to the editing. Indeed, Pelikan and Melancthon were among those who complained that when they withheld lectures from print because of their unpolished state, defective student notes were hurried onto the market by printers.⁵⁹ Bernard Roussel has illustrated this sequence of published commentaries.⁶⁰ It was clearly the expectation that Martyr would carry forward the mission,

⁵⁷ *CLJ*.

⁵⁸ Rüetschi, 'Gwalther, Wolff und Simmler als Herausgeber', in E. Campi, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), esp. 258–62.

⁵⁹ Hobbs, 'Conrad Pelikan and the Psalms', *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 1(1999) 86–7; *HBOT* II/1, 492.

⁶⁰ B. Roussel, 'De Strasbourg à Bâle et Zurich: une <école rhénane> d'exégèse (ca. 1525–ca. 1540)', *RHPH* 68 (1988), 19–39; idem & G. Bedouelle, *Le temps des Réformes et la Bible*, (BiToTe 5 Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 27–233.

particularly since several of his lecture series opened up new terrain that had hitherto not been published by the Upper Rhine school. So Martin Frecht reported to Ambrose Blaurer the rumour that, even as Calvin was setting out to publish the Pauline letters, Martyr would issue his own commentary on the Twelve, or Minor Prophets.⁶¹ Blaurer in turn requested Conrad Hubert for a copy of any Martyr publications; two years later, Hubert commented to him that unfortunately Martyr had what he termed 'the Italian habit' of holding back for years work from the presses.⁶² To Bullinger's request in 1551 that he add to his publications, Vermigli replied that while he would work to prepare his Romans for print, 'as to those other commentaries of mine which you enquire after, I do not see how they can possibly be published in so short a time: for what I have written upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and the Minor Prophets are brief and hasty annotations: so that there needs leisure for revising and copying over again, what I at first wrote out for my own sole use, and not for that of others'.⁶³

This passion for precision remained his practice, for his Old Testament work at least, until the very end of his career. The Strasbourg lectures on Judges were published by Froschauer in Zurich in 1561, with a dedicatory letter by Martyr to the Strasbourg scholars. It is in this final period of his life that he apparently was given the leisure to revise for publication. Simler regretted that although the various lecture series would be published posthumously, 'who will so edit the commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the Minor Prophets and the Lamentations of Jeremiah so they will have that worthiness and splendour they would have had if he himself had emended, revised and edited them?'⁶⁴ All Vermigli's remaining contribution to the Upper Rhine evangelical library (if we may call it that) was posthumous, the editing of his written lectures by associates, assisted probably by his Italian life companion in the exile, Julius Santerenziano,⁶⁵ beginning with Samuel and the Psalms Prayers (1564), the incomplete Kings lectures (1566), Genesis (1569) and finally two generations later, the Lamentations (1629). Indications from these editors suggest that the state of

⁶¹ 23/9/43, in Schieß, *Briefwechsel*, 2, 204–5.

⁶² Schieß, *Briefwechsel*, 2, 239 (17/3/44), 685 (6/2/46).

⁶³ *Original Letters*, 2, 499; letter # 66.

⁶⁴ *Life*, LLS 58.

⁶⁵ On whom, Paul Boesch, 'Julius Terentianus, factotum des Petrus Martyr Vermilius und Korrektor der Offizin Froschauer', *Zwingliana* 8 (1948), 587–601.

Vermigli's notes was complicated: jottings on small leaves, incomplete fragments, some in his own hand, some obviously dictated by him.

Johannes Sturm required of his teachers that 'they should surpass other mortals in learning and in godliness'.⁶⁶ Vermigli's style will also have endeared him to Johannes Sturm, as it pleased his students. Ludwig Lavater of the Zurich family, wrote to Bullinger that he lectured 'with marvelous erudition and a clear structure'.⁶⁷ His fellow student, Simler, would later write a highly appreciative assessment of Vermigli's teaching, stressing the qualities that made him the equal of Bucer himself for erudition and skill in the penetrating interpretation of Scripture. His particular merit was precision of method combined with simplicity of style, and in these, so Simler, he exceeded Bucer who was famed for allowing himself long, if learned digressions in a style he himself admitted to be difficult, and which left many of his hearers lost on the journey. Vermigli outlined his structure and never departed from it, and said all in his elegant Italian humanist Latin.⁶⁸ In his pedagogical treatise, Sturm had also required exercises in debating and oratory. The former were to be carried out twice-monthly, using *topica* that were not specious or frivolous, and the moderator should appraise justly, not sarcastically, all in a spirit combining enthusiasm and reverence.⁶⁹ Into this context we should place the collection of student debate themes which were incorporated from a now unknown source, into the Basel editions of Vermigli in the 1580's, whence they passed into later editions of the *Loci*. They purport to be derived from his Pentateuch lectures. They were dated in the Basel editions 1543–9; these dates are to be taken *cum grano salis*, as he left Strasbourg late in 1547, and is unlikely to have been into Genesis in his first year in Strasbourg. In Sturm's judgement, they give little indication of his maturing theology, but are rather a potpourri of ethical, political, historical, religious themes that might be suggested from the biblical texts themselves.⁷⁰ Simler praises

⁶⁶ Sturm, *De literarum ludis*, fol. 4r. 'Verum quod in pueriles animos insitum volumus, id etiam in horum magistris oportet illuminatum esse, ut doctrina et pietati [!] caeteris hominibus antecellant.'

⁶⁷ 2 January 1546, quoted in Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, 41.

⁶⁸ Simler, *Life*, LLS 28–30.

⁶⁹ Sturm, *De literarum ludis*, fol. [32]r.–33v., Spitz & Sher Tinsley, *Sturm on Education*, 114–116.

⁷⁰ Sturm, *Die Theologie*, 23, 36, 272. Translated and edited by McLelland in *EW* 81–158.

Vermigli for the moderation of his judgement and tone in presiding over these debates, as in those in which he engaged on his own.⁷¹

Martyr seems to have been a very private person. At this point in his life, he wrote few letters; as Sturm has pointed out, he had few personal acquaintances beyond Bullinger outside the circle of the Senior School, and he must have written only with great caution and infrequently back to Italy, where the Inquisition would have used any letter from him as *prima facie* evidence of heresy.⁷² We know little about his life in Strasbourg, apart from his having married, and finding that his living arrangements were well supplied and his life free of burdens. He was fortunate in having Italian company at the Senior School to share his mother tongue; in addition to Santerenziano, his lifelong companion in exile, another companion of the flight from Lucca, Paolo Lacizi was employed to teach Greek. Later Immanuel Tremellius, a converted Jew from his Lucca circle, was also engaged as one of the Hebrew professors; he would follow Vermigli to Oxford. He seems genuinely to have been attached to Bucer; behind the characteristically humanist extravagance of expression of his correspondence from Oxford, one senses his fear for the safety of his mentor and one of his few friends.⁷³ One reads the letter of consolation to Bucer's widow two years later with a similar understanding.⁷⁴

The 1547 invitation to come to England as theological adviser to Archbishop Cranmer and Protector Somerset, made at King Edward's request, was submitted to the Strasbourg authorities, and Vermigli was granted leave to accept the anticipated position.⁷⁵ As a refugee from the Roman Inquisition Martyr may have been encouraged to accept this offer, in the light of the increasingly precarious state of German Protestantism (so MacCulloch); although MacNair has argued that this might not yet have been so evident in fall 1547, that Vermigli, a lifetime *peregrinus*, was more likely drawn by a sense of new possibilities.⁷⁶

⁷¹ LLS 29–30.

⁷² Sturm, *Die Theologie*, 22–23.

⁷³ *Original Letters*, 470–3, 474–5, Bibl. Corr. ## 18, 21. See e.g. in the second letter, his wordplay with the name of Argentina (Strasbourg), as moving from 'Aurentina' to 'Ferrentina'. In this same letter, he notes how untroubled was his Strasbourg life.

⁷⁴ LLS 115–120, Letter # 59.

⁷⁵ Vermigli to the Strasbourg Scholarchs, 22 December 1560: 'Ye, when I was called into England, decreed that I should go thither....'

⁷⁶ McNair, 'Peter Martyr in England', 88–90. MacCulloch, 'Peter Martyr and Thomas Cranmer', 174–5.

But the Regius professorship in Oxford became untenable in 1553, with the accession of Mary Tudor to the throne, and the concomitant return to England of her *éminence grise*, Vermigli's old associate but no longer ally, Cardinal Reginald Pole. Sensing rightly that his life would be endangered were he to linger in England, Vermigli was able to use the official character of his position in England as a lever to obtain permission to return to Strasbourg.⁷⁷ There he resumed his old position at the Senior School.

The transition was less smooth than he might have hoped, although he cannot have been unaware of the evolution of the Strasbourg religious scene, given that he was in regular correspondence in the last Oxford years with Conrad Hubert as well as with Bullinger.⁷⁸ Similarly he should have sensed that his increasingly clear alignment in the English years with Zurich, at the expense of the older Bucerian position, would make him less attractive as a Strasbourg theologian. And in fact, the doctrine of the eucharist was an immediate issue. Already in 1545–7, during his first Strasbourg term, there had been problems with Zurich over the non-participation of three Swiss students at the Senior School in the customary Easter communion service for all the School. At that time Vermigli had signed the Strasbourg clergy letter to Zurich, that sought unsuccessfully to resolve this situation.⁷⁹ We can probably see traces of regret over that dissension in at least one of his class-room prayers based on Psalm 133 ('How good and how pleasant when brethren dwell together in unity').⁸⁰ Now in 1553–5 the difficulty lay in the passage of church leadership in Strasbourg to a second generation, led by Johannes Marbach (with a Wittenberg doctorate in theology), and a political leadership unwilling to jeopardize the city's security in the uneasy period of the Augsburg Interim by breaking with Lutheran allies. Accordingly the question of Martyr's orthodoxy on

⁷⁷ Simler makes this the reason for Martyr's escape, and MacCulloch concurs, 'Peter Martyr and Thomas Cranmer', 196–7.

⁷⁸ The first Hubert letter comes 8 March 1551, and recognizes that Martyr is initiating the correspondence, now that Bucer is dead, and he needs a Strasbourg correspondent: *Original Letters*, 2, 490–2. See Anderson's *Register Epistolarum*.

⁷⁹ Sturm, *Die Theologie*, 28–30, reposing on the study by Schmidt, *Vermigli: Leben und Schriften*, 69–70.

⁸⁰ 'Since... you have adopted all of us as your sons through faith in Jesus Christ, it would have been fitting for us to live truly as brothers and not as strangers. There is nothing more desirable or delightful for the devout than getting along harmoniously in the house of God. We therefore suffer no small pain when this fraternal unity... is being everywhere torn apart and violated' *SP* 145.

the eucharist was immediately posed in terms of full adherence to the Augsburg Confession.

The details of the conflict belong elsewhere. Vermigli protested to the scholars, in a formal summary (27 Dec 1553) of his statement at his hearing, that he fully embraced the Augsburg Confession, 'if rightly and profitably understood', although not the [Wittenberg] Concord (between Bucer and Luther) of 1536, to the extent that this last stated that those without faith nonetheless received the body of Christ. He argued that his view concurred with that of Bucer himself, in his lecturing in the Senior School in Vermigli's presence. This was at the least disingenuous, since Vermigli was disinclined to support the position of Bucer, that ambiguous formulas should be sought and employed for the sake of unity.⁸¹ He promised, however, to avoid public disputation on such questions in his teaching.⁸² McLelland is certainly right that the conflict over Vermigli's readmission had elements of a church-school struggle; in the latter Vermigli had above all the firm support of Johannes Sturm, although there were still Bucerians like Hubert and Johannes Sleidan influential in the city churches as well. How Jacob Sturm would have reacted we shall never know, since the venerable magistrate and scholar died the day of Vermigli's return to Strasbourg. He might have been less helpful than Vermigli anticipated; he had certainly agreed to the exile of Bucer, his longterm ally, in 1549 as price for saving the regime and the city.

In his new inaugural address to the School, Vermigli insisted that his heart had never left Strasbourg. He thanked his allies in Government, School and Church for their firm support in his reinstatement.⁸³ His discourse was directed to the appropriate manner of teaching theology. In the event, the reconstituted theological faculty now consisted of himself, Girolamo Zanchi and Marbach. The latter never ceased to consider Vermigli, rightly, as profoundly differing from him on the eucharist, and undoubtedly to desire his replacement, but they remained on polite terms with one another, as Vermigli appreciated.⁸⁴ In the event, both Vermigli and Zanchi taught the Old Testament. The latter lectured on

⁸¹ So at least Simler, in his biography: *LLS* 30–1.

⁸² The document translated in Duffield and McLelland, *Peter Martyr*, 319–20, and 325 n. 2.

⁸³ *LLS* 309–311.

⁸⁴ See Letter # 113, to Calvin, 8 March 1555, *CR* 43, *CO* 15, 492–3; transl. in Duffield and McLelland, *Peter Martyr*, 344.

Isaiah, and later on Hosea;⁸⁵ Vermigli turned his attention to the book of Judges. This study, we recall, was mandated in the 1545 curriculum.⁸⁶ A fragmentary set of lectures by Bucer (published in Geneva in 1554) attests that it had been taught at least once before (although the dating of these is difficult), but there was a gap in the evangelical library of published commentaries. In our day, the interest of this series of tales of pre-monarchic ancient Israel for the evangelical city state may be less than evident. Thomas Brady, biographer of Jacob Sturm, and student of Strasbourg's political elites, believes that understanding these expositions of Judges—where a people is governed by a series of strong magistrates, raised up opportunely by the divine Spirit, and without whom they fall into social chaos—is critical to reading the theological convictions that fed the civic ideology. These lectures, spurred perhaps by his New Testament publications, Vermigli subsequently took the time, once in Zurich, to revise and publish as his Judges commentary.⁸⁷ He dedicated it to the Strasbourg scholarchs.

The teaching of Aristotle was also mandated in the Sturm plan for students, particularly in the upper years. In the absence of a professor of philosophy in the Senior School in these years, beyond the biblical lectures, Vermigli, along with Zanchi, was assigned lectures on Aristotle. In fact, McLelland points out that he was following a custom already established by Bucer. Given his Paduan doctorate in philosophy, far from being onerous, this permitted him to pursue both 'his two loves, Scripture and philosophy', as well probably as supplementing his income. During these years, he proceeded through the *Nicomachean Ethics* up to the beginning of book three, working from the Greek text as well as his own Erasmian edition of Aristotle, and drawing heavily upon his own copy of the Aldine edition of the Byzantine commentator Eustratius of Nicaea.⁸⁸ As his most recent editor has observed, this pairing of philosophical ethics with the moral dilemmas in his parallel lectures on the book of Judges, was a felicitous arrangement.⁸⁹ Now Vermigli had great respect for Aristotle, who furnished his philosophical base. But in his Introduction to the lectures, as well as in his practice,

⁸⁵ Burchill, Christopher, 'Le dernier théologien réformé: Girolamo Zanchi', *BSHPF* 135 (1989), 54, 59–60.

⁸⁶ See *supra* n. 50.

⁸⁷ *IUD*; Bibl. VI.

⁸⁸ *CNE* x–xiv, xviii.

⁸⁹ *CNE* xv.

he explicitly stated that Aristotle's thought, once properly elucidated by a method that closely resembles his biblical method, must finally be tested before the perfection of truth, the divine revelation in Scripture. The manuscript of these incomplete lectures he also carried with him to Zurich, where it was among the first of his posthumous publications (1563). Edited by his secretary, Santerenziano, it was dedicated to Edwyn Sandys, now bishop of Worcester, another of the English friends who like bishop John Jewel, had attended the lectures in Strasbourg during their Marian exile.

Vermigli will certainly not have appreciated the constraints under which he had to work in the Senior School, nor the necessity that he should not offend, either formally or publicly, the city's Lutheran orthodoxy. He had assured the scholars that he would not teach that which was contrary to the Augsburg Confession. This of course left significant room for personal judgement, and critical listeners as well as colleagues were not lacking, whose pressures amounted to an informal indictment of his doctrine. The invitation, then, from Zurich to take up the position of resident Hebraist vacated by the death of Conrad Pelikan in 1556 will have come as a welcome solution to the problem. Formalities were observed, the Strasbourg authorities once more requested to release him. The document outlining his Eucharistic doctrine, claiming continuing conformity, nonetheless, to the Augsburg Confession, and requesting dismissal should this not be satisfactory, will be a part of this process.⁹⁰ In the event, public as well as personal regrets expressed, Vermigli ended his second Strasbourg period in early summer 1556. His retrospective epistle to the Strasbourg scholars, dated 22 December 1560, he presented as a public expression of gratitude for the 'very many and great benefites which your publike wealth [Respublica], church and schole have hitherto bestowed upon me'. He would not have wished to end his days without acknowledgement that even in his problematic second sojourn in Strasbourg 'ye exceeding lovingly received me when I returned thence [from Oxford] to Argentine and placed me in the same rouse wherein I was with you before'. Hence this volume of commentary 'upon the holy history of the Judges as I have taught it in your Schoole'.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Translated by McLelland in Duffield and McLelland, *Peter Martyr*, 320–26.

⁹¹ Citing the English 1564 edition, Bibl. # VI.2, Bi r.v.; Letter # 261.

Vermigli, and later Zanchi, have often been characterized as the victims of a narrow-minded Lutheran scholastic vendetta, with Marbach as the principal culprit. The truth is closer in understanding intransigence on both sides, indeed Burchill concludes that Zanchi's conduct, which led to his departure as well in 1563, was itself a key contributor to the emergence of reformed scholasticism.⁹²

IV

We turn now, in the final pages of this chapter, to the question of Vermigli's supposed place in the Upper Rhine school of biblical exegesis. For this assessment, I have drawn upon the work done by Shute on the Lamentations commentary, as representative of the earliest phase of Vermigli's Old Testament interpretation, being the manuscript of the 1543 lectures. I have examined several test passages in the posthumous Genesis commentary—based upon the 1544–5 lectures—and set these in relation to readings in what must be considered the most mature and accurate expression of Vermigli the exegete, the Judges commentary, since it presents a revision by Vermigli himself of the 1553–6 Strasbourg lectures. Finally, the *Sacred Prayers* will also be evidential of his biblical interpretation, at one or two points. Where comparison is made to the work of other Upper Rhine exegetes, I shall cite in particular Bucer's Psalms commentary of 1529; this is very representative of the mature work of the School, and has the advantage that it was familiar to Vermigli before his coming to Strasbourg and will probably have served as a model as he began his lecturing there.⁹³

We should examine first the question of the reliability of the surviving manuscripts *cum* commentaries, as material for analysis of Vermigli's exegesis. Given that, with the exception of Judges, Vermigli did not see these through the press, an element of caution is appropriate in the interpretation of these materials. Can we surmise anything of the relationship between manuscripts and their antecedent lectures? It was the opinion of Ficker, based upon remarks made in their various texts,

⁹² Burchill, Christopher, 'Girolamo Zanchi: portrait of a Reformed Theologian and his Work,' *SCJ* 15 (1984), 185–207; 'Le dernier théologien', 62–3.

⁹³ It is not possible to determine whether in Naples he had access to the 1529 or 1532 edition, the latter being an expansion and revision of the first.

that the Senior School faculty dictated their lectures.⁹⁴ This, of course, does not mean these were read from a fully written manuscript; the rather complex syntax, the sometimes disordered structure of Bucer's Psalms, suggests that he may have lectured (or dictated) from notes, which he subsequently wrote out in full, and Wolfgang Musculus, his then assistant, hurried off to the printer.⁹⁵ Vermigli, on the other hand, left prose texts which could be given to a printer (as several were), although he was unwilling to do so. His comments to Bullinger quoted above indicate that he considered these a draft, not a finished text. The language used by Simler with respect to Vermigli's few publications, suggests that he reworked, expanded and polished his notes; 'he revised, completed and published many things which he had either written or begun earlier', and with respect to the one Old Testament commentary he did publish, Judges, he 'explained very many theological questions that are not commonly found', a reference to the numerous *loci* included in the text.⁹⁶ In his dedicatory letter to the Strasbourg scholarchs, he refers to the work as 'having been born in your house', which names origin, not completion.⁹⁷ Finally, see Simler's introduction to the posthumous Genesis, where he notes that Vermigli would not have wished their publication, 'as incomplete and merely begun'.⁹⁸ To conclude, the use of the Vermigli posthumous commentaries is appropriate, given the great respect with which they were handled by his editors, for what they contain, without judging too strongly what is not there, since we cannot know what he may have added *viva voce* in the classroom, and would have added, by his own testimony, had he revised them for publication.

Characteristic of the Upper Rhine exegetes is their attitude and practice on several key points in the handling of the biblical text. These include the form taken by the commentary, the decision of the base text and its relation to the Church's traditional Latin; the creation or not of a new translation and its character (as more free or literal), the use of sources and in particular of rabbinic exegesis, the use of classical norms

⁹⁴ Ficker, *Die Anfänge*, 51.

⁹⁵ R. Bodenmann, *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563). Destin d'un autodidacte lorrain* (THR 343; Geneva: Droz, 2000), 146–7.

⁹⁶ *LLS* 54, 56.

⁹⁷ 'Liber domi vestrae sit natus'; note that the 16th C. English translator rendered this too loosely as 'this book was written in your city'; cf. *CJ* Sig. Bi v.

⁹⁸ *GEN* 'ut imperfecta et tantum inchoata', Sig. a2 r.

and especially the identification of rhetorical patterns, and finally the quest for the historical context of the original and its application.

The form of commentary

From Lamentations through Judges, Vermigli's form follows a common initial pattern, namely the setting forth of a version, the portion of the biblical text under consideration. In what follows, specific notes elucidate issues in the text, and the individual sub-units may be re-introduced by a reprise of the biblical text, sometimes in a variant translation. With these notes are mingled more general interpretive comments, proceeding from the reading of the text to application to the contemporary reader. Authorities are introduced as these elucidate the text. In Lamentations, Vermigli remains preoccupied with the biblical text; by Judges, however, he moves easily out from Scripture into contemporary application. In particular he finds opportunity to draw lessons for Protestant readers, while engaging in polemic with contemporary Catholic beliefs and practices.⁹⁹ The second significant formal change is in the growing inclusion of *loci communes*. There are none present in Lamentations; in Genesis they are occasional, fewer than one per chapter, and unevenly distributed; in Judges, they are frequent. This last would also be true for the Zurich lectures on Samuel and Kings. This use of *loci*, and especially its dramatic expansion in the later lectures, might suggest that while Vermigli initially conformed to the Strasbourg style, presumably on the Twelve Prophets and manifestly on Lamentations, he gradually shifted to a Melanchthonian style of biblical commentary. This would be to misunderstand him. First, because he remains concerned to exegete the text base, and secondly, because the style, if not the sheer number, of *loci*, is quite consistent with Bucer's practice. In the latter's Psalms of 1529, the various doctrinal and ethical *loci* are not always clearly separated from the interpretive passages that give rise to them; in 1532, when Bucer thoroughly revises and expands his text, they are set out clearly in the typography, and identified in an index. As in Vermigli, some concern ethical issues like the lending of money at interest (usury), or matters of church life like

⁹⁹ So, e.g. Judges 17: 10, where Micah agrees to support a traveling Levite as his resident priest, Vermigli proceeds to argue that even idolaters know it is right to support the clergy financially, that this can be understood as a *lex naturae*. Not to excess, however, such as one sees in the contemporary Roman clergy!

the nature of public prayer and music in worship, but others, like those on law and faith, are clearly doctrinal in nature. What distinguishes Vermigli from Bucer is rather his clarity of expression and structured argument, areas widely recognized as Bucerian defects. We are probably safest in distinguishing the two interpreters thus, that a method which Bucer practiced occasionally and with uneven results, Vermigli followed systematically.

The base text

True to their humanist formation, the upper Rhine exegetes privileged the original forms of the biblical text. There were some disagreements amongst them, on pastoral grounds, on the respect due the Church's traditional Latin version; Pelikan, despite his excellent Hebrew skills, considered that retention of the Vulgate text was prudent. Zwingli, for his part, believed that the Septuagint gave access to an older Hebrew original that was less accessible in the Massoretic Hebrew text. With these exceptions however, the Upper Rhine exegetes considered the Massoretic Hebrew as primordial, its preservation by Hebrew scribes, in Bucer's language, a gift of God.¹⁰⁰

Where did Vermigli situate himself in this debate? From Lamentations forward he was firmly with the *Hebraica veritas*. Hebrew is the primordial tongue of the human race, the Hebrew Scriptures are the vehicle of revelation, Jews should be tolerated amongst Christians precisely because of their extraordinary protection of the text, and in all disputed readings the Hebrew is final arbiter.¹⁰¹ So in practice, Vermigli glances at material found in the LXX and not in the Hebrew, or at a different meaning derived from the LXX, but dismisses these in passing.¹⁰² Interesting supporting evidence for this commitment to the Hebrew comes from the *Sacred Prayers*. Donnelly is quite right that the Psalms will have been his spiritual home as a monk, sung several times daily in the offices, and deeply buried in the memory. Accord-

¹⁰⁰ Hobbs, 'Strasbourg et "l'école rhénane"', 47–49.

¹⁰¹ Shute, *CLJ* lvii–lviii. On Adam's language, Vermigli believes that the 'universal belief' that this was Hebrew is probable: Genesis ad 1: 8. A typical dismissal of the *Vulgata edition*: Jud 13: 13–14, where he professes not to understand why the Vulgate refers v. 14 to the unborn son, 'inasmuch as the Hebrew has all the verbs in the feminine, referring to the wife'.

¹⁰² E.g., the sense of 'expansion', rather than 'firmness' in the Hebrew word *raqia'* in Gen. 1: 6, he attributes to Greek notions of cosmology. So at Gen 23: 2, the Greek adds 'in the valley', for reasons he cannot discern.

ingly we might expect in the Psalm prayers traces of readings from the Gallican Latin, rather than the new Hebrew versions where a passage significantly differed.¹⁰³ The samplings I have taken suggest the opposite; while many prayers are insufficiently detailed to be definitive, in the first three psalms there are readings in the Septuagint & Gallican Psalters that differ distinctively from the Massoretic Hebrew. In all three, the latter is the version behind the prayer.¹⁰⁴

Vermigli's commitment to the Hebrew meant that he needed to position himself in the great translation debate of the Renaissance. Does the faithful translator (*fidus interpres*) favour the literal, attempting word-for-word equivalences, out of respect for the 'mystery even within the word order of Scripture', as Jerome had fatefully defined it centuries before? Or following a more Renaissance understanding, does the faithful translator seek to render equivalences of sense? The latter was strongly the position of Luther, of Zwingli and of Bucer; it characterized the new Zurich Latin translation of 1543, being explicitly defended in the preface.¹⁰⁵ In contrast, the Italian Hebraists Felix Pratensis, Agostino Giustiniani and Santes Pagnini remained in varying degree in the literalist camp.¹⁰⁶ An added argument for the latter was made in the upper Rhine school by Johannes Oecolampadius of Basel in 1525; literalist renderings could help beginners in Hebrew to find their way, in interlinear fashion, as it were, although this was disputed by Bucer.

Where stood Vermigli on this question? I know of no statement made by him on the issue. His practice initially, to judge from the Lamentations edition by Shute, was to create a confection of Pagnini, Sebastian Münster and the Vulgate, with some rare interventions of his own. All these versions inclined to the literalist end of the spectrum. When one turns to Genesis, the dependence upon Pagnini is confirmed. By this

¹⁰³ Jerome was responsible for the creation of three Latin Psalters: one of these, the so-called Gallican was a translation of the Septuagint. It became the liturgical Psalter of the Church.

¹⁰⁴ Psalm 1: Gallican adds *a facie terrae* to v. 4, making the Psalm allude to the Last Judgement. Psalm 2, v. 12 begins in the Gallican *Apprehendite disciplinam*, while the MT was generally rendered 'kiss the son'. Psalm 3: Gallican in v. 7 has a *sine causa* where MT reads 'the cheek, or jaw'. Cf Vermigli's prayers, SP 5–8.

¹⁰⁵ *Biblia Sacrosancta Testamenti Veteris et Novi* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1543). Supra n. 100.

¹⁰⁶ Felix Pratensis, *Liber Psalmorum* (Venice: Petrus Liechtenstein, 1515); Agostino Giustiniani, *Quincuplex Psalterium* (Genoa: Pietro Paolo Porro, 1516); Santes Pagnini, *Biblia* (Lyon: Du Ry, 1528). Only Pagnini would have been of direct use in Vermigli's lectures.

time a vigorous new source was available, the 1543 Zurich Latin Bible. In fact, it is only sparingly used. For example, Genesis 1:6 is completely Pagnini, save that the Hebrew *raqia*, rendered by the Vulgate 'firmamentum', Vermigli gives as 'expansio'. This he would have known from Bucer's Psalms on Psalm 19:1, but it was also suggested in the notes in Münster, and was the rendering in the Zurich Bible.¹⁰⁷ In Judges, one might expect the Zurich Bible to be more prominent amongst his sources, but in fact his favourite remains Pagnini, lightly revised, with some selections from Münster. One interesting point where Vermigli, after initial traditionalism, follows Bucer is on the naming of God in the *tetragrammaton*. In Lamentations, using Pagnini in particular, and the Vulgate, he tends to the traditional 'Dominus', or in 5:19, 21, 'Deus'. From Genesis 2:4 onward, and throughout Judges, he uses 'Jehovah', the form popularized by Bucer beginning in the second edition of his Psalms commentary.

The use of sources

Vermigli's erudition was widely admired; it is evident in the broad range of sources that he quotes. These fall into different categories. First are the ancients admired by the humanists: authorities on the ancient world like Pliny, Tacitus and Josephus, Aristotle of course, proverbs that provide a memorable saying. These are not empty displays of erudition; Vermigli's commentaries must be understood in the classroom setting, where the teacher draws upon, and builds upon, the students' earlier learning. In the lecture setting they may well have been expanded upon informally. Into this category fall the numerous references to ancient rhetorical practice. Sturm's educational method set familiarity with these as the foundation of good education.¹⁰⁸ He was of course far from alone in this. One sees the same pattern of identification in Bucer's Psalms. So Vermigli writes, 'the Spirit's power uses any sort of human instrument to soften hard hearts... metaphors, non-literal expressions, comparisons, similes and figures of speech'.¹⁰⁹ The good preacher will learn from this master the same skill.

¹⁰⁷ Illustrative of the distinction made by conservatives between philology and translation is Pagnini, who translates 'firmamentum', although his great lexicon of the same year (1529) emphasized the sense of expansion.

¹⁰⁸ Here I think Shute may have underestimated the pedagogical function: introduction to Lamentations, *CLJ* lvi.

¹⁰⁹ *CLJ* 4.

Secondly, Patristic sources are significantly present. Vermigli regularly consults Augustine and Jerome in particular, on exegetical matters. In Genesis and Judges their use is discriminating; he notes their proposals for understanding specific matters in the text, and his own concurrence or rebuttal. In this respect, he is unlike Bucer in the Psalms at least, who, after an initial demonstration at Psalm 1: 1, chose to pass over the Fathers in general, in order to privilege the rabbinic sources.¹¹⁰ Vermigli is closer to his contemporary and sometime correspondent, Wolfgang Musculus, whose massive commentaries seek to combine the use of Jewish and Christian sources.

The third category of sources quoted is from the more recent Christian past. Like Bucer, Vermigli brings mediaeval authorities to the table. These are not, however, used as interpreters of the biblical text. Both authors would have argued that their ignorance of Hebrew left most of their commentary without foundation, if not actually erroneous.¹¹¹ Their utility is in the *loci*, or similar passages, where Vermigli uses them as a polemical tool against contemporary Roman Catholic practice. So Peter Lombard appears alongside Gregory the Great and the Council of Carthage, in the *locus* 'De voto nazir'; and later, on the proper material support of the clergy, he brings in the synods of Antioch and Chalcedon, through Gratian's *Codex Iuris Canonici*, with precise references, and adds for good measure, the Gloss on Canon Law.¹¹² Bucer made similar use in his *loci* in the Psalms, but in that somewhat more eirenic tone that made him attractive to readers like the Naples Vermigli.

This brings us to the category of sources most strikingly characteristic of the Upper Rhine exegetes, the mediaeval rabbinic sources. Shute worked extensively on this question in his volume on the Lamentations lectures, and his conclusions may be repeated here. The rabbinic commentaries printed on the borders of the biblical text, carpet-page style, are the principal resource for Vermigli's understanding of the Hebrew. Or, to nuance this more precisely, Vermigli uses the new, relatively literal translations of Pagnini and secondarily Münster as initial companions to the Hebrew, and consults the rabbinic commentaries—of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Levi ben Gershon, David Kimchi in particular—to

¹¹⁰ See his discussion of Jewish and Christian resources in the preface: Sig. a 5v.–6r. (1532).

¹¹¹ See Capito, preface to *Habakkuk*, on Rupert of Teut.

¹¹² Judges, ad 13: 1–5, and ad 17, 7–12.

elucidate questions and problems in the text. As Shute has demonstrated,¹¹³ Vermigli was on a learning curve; he sometimes failed to understand correctly the frequently cryptic commentary of Ibn Ezra, and in common with some other 16th century Christian readers, did not always distinguish well between the layers of interpretation within his sources (between *peshat* and *derash*, for example). On the other hand, like Bucer, he develops an ability to read discerningly, to sift the opinions of his sources, and give reasons for acceptance or rebuttal. He also brings the early interpretation represented by the Targum, the Aramaic translation (*Chaldaica interpretatio*) to the discussion. Again like Bucer, the consultation of these Jewish sources and their influence on the interpretation far exceeds the number of explicit references. It is not clear whether Vermigli possessed his own copies of the two editions of the Venice *Biblia Rabbinica* (1517, 1524–25); both were useful since the two editions did not use the same commentators throughout. His later copies, heavily underlined and annotated, are discussed elsewhere by Max Engammare. If as Donnelly believes,¹¹⁴ they were bought in Oxford, he will in any case have had access to Strasbourg copies, Bucer being frequently absent for long periods, and lecturing in any event, largely on the New Testament. This will explain the absence of Vermigli annotations or underlining in his own copy at Lamentations and Genesis, whereas Judges has heavily both, and the subjects of the last lecture series in Zurich, mostly underlining. This pattern suggests to me a growing confidence in his access to the rabbinic commentaries, such that by the last years he no longer needed to write out a translation. Already in respect of the Genesis lectures, Simler wrote that this diligent perusal of rabbinic sources, their exposition and ‘where they were wrong, their rebuttal’ in itself justified publication of Vermigli, even where many other evangelicals had already written.¹¹⁵

How did an Italian Christian work with these texts? Having acquired a basic reading knowledge in Bologna from a Jewish teacher, for access to the rabbinic commentaries two tools were indispensable. Shute believes, and I agree, that he will have used as his primary dictionary Pagnini’s monumental *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae* (1529). I would argue, indeed, that two volumes of Pagnini, the 1528 Bible and the 1529

¹¹³ Introduction to Lamentations, *CLJ* xxiv–xxv, lx–lxiv.

¹¹⁴ In *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 211 n. 8. I am indebted to Dr Shute for this information (*CLJ* xxviii).

¹¹⁵ *GEN* Sig. α 2 r.v. ‘praecipue Hebraeorum interpretum varias expositiones quas tanta diligentia ille excutiat, explicet et ubi vana sunt confutet’.

dictionary, came with Vermigli from Lucca; that they are not today in the Vermigli collection in Geneva is a reminder that when the Genevan Academy bought Vermigli's library after his death, it was broken up because the Genevans did not require all the works.¹¹⁶ The other tool was the Hebrew Concordances, the *Me'ir Nathiv* of Ibn Qalonymos, printed by Bomberg in 1523. Only with this last would he have been able to identify the concise Hebrew quotations that dot the rabbinic commentaries as argument. His guides to Aramaic were most probably the grammar and lexicon produced by Münster (Basel, 1527).

In a world in which too many Christians, like Conrad Pelikan, looked at these texts and their usefulness as a regrettable necessity, continuing to nurture and propagate anti-Jewish views, how did Vermigli view the rabbis and their commentary? Vermigli's attitude toward the Jewish community whose religious traditions he was appropriating is marked by that ambivalence so characteristic of the school as a whole. Simler's comments on the low quality of contemporary teachers in the Jewish community, arising one presumes out of Vermigli's personal experience with Isaac, a Jewish doctor whom he engaged as tutor—'most [Jewish teachers] lack faithfulness in teaching, and they all lack method', that they resented Christians who learned the language, and in all cases, taught only when well paid, reveal conventional prejudices and the failure to understand the life conditions of the Jewish community in Italy, as well as the difficulty of reconciling scholastic and rabbinic pedagogy. Vermigli valued the faithfulness of Jewish scribes, to whom Christians continue to owe the careful transmission of Scripture texts; however, like Bucer, he gave the praise to God, not to the Jews 'who, blind as they are, do not believe them at all'.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, also like Bucer, when he quotes, he did so using the name of the source, and handling the argument with respect, even when he disagreed with the proposal. This contrasts with many contemporaries who simply referred to 'the Jews'.

The historical sense

Lastly, at the heart of Upper Rhine exegesis was a quest for the historical sense. While all good mediaeval interpretation was required to repose on the *fundamentum historiae*, before moving into the elaboration

¹¹⁶ Alexandre Ganoczy, *La bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin* (Geneva: Droz, 1969).

¹¹⁷ I am grateful to Dan Shute who located and presented this text: *CLJ* lvi–lvii.

of spiritual senses, including the allegorical, our exegetes saw this historical sense as the heart of the interpretation, not its prelude. As Capito put it, in addition to having the Hebrew language, one must have 'a precise knowledge of the history of the time'.¹¹⁸ Armed with this, and linguistic skills, the interpreter gained access to the plain, or proper meaning of the words. There are occasions when this plain meaning will be prophetic, in the sense of pointing beyond its own time to the Christ and his reign; but most commonly the insights into the life of the ancient people of God will make obvious parallels for readers in the commentator's day. Vermigli belongs precisely to this pattern. So for Lamentations, the period of the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians is the context to be understood; then the warnings and exhortations of the author can be seen to be 'very pertinent to our times'.¹¹⁹ This fundamentally tropological application of biblical history, this sense that the people of God remain similar in many ways, Vermigli articulated in terms of Law and Gospel, both in the preface to Genesis and again to Judges. We are taught God's precepts for godly living, and when our sin is reprov'd, are shown the forgiveness of God manifest in Christ, and the power of God's Spirit to restore the divine image in us.¹²⁰ These applications are for the community as well as the individual, as is very evident in Judges. One example of many: at Judges 17:6, Vermigli translates literally 'there was no king in Israel'; but having surely glanced at the Zurich translation, 'non erat magistratus legitimus', he proceeds to warn the hearers/readers that 'had there been a legitimate magistrate whose first care ought to be the worship of God and observance of the first table, this [perverse behaviour of mother and son] would not have been permitted, or not have gone unpunished'. Why, he asks further, was this Levite of Judges 17 wandering from place to place? Because in the absence of a proper Magistrate, there was no enforcement of the obligation of his original community to pay him his due tithes, and enable him to remain in his place. This then brings on a Vermigli discussion of the legitimacy of paying a living to clergy, something he calls a 'law of nature', and thence of course to a polemic against the inordinate and illegitimate wealth of contemporary Catholic clergy.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ 'Qui sibi sumit enarrandos prophetas, huic esse opus puto, historiarum illius temporis exacta scientia...' *Habakkuk*, fol. 4r.

¹¹⁹ *CLJ* 6.

¹²⁰ *GEN* fol. 1r.; Judges (1571) fol. [1]r.-4v.

¹²¹ Judges ad 17: 7-12.

Vermigli is today most commonly identified with the Oxford and Zurich years. The former is perhaps more due the distinction of the position, than to what leadership he was able to exercise in the tumultuous years of Edward's reign. He is deservedly identified with Zurich, where in the Bullinger years he was theologically most at home, and where posthumously most of his large volumes were issued. Yet in fact the two Strasbourg periods represent the longest stability within his peripatetic evangelical career, and the locus where most of his work was done. It is clear from his Lamentations and Genesis lecture notes that Vermigli arrived in Strasbourg with only the beginnings of an exegetical method, which he developed significantly in the first Strasbourg period. He left for Oxford a recognized leader in the Strasbourg church, making significant strides as a biblical interpreter toward a distinct place in the upper Rhine *sodalitas*, but still distinctly under the influence of his mentor and friend, Bucer. He returned to Strasbourg in a different space. The Oxford years had enabled his emergence as a thinker independent of Bucer, with strengthened ties now to the Zurich theologians, which of course made his reintegration into Strasbourg problematic, and his ultimate emigration to Zurich fortunate. The Judges commentary marks the maturity of Vermigli, the Strasbourg theologian; in the continuities it demonstrates with the earlier work, and that of Bucer, as well as in its affirmation of Vermigli's theological autonomy, we see the accomplishment that justifies his reputation both as evangelical biblical exegete of the upper Rhine school, and one of the principal architects of the emerging Reformed theology.

CHAPTER THREE

OXFORD: READING SCRIPTURE IN THE UNIVERSITY

Charlotte Methuen

‘AN ELOQUENCE MOST CONSTANTLY TO DEFEND THE TRUTH’

As the political situation became increasingly difficult in the German Empire, with the Protestants more under threat, Peter Martyr Vermigli made the decision to accept the offer of refuge in England, proffered by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and communicated by an English mission to Strasbourg in October 1547.¹ Accompanied by his fellow Italian refugee, Bernadino Ochino, Vermigli arrived on London on 20 December, and stayed for several weeks with Cranmer at Lambeth Palace.² Although he seems very soon to have travelled on to Oxford, where his name first appears in the Christ Church battels book in early 1548, he may not have moved there until February or March,³ when he took up the post of Regius Professor of Divinity, the first holder of the post, Richard Smith or Smyth, having been ousted from it to create this vacancy. This was a prestigious post, which placed Vermigli in what was potentially a key position in an institution which had until then—notoriously—been somewhat adverse to reform. Taking up his duties in Oxford, Vermigli made the decision to lecture on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which he did, perhaps from March 1548, possibly as late as January 1549.⁴ In spring 1549, the famous disputation on the Eucharist took place, drawing most probably on

¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 380.

² MacCulloch, *Cranmer*, 380–381, and see also Marvin Anderson, ‘Rhetoric and Reality: Peter Martyr and the English Reformation,’ in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 451–469; here 455.

³ J. Andreas Löwe, *Richard Smyth and the Language of Orthodoxy: Re-imagining Tudor Catholic Polemicism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 40, citing Christ Church Oxford Archives, Battels Book, MS x (1) c. 1.

⁴ The earlier date is proposed by Joseph C. McLelland, *OTD*, xix; the later by Anderson, ‘Rhetoric and Reality,’ 455.

Vermigli's lectures on 1 Corinthians 10.⁵ In March 1550, Vermigli began to lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, discussing further controversial topics including justification and predestination. During this period he also prepared his lectures on 1 Corinthians for publication; they were printed in Zurich in 1550. His Romans lectures were not to be published for almost a decade after he was permitted to leave England on the ascent of Mary I, after his brief and unhappy return to a now essentially Lutheran Strasbourg and his final move to Zurich.

During his time in England, Vermigli was importantly a protagonist in the Disputation on the Eucharist at Oxford in the course of the Royal Visitation of 1549, and was caught up in the Prayer Book riots later that year. He also played an important role as advisor and supporter of Thomas Cranmer, in particular in matters relating to the vestments controversy of 1550; the theology and content of the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, and particularly its eucharistic theology; and on questions of the revision of canon law including the drawing up of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and the Forty-Two Articles in 1552.⁶ His reception in Oxford, however, was mixed, in part because he was appointed as a Reformer to a university which has come to be known for its conservative opposition to Reformation theology, but also—and perhaps particularly—on account of the resistance of Richard Smyth to the man who had supplanted him and whose theological position he

⁵ McLelland (*OTD*, xix–xx) points to the difficulty in establishing what Vermigli was actually lecturing on in spring 1549. Did he take nearly two years to complete his lectures on I Corinthians, or was he giving a separate set of lectures on the Eucharist? In view of the expectations of lectures on theology (see below), the former seems more likely, and McLelland himself has previously pointed out that it was Vermigli's 'custom when lecturing to give extended comment on special subjects at appropriate points'. See *The Life, Early Letters, and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr*, J.C. McLelland and G.E. Duffield, eds. (Oxford: Sutton Courtney Press, 1989), 112. Anderson argues that Vermigli had prepared his lectures on I Corinthians before he arrived in Oxford, 'Rhetoric and Reality,' 455.

⁶ For Vermigli's contribution to the English Reformation, see P.M.J. McNair, 'Peter Martyr in England,' in J.C. McLelland (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ontario: Sir Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980), 85–105, although McNair's view of the significance of Vermigli's time in England is somewhat relativised by M. Anne Overell, 'Peter Martyr in England 1547–1553: An Alternate View,' in: *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15 (1984), 87–104. For his relationship to Cranmer, see most recently Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli and Thomas Cranmer,' in: Emidio Campi, Frank A. James III. and Peter Opitz (eds), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 173–201. For his influence on Cranmer's eucharistic theology, see Anderson, 'Rhetoric and Reality,' especially 456–463.

abhorred. Indeed, the disputation on the Eucharist arose in part from a challenge issued by Smyth, who from the beginning had attended his successor's lectures to heckle him.

The controversies between Vermigli and Smyth on the Eucharist, monastic vows and predestination have been well rehearsed.⁷ This article explores the protagonists' hermeneutical and methodological approaches, with a view to clarifying the 'conservatism' of the sixteenth-century University of Oxford, focusing on the place of and approaches to reading Scripture. It further seeks to assess Vermigli's contribution to the organisation of the university's teaching.

OXFORD IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY

When the sixteenth century dawned in Oxford, John Colet was lecturing on Romans and First Corinthians. Colet had earlier left Oxford to study in Italy, where he encountered the 'new learning'. Whilst his exegesis is indebted to the *glossa* of Nicholas of Lyra, he was equally interested in the ideas of Plato and Pseudo-Dionysus and particularly the work of Marsilio Ficino, through whom he had most likely encountered them. Although Colet's language and the categories of his thought were often symbolic and mystical, rather than literal,⁸ his exegetical lectures were homiletic rather than conceptual and metaphysical, soteriological and moral in tone, offering 'a plain cursory commentary, explaining the moral lessons of the text and as much of the literal sense as was necessary, although no more; the most original features of the text are the absence of references to the standard authorities and the lack of speculative questions.'⁹ He was interested in understanding Paul as a historical figure, and in understanding the historical circumstances of Paul's letters.¹⁰ Much of Colet's approach was associated with humanist

⁷ See, for instance, McLelland's introduction to *OTD*, and compare Löwe, *Richard Smyth*.

⁸ 'Introduction,' in John Colet, *Commentary on I Corinthians*, ed. by Bernard O'Kelly and Catherine A.L. Jarrott, (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), 28. For Colet see most recently Jonathan Arnold, *Dean John Colet of St. Paul's: Humanism and Reform in Early Tudor England* (London: Tauris, 2007).

⁹ J.I. Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2: *Late Medieval Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 263–280, here 279, and O'Kelly/Jarrott, 'Introduction,' in Colet, *Commentary on I Corinthians*, 28.

¹⁰ O'Kelly/Jarrott, 'Introduction,' in Colet, *Commentary on I Corinthians*, 29–30 and 40–42.

scholarship; however, Catto remarks that Colet's lectures 'which in retrospect seem to have opened a new era of biblical exegesis cannot have appeared at the time exceptionally divergent from current practice.'¹¹ Moral exposition was a standard approach, used for instance by Richard Rolle in his commentary on the Psalter,¹² and intended to counteract what Jean Gerson in Paris had called the 'useless learning, fruitless and without solidity' too often taught by scholastic theologians.¹³

The fifteenth-century theology faculty in Oxford had already witnessed a shift towards understanding theology as a practical science, applied and spread through preaching.¹⁴ The 1431 statutes reflected this, requiring Bachelors and Doctors of Theology to demonstrate their ability to apply their study of scripture and of systematic theology through preaching in the University Church of St Mary the Virgin. A Master of Arts who wished to achieve the Baccalaureate in Theology—and thus be given permission to lecture on a book from Peter Lombard's *Sentences*—had to spend seven further years in residence, for at least three of which he was required to attend lectures on the Bible.¹⁵ Most colleges expected MAs spend two years or more giving arts lectures and attending arts disputations,¹⁶ although this system was breaking down in the arts faculty itself, which paid a select group of MAs to lecture and dispensed the rest from this duty.¹⁷ Candidates for the BTh who were not MAs were expected to be in residence and studying arts for eight years and theology for nine, although graces could usually be given to allow years spent studying elsewhere to be recognised.¹⁸ Many members of religious orders took this latter path, often not studying in the University Arts Faculty at all, but offering years of study either in their own orders or elsewhere.

¹¹ Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' 278.

¹² Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' 279.

¹³ Cited according to Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' 264.

¹⁴ Catto, 'Theology after Wycliffism,' 265–266.

¹⁵ For the courses of study for BTh and DTh see S.L. Greenslade, 'The Faculty of Theology,' in: *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, ed. by James McConica (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 295–334, here 296–297.

¹⁶ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 298.

¹⁷ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 305.

¹⁸ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 298–299 and cf. Strickland Gibson (ed.), *Statuta Antiqua Vniuersitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), cx. On 20 April 1515, the masters gathered in congregation 'dispensed themselves to proceed BTh after only ten years in arts and theology, and thereupon to incept DTh immediately'. See Greenslade, 309.

Disputations were one way of examining learning: attendance was required, and in his fifth year a candidate for the BTh was required to oppose in a formal disputation; in his seventh year he was to respond. On admission to the BTh, he must preach a Latin sermon at St Mary the Virgin, the University Church, within a year.¹⁹ In order to proceed DTh, a BTh must be resident for a further four years during which he lectured on the Sentences and then on a book of the Bible, attended lectures and attended and took part in disputations, and preached at the University Church. The statutes instructed that a sermon would be preached at St Mary's every Sunday except during the long vacation either by a Bachelor or Doctor of Divinity, and graduates might also be summoned to London to preach at St Paul's Cross.²⁰

Incepting doctors were often dispensed from lecturing,²¹ and by the early sixteenth century their place was being taken by a growing body of especially appointed lecturers, paid either by their college or by the university as a whole. The Lady Margaret Lectureship was set up in 1497 (although it was not properly endowed until 1502–3) to provide theology lectures throughout the term, except in Lent when lecturer and students were expected to attend the sermons at the University Church.²² College lectures were increasingly opened to all students; thus Magdalen's lecturers in theology and philosophy were instructed to give public lectures for the whole university.²³ Languages were not neglected. In the late 1520s, the King sent the Hebraist Robert Wakefield to teach in Oxford.²⁴ Bishop Fox, who founded Corpus Christi in 1517, established lectures in Greek and Latin at his new college,²⁵ and also endowed a lecturer in theology, who was instructed to lecture on New and Old Testament books in alternate years, 'interpreting them profoundly as the ancient doctors did—Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Origen, Hilary, Chrysostom, Damascenus—not like Hugh of Vienne or Lyra.'²⁶ Around May 1518, Cardinal Wolsey founded lectures in the

¹⁹ Greenslade notes, however, that dispensation from this was easily attained. Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 311.

²⁰ *Statuta Antiqua*, lxxxii.

²¹ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 306.

²² G.D. Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, 347–348.

²³ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 308.

²⁴ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 316.

²⁵ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 306, and cf. Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 335–361, here 336.

²⁶ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 313.

humanities and in theology for the university, although these too seem initially not to have been properly endowed. Some of the lecturers faced considerable resistance, as indicated by comments that John Clement, who lectured in 'humanity', had finally been successful in converting his audience to the benefits of a knowledge of classical literature.²⁷ The statutes of Wolsey's Cardinal College as it was conceived in the mid 1520s included 'six public professors appointed for the common advantage of all students,' who were to lecture on theology, canon law, and philosophy, civil law, medicine and 'humanity'.²⁸ The theology lecturer was instructed to lecture every lecture day at 09:00 a.m. either on the Bible or on Scotus, the latter being viewed as an important aid to the opposition of heresy.²⁹ Wolsey's fall from power in 1529 called a halt to his plans, but his proposed constitution for Cardinal College laid the foundation for the establishment of further lectureships for the university through the rest of the century. From 1517 onwards, then, despite some opposition, testified to by Thomas More and others, Oxford was being opened up to the 'new learning' with the appointment of new lecturers in Greek, Hebrew and other 'humane disciplines', as well as in the higher faculties, including lecturers in theology.³⁰

The shift towards a focus on humanist and (increasingly) biblical learning were strengthened by the royal visitation of 1535. This began as a visitation to religious houses, but was soon expanded to take in the universities which were so central to the training of religious. It called for a thorough-going reform of their structures and orders of studies, in accordance with injunctions drawn up by Thomas Cromwell after the visitation, which revealed their primary intention by first requiring all members of the universities to take an oath confirming their allegiance to the King as 'Supreme Head on Earth of the English Church' and recognising the succession.³¹ The injunctions also sought to shape the

²⁷ Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 337.

²⁸ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 306–307; Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 339–340.

²⁹ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 306–307; Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 340.

³⁰ For further details, see James McConica, 'The Rise of the Undergraduate College,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, 1–68, here 66–68.

³¹ Summarised from F. Donald Logan, 'The First Royal Visitation of the English Universities, 1535,' in: *The English Historical Review* 106 (1991), 861–888, here 865–867. The Injunctions for the University of Oxford are not extant; Logan extrapolates the situation for Oxford from the Cambridge Injunctions, supported by correspondence

university's teaching according to humanist principles: larger colleges and halls were instructed to provide daily lectures in Latin and Greek, and at least one lecture each day was to be attended by all students (on pain of going without food that day),³² in an attempt to improve a low level of language expertise which had shocked the visitation commission. The teaching of theology was to be entirely revised: Lombard's *Sentences* were deemed to 'cause confusion' and there were to be no further lectures on them. Instead, 'theological instruction [must] be given solely from the Bible by lecturers who speak sincerely and simply, eschewing Duns Scotus and other authors "of inextricable labyrinths" who leave their hearers ignorant and blind.'³³ Although the injunctions are not explicit on this point, the intention appears to be that the lectures on the *Sentences* would be replaced by lectures on biblical books. Degrees in canon law were to be discontinued, with lectures on canon law being replaced by lectures on civil law.³⁴ Finally, students of dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geography, music and philosophy in the arts faculty were to be taught according to works 'by Aristotle, Rudolphus Agricola, Philip Melanchthon and George Trebizond—all mentioned by name—and men like them';³⁵ that is, the basis of teaching in the arts faculty was to be 'Aristotle and his "modern" commentators.'³⁶ The visitation seems to have led to some despoiling of college libraries—the Oxford visitor Richard Layton wrote to Cranmer that 'the second time we came to New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found all the great quadrant full of the leaves of Duns,'³⁷—but the period after the visitation saw a significant expansion of college libraries with the acquisition of humanist editions of the Greek and Latin fathers and other works.³⁸

relating to the Oxford visitation. Logan suggests that the oath of allegiance seems to have been accepted quite readily in Oxford: (Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 872–873).

³² Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 873.

³³ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 866.

³⁴ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 867. The university later profited from the sale of stone from the disused school of canon law.

³⁵ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 867.

³⁶ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 867.

³⁷ Cited by Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 877.

³⁸ Claire Cross, 'Oxford and the Tudor State 1509–1538,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, 117–149, here 128.

SCRIPTURE AND REFORM IN OXFORD

The visitation clearly gave shape to the priorities of those within and outwith the university with humanist interests in education, which focused on texts and the new, discursive style of commentary. The reforms might seem timely for a range of reasons. William Tyndale, who had proceeded MA in Oxford in 1515, had notoriously complained of the reaching at Oxford, that by it

no man shall look on the scripture until he be noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with false principles; with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the scripture.³⁹

Such concerns were shared by many of those who were seeking a reform of the curriculum. In the early 1520s there can be no doubt that a significant group of the supporters of the introduction of humanist educational approaches to Oxford were inspired by the new German theology, some of whom may even have seen themselves as proto-reformers: during the 1520s works by Luther and other continental reformers found enthusiastic buyers in Oxford, and at Cardinal College, John Clarke was offering lectures (possibly in private) on the letters of St Paul, incorporating at least some interest in the teachings of Luther.⁴⁰ The bookseller Thomas Garrett sold works by Jan Hus, John Tauler, Luther, Oecolampadius and Melanchthon until he was arrested and tried him for heresy in 1528.⁴¹ The University of Oxford was certainly not entirely isolated from interest in early evangelical ideas. However, and probably more significantly, Oxford also had a group of scholars who supported the teaching and preaching of a biblical theology—and who were therefore in favour of the imposition of the changes made by the injunctions—but who resisted identifying themselves as Lutheran.⁴² Finally, there were those who were opposed to the reforms because they wished to retain scholastic methods and curriculum.

³⁹ Tyndale, 'Practice of Prelates,' 291, cited according to Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 309.

⁴⁰ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 314, and cf. Jennifer Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' in: *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 3: *The Collegiate University*, 363–396, here 363–364.

⁴¹ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 364.

⁴² Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 871, and cf. Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 363–364.

Opposition to reform, however, could have different causes. From the mid 1530s, after the 1534 Act of Supremacy, those who were in favour of the introduction of humanist educational methodology but who denied the legitimacy of the King's claim to be Supreme Head of the Church in England faced a conflict of loyalties, as Thomas More was to find at the cost of his life. The university reforms proposed by the statutes were generally agreeable to them, but the requirement that an oath recognising the King's supremacy over the church was not. Contemporary reports already begin to identify this group as simply opposed to change, and there is not much distinction made (either in the sixteenth century or in more recent scholarship) between those who were 'conservative' in terms of their resistance to changes in the method of teaching arts and theology and those who would in principle have welcomed the university reforms but resisted the King's claims to supremacy. The latter group seems initially to have been sizable: in 1530, the University had had difficulty in finding a means to support the King in his quest to dissolve his first marriage, and despite the university's capitulation to the Act of Supremacy, voices throughout the 1530s spoke out in favour of papal supremacy.⁴³ The late 1530s witnessed a number of accusations of theological conservatism at Oxford, but again these did not distinguish between opponents of the King's supremacy and opponents of the new methods of study.

That there were genuine concerns about doctrine is indicated by the 'most grievous exclamation' in 1536 of William Weston of Lincoln College 'against the heresy of such as should say that there was no purgatory' and his criticism of undergraduates for their interest in this and other heretical (i.e. evangelical) doctrines.⁴⁴ Cranmer reported that at Corpus Christi 'one of the Deans, Mr Chedsey, had said that if he saw a scholar with a New Testament he would burn it, how another fellow had maintained that the study of scripture subverted good order, and yet other fellows still favoured the pope and had spoken against the "new learning"'.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, it is apparent that 'conservatism' could take a variety of forms, not all of which were opposed to the 'new learning'.

Indeed, the place given to the biblical languages and to the study of the Bible by the reforms provoked discussion across the university.

⁴³ Cross, 'Oxford and the Tudor State,' 126–127.

⁴⁴ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 365.

⁴⁵ Cross, 'Oxford and the Tudor State,' 131.

Besides the disputes at Corpus Christi (that recent humanist foundation), there were divisions in Magdalen College between those who opposed the introduction of daily lectures in Greek and wished to keep the teaching of Scotus and those who were in favour;⁴⁶ in 1535 John Emerson asserted against Croft of New College, 'that scripture was above the church, and not *vice versa*.'⁴⁷ There is evidence of protestant interests in a number of colleges, including New College, Brasenose, and Cardinal College.⁴⁸ Moreover, outside the formal curriculum, biblical drama seems to have been popular, and this was frequently used to propagate reformation ideas.⁴⁹ Logan concludes, however, that the scholastic curriculum, at least in the form of the teaching of Lombard's *Sentences*, may nonetheless have survived for some time after the reforms, observing that between 1535 and 1547, 121 students were admitted *ad lecturam libri sententiarum*. At first sight this looks simply like the continuation of the traditional form of words to note the conferral of the BTh; however Logan has found that in this period, a minority of students supplicated to be excused from 'entering the *Sentences*', which supplication was granted. Between 1547 and 1552, there are neither admissions to the *Sentences* nor exemptions from them, although in 1550—one year after the new statutes of 1549—the Register of Oriel College indicates that candidates are being admitted 'to read a book of the *Sentences*, or, as the new royal ordinations say, "an epistle of St Paul"'.⁵⁰ From 1552, admissions are to the study of the apostolic epistles. Logan suggests: 'Should we not see here for the dozen or so years after the visitation a compromise, which left the *Sentences* in place but, in effect, elective?'⁵¹ There may, therefore, have been some ambiguity about the place of Lombard's *Sentences* between 1535 and the accession of Edward VI in 1547, or even the drawing up of new Statutes for the University in 1549.

The visitation's scrapping of lectures on Lombard's *Sentences*—or its attempt to do so—is a strong indication that doctrine was now expected to be taught on the basis of biblical books. In the wake of the visitation,

⁴⁶ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 873–875.

⁴⁷ Cross, 'Oxford and the Tudor State,' 131–132.

⁴⁸ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 367.

⁴⁹ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 367, citing Ruth H. Blackburn, *Biblical Drama under the Tudors* (The Hague/Paris: Mouton, 1971).

⁵⁰ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 878, quote at n. 3, and cf. Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 314.

⁵¹ Logan, 'Royal Visitation,' 878.

in 1536, Henry VIII instructed each university to establish 'Kyng the eight his lecture' 'in any suche Science or tonge as the Kynge's Majestie shall assygne or appoynte to be most profitable to the students.'⁵² In Oxford, the colleges made the stipend up to twenty marks and appointed a lecturer in theology, probably in part a measure designed to fill the gap left as the religious houses were dissolved and their members no longer available to teach in the university. As noted above, this first lecturer was Richard Smyth, appointed *prælector theologicæ nuper a regia majestate institutæ*, to lecture 'on whatever theological subjects the chancellor and doctors thought proper.'⁵³ It is not clear what 'theological subjects' were thought proper, but given the injunctions to the university, and the increasingly fluid theological situation, the King's lectureship may well have been conceived in part as a means of ensuring the teaching of correct doctrine according, presumably in 1536, to the Ten Articles, and from 1539 the Act of Six Articles. Richard Smyth certainly seems to have interpreted his instructions in a conservative vein, coming close to questioning the King's supremacy, and 'continu[ing] to uphold in public the seven sacraments, the doctrine of sacrificing priests, the benefits of prayers for the dead, and apostolic tradition.'⁵⁴ From 1536 to 1539, this was against the official teaching of the English Church, but as Löwe comments, 'even though Smyth had been accused of treason at a time when the crown imposed stringent punitive measures he [...] was left completely unscathed.'⁵⁵ Indeed, when in 1540 the King created the Regius Professorships in theology, Greek, Hebrew, civil law, and medicine as part of the foundation of Westminster Cathedral,⁵⁶ Richard Smyth was appointed to the professorship in theology.

RICHARD SMYTH:

KING'S LECTURER AND REGIUS PROFESSOR FOR DIVINITY

As King's *prælector* in theology, and then as Regius Professor, Smyth seems to have lectured on books of Scripture, including the Pauline

⁵² *Statuta Antiqua*, 337–338.

⁵³ Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 307, and cf. Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 343.

⁵⁴ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 27–29; quote 29.

⁵⁵ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 29.

⁵⁶ Duncan, 'Public Lectures and Professorial Chairs,' 344–345. The Regius Chairs were incorporated into the constitution of Christ Church when the cathedral was established there in 1546.

epistles⁵⁷ (he was probably lecturing on Romans in 1539).⁵⁸ Although his theological views were conservative, as evidenced by extant sermons, writings and accounts of his involvement in trials in the early 1540s,⁵⁹ there are indications that Smyth's exegetical method may not have been so traditional. Certainly, in his lectures of the early 1560s in exile at Douai, Smyth was using up-to-date teaching methods, arranging his material not in formal logical systems, but in tables, after the model of Rudolph Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, also adopted by Philip Melanchthon.⁶⁰ There seems no reason to assume that he was not already applying similar methods of organisation of information in the late 1530s, especially given that both Agricola and Melanchthon are explicitly mentioned in the visitation injunctions. Smyth also appealed to the Fathers: his 1560s discussion of the obscurity of the text of Romans appealed to Scripture and the Fathers, both as aids in resolving the obscurity of Paul's language and to demonstrate that this is not as easily done as the evangelicals would suggest.⁶¹ Here Smyth was responding with the benefit of two decades' reflection to the views on the clarity of scripture expounded by Vermigli in his Oxford lectures I Corinthians, but, again, his methodology was probably congruent with—if further developed than—that which he applied in the late 1530s and 1540s. Smyth's exhortation to his students that they read the Fathers and learn them by heart is designed to help them to turn their learning to understanding, and to understand the practical application of their knowledge. For Smyth, suggests Löwe, 'the *studium theologicum* was principally concerned with the exploration and exegesis of scripture. From their study, from comparing the obscure to with the evident and the unknown with the familiar, the new theologians were to gain deeper insights into their faith.'⁶² These are methods which Erasmus had also encouraged.⁶³

⁵⁷ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 84, n. 27.

⁵⁸ These lectures were the source of Vermigli's claim that Smyth was not above shaping his theology to his audience, expounding Romans 5 before Bishop Latimer as teaching justification by faith alone; however, Vermigli's account is not supported by Foxe, who was at Oxford at the time, and is probably a misrepresentation [Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 29–30, n. 86].

⁵⁹ Löwe, 30–34.

⁶⁰ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 85–86.

⁶¹ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 86–89.

⁶² Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 89–90.

⁶³ See for instance, Manfred Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology: The Hermeneutic of Erasmus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 36–37. For Erasmus's use

Although his theological teaching opposed that of the evangelicals, there are, therefore, good reasons to believe that even in the late 1530s and early 1540s, Smyth was using a methodology which incorporated aspects of the 'new learning'. However, he seems also to have held to some aspects of traditional hermeneutical method, being frequently criticised by his opponents for his overly allegorical or tropological exegesis.⁶⁴ In his 1560s introductory lectures on Romans, which began with a rejection of evangelical claims for *perspicuitas scripturae*, denying both that God's authorship precluded obscurity and also that *scriptura sui interpretes*,⁶⁵ Smyth identified four senses of scripture: '(1) the manner by which "you are able to understand the mysteries of heaven," (2) the inspiration received "when, in their Christian life, men demand true understanding from God by prayers offered"; (3) the future hope that the sense "will be revealed by the exactness of human understanding"; (4) the moral guidance by which "human pride" is reined.'⁶⁶ Smyth's definition of the four senses builds on the traditional four senses of scripture,

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria.

*Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia,*⁶⁷

with some interesting and distinctively humanist reflections on the role of human reason. Löwe concludes that 'the moral and doctrinal precepts

of spiritual meanings, and particularly his understanding of the allegorical nature of Scripture, see, for instance, Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology*, 95–133.

⁶⁴ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 94–96. The evidence cited by Löwe dates to the end of Smyth's life, since it is drawn from the lectures held in exile at Douai, although Löwe concludes 'this is consonant with much of Smyth's earlier doctrinal and catechetical teaching.' It is, however, conceivable that during the 1530s Smyth's hermeneutics had been more open to the new learning, even if it had led him to conservative conclusions, and his appointment in 1536 would otherwise seem strange.

⁶⁵ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 84. These are views for which Vermigli argued in his preface to his commentary on I Corinthians and also in his own introduction to Romans at Oxford in 1550, by which time Smyth had fled Oxford; it is likely, however, that Vermigli would have prefaced his lectures on I Corinthians with a similar methodological explication which Smyth would have heard.

⁶⁶ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 95.

⁶⁷ 'The letter teaches events, allegory what you should believe, morality what you should do, anagogy what you should aim for.' De Lubac attributes the description of the four senses of scripture, famously cited by Nicholas Lyra (ca. 1330), to a Dominican, Augustine of Dacia, in a theological compendium 'for the use of the simple' written ca. 1260. In a chapter *De introductoris scientiae theologiae*, Augustine of Dacia summarises the teachings of Thomas Aquinas in the first *Quaestio* of the *Summa theologiae*. Henri de Lubac, *Medieval exegesis: The four senses of Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans/Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), vol. 1, 1–2.

which could be drawn from Scripture were as important for Smyth as the clarification and understanding of its literal meaning,' and that he often 'propagated forcefully the adoption of allegorical or tropological interpretations of the text.'⁶⁸ However, although he would have resisted textual criticism, Smyth's hermeneutical interest in the spiritual meaning of the text, and his focus on its moral and doctrinal implications are entirely congruent with the approach taken by proponents of the 'new learning' such as Colet, as discussed above, but also and primarily, Erasmus, who was deeply interested in establishing the spiritual meaning to which the letter of the text pointed.⁶⁹ Indeed, this concern was central to the Reformers' reading of scripture: their emphasis on deriving doctrine from scripture meant that they often found themselves appealing to the spiritual understanding of a text as an aspect of its literal meaning. It would seem, then, that Smyth's exegetical method, although leading him to quite different conclusions from those of the evangelicals, was to a great extent in line with the expectations that had been laid down by the 1535 visitation to the University of Oxford.

All this suggests that by the end of the reign of King Henry VIII, the University of Oxford had had imposed upon it, and to some extent accepted, some fundamental changes to the nature of its teaching and the structure of its curriculum. The dissolution of the monasteries had forced a shift in the provision of teaching, which, at least to some extent, had been implemented. The crown's ability to impose its interests on the curriculum and structures of the university had been demonstrated by the visitation and the institution of the Regius professors, and was emphasised by the 1545 act for the suppression of chantries, which in theory gave the King powers to dissolve colleges at Oxford and Cambridge Universities, as well as those of Eton and Winchester.⁷⁰ On the whole the reforms of the first half of the sixteenth century had moved the university in the direction of a more humanist curriculum and teaching methods, with an explicitly biblical emphasis to the teaching of theology, without any expectation that this should necessarily lead

⁶⁸ Löwe, *Richard Smyth*, 95.

⁶⁹ See Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology*, 90–91, 95–133.

⁷⁰ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 366. Alerted to this danger, the King promised to look favourably on the universities, and in fact he died before the suppressions were carried out. The Act as it was passed under Edward VI in 1547 specifically exempted the universities, their colleges, and the chantries and obits within the colleges from its provisions [*ibid.*].

to a Reformation theology.⁷¹ The theological method of Richard Smyth seems to have been in tune with the direction of the Henrician church as it returned to more traditional theology and practice in the wake of the Act of Six Articles (1539), particularly as interpreted in the King's Book (1543). Smyth's teaching may of course not be representative, but it must have been influential. Taking it as a measure, late Henrician Oxford, while fairly resistant to the appeal of the Reformation teaching, seems to have been increasingly open to humanist methodologies and curricula, and to a teaching of theology which centred on Scripture.

RHETORIC AND THE READING OF SCRIPTURE

Peter Martyr Vermigli's approach to Scripture is laid out in the prefaces to his commentaries on I Corinthians and Romans. The I Corinthians commentary was published in Zurich 1550, whilst Vermigli was still at Oxford. The Romans commentary, although based on the lectures he had given in Oxford, was not published until 1558. Vermigli's commentaries offer not only extensive comment on the scriptural text, but also in each case a dedicatory epistle and preface which explain his approach to that text. Thus, in the dedicatory epistle to the I Corinthians Commentary Vermigli explains why he decided to begin in Oxford with lectures on that book: 'in no other [letter] so many different themes are treated which are relevant to the controversies of our times.' The teaching contained in 1 Corinthians, 'if it is applied skilfully and appropriately,' offers a means by which 'we can easily heal all the faults by which the sincerity of the church is manifestly corrupted'; it 'makes clear the medicine against the evil of all the papist abuses and most superstitions.'⁷²

Like most of his reforming colleagues, Vermigli believes that the traditions of the church should be tested and 'only preserved if they are

⁷¹ The increasingly scriptural basis of preaching at St Paul's Cross in this period has been remarked on; a similar trend towards preaching 'the sincere word of God' (albeit later in Henry's reign as shaped by the King's Book) can be observed in the sermons and homilies produced by Henrician bishops for their dioceses: see Susan Wabuda, 'Bishops and the Provision of Homilies, 1520 to 1547,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994), 551–566.

⁷² Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In selectissimam d. Pauli apostoli priorem ad Corinthios epistolam... commentarii*. (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1579) [henceforth COR], fol. aa4'. As noted above, Anderson believes it likely that he had in fact written a significant part of his I Corinthian lectures whilst still in Strasbourg (see note 5 above).

good and find the consent of divine Scripture.⁷³ This requires agreement about what scripture might consent to. In his commentary, he also wants to show the dangers of false scholarship, by revealing 'how the sayings of that Apostle oppose the superstitions which all manner of false study has fostered in the church.'⁷⁴ Nonetheless, Vermigli is cautious about human ability to claim that knowledge: His commentary, he says, cannot 'add wisdom or passion to Paul's teachings, for these things are so abundantly present in him that human reason cannot comprehend them.'⁷⁵ He is also cautious about his own ability to achieve what he has set out to do: 'If the weight and importance of prophecy is to be judged by the one who prophesies, my own words no doubt deserve to be disregarded; for I do not see clearly, but am blind; am not learned, but ignorant; am not eloquent, but stammering.'⁷⁶ Although there is clearly an element of rhetorical self-deprecation here, there is also a strong sense of the limitations of human ability to grasp what is being taught: Vermigli has done the best he can, and hopes to have been inspired by the Spirit whilst writing order that he 'might better reveal the hidden things of God,' but he knows himself to be restricted by the human condition of ignorance and darkness which resulted from Adam's fall.⁷⁷ Nonetheless, Vermigli hopes that his commentary might reveal the 'truth and life' with which the Holy Spirit inspired Paul's words.

In order for this to be possible, however, it is necessary to understand the correct way to approach Scripture, he explains, and to come to it with proper expectations. Scripture is 'an expression of the wisdom of God, with which the Holy Spirit inspired devout people, and which was then manifested in chronicles and letters.'⁷⁸ These chronicles and letters may seem offensively lacking in polish to a reader accustomed to the eloquence of humanist rhetoric. However, as Vermigli explains in his Romans Commentary, the reader must realise that the human *writer* of Scripture—the *author* of Scripture is the Holy Spirit—was not bound by the rules of rhetoric. 'There are many who abhor the reading of Paul's epistles because he seems to speak so rudely and barbarously that he

⁷³ COR fol. aa4^v.

⁷⁴ COR unnumb. fol. aa5^r.

⁷⁵ COR unnumb. fol. aa5^r.

⁷⁶ COR fol. aa4^v.

⁷⁷ COR unnumb. fol. aa5^r.

⁷⁸ *Præfatio*, COR unnumb. fol. aa5^v.

fills the readers with tediousness,⁷⁹ he comments, but such criticism is a misunderstanding of Paul's letters. In the first place, Paul's rhetoric may be better than it seems at first sight: Augustine suggests that Paul 'is not utterly without just order of speaking,' and the evidence of Acts is that he was in fact an eloquent preacher, who sometimes preached late into the night.⁸⁰ However, this is not the point. Paul 'did not seek after eloquence, but eloquence followed his wisdom.' The rules of rhetoric are not the appropriate way to judge Paul's writings: 'He who takes upon himself to treat of the most excellent things, and says all that is necessary, and does not deal with them inappropriately, is judged to speak aptly.'⁸¹ Respected commentators, including Origen and Jerome, have complained about Paul's at times barbarous rhetoric, but 'there is another eloquence which is of much force to establish doctrines and most constantly to defend the truth.' This is the kind of eloquence practised by Paul.⁸² Its aim is 'to deliver good and holy doctrine, and to confirm the same honestly and piously; to make it delectable through a clear and pure kind of speech and lastly to move the hearts of his hearers.'⁸³ This form of speech is dictated by the Holy Spirit, who 'governed the tongues and the pens of the Apostles that they mostly aptly and expressly set forth the things which are necessary for salvation.'⁸⁴ Because such matters are difficult to express, 'if at any time they seem to stagger in speaking, that came of the greatness and depth of the things of which they treated, which can hardly be expressed with human words and phrases.'⁸⁵ It must be recognised, argues Vermigli, that Paul was not writing his Epistles as a rhetorical exercise, but in an attempt to present the truth of salvation.

The same can be said of a commentator. A preacher of the gospel should seek 'to set forth Christ and his word' rather than concentrating on rhetorical precepts:

⁷⁹ Vermigli, *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos...commentarii doctissimi* (Basel: Petrus Pernas, 1558) [henceforth ROM], fol. a2^r. For the contemporary English translation, see *Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tigure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes* (London: John Day, 1564) [STC (2nd ed.) 24670, consulted via Early English Books Online; [henceforth CER]: Biii^r.

⁸⁰ ROM fol. a2^r [CER Biii^r].

⁸¹ ROM fol. a2^r [CER Biii^r].

⁸² ROM fol. a2^r [CER Biii^r].

⁸³ ROM fol. a3^r [CER Biii^r].

⁸⁴ ROM fol. a3^r [CER Biii^r].

⁸⁵ ROM fol. a3^r [CER Biii^r].

If he is instructed in [those precepts], the Holy Spirit shall be free to use them when he thinks fit... If he is learned, the force of good arts will follow him whether he wills or knows it. But if preachers shall in their writing or speaking labour for finesse and ornaments of rhetoric, they shall wax cold as touching the real matter. For the mind of man is not able at one time to apply itself to two things.⁸⁶

A commentary may be ‘very little decorated with the learned rhetoric and turns of eloquence,’⁸⁷ but still provide the means for revealing the message of the Spirit contained in the words of Scripture. The arts may be used in the service of that message, but they must be applied cautiously, for they can also distract from that truth.

Vermigli’s assessment of the benefits of rhetoric reflects his conviction, drawn from the medieval scholastic tradition, that the value of a proof and the kind of knowledge it generates is determined by the value of its subject matter rather than by the form of the discussion: ‘every skill and teaching takes its merit from the subject matter with which it is engaged, for instance according to how this one stands out or is more noble or less noble, they have different knowledge.’⁸⁸ Consequently, language about Christ ‘has to be considered above all other teachings, just as Christ is the most outstanding of all things.’⁸⁹ The import of the teachings of Scripture can be seen in the actions of those who read them, and particularly in their willingness to face martyrdom: ‘Holy men are so sure of the truth of the Scriptures that they are not afraid to undergo a truly terrible death. But it is very rare that natural philosophers or mathematicians defend their knowledge by blood or by laying down their lives.’⁹⁰ Such a witness shows the powerful truth of Scripture, a truth which cannot be tested by human senses or understanding, but must be grasped by faith. Moreover, to the faithful, the meaning of Scripture is plain, for them, ‘the analysis [ἀνάλυσιν] always stops with the testimonies of scripture, as if they were the axioms [ἀξιιώματα] best known to Christians, the truth of which no-one may doubt.’⁹¹ The understanding of Scripture is here seen as a higher form of dialectics, rather than a matter of rhetoric.

⁸⁶ ROM fol. a3^r [CER Biiii^r].

⁸⁷ COR fol. aa4^v–unnumb. fol. aa5^v.

⁸⁸ COR fol. a^r.

⁸⁹ COR fol. a^r.

⁹⁰ COR fol. a^r.

⁹¹ COR fol. a^r.

The clarity of scripture is not arbitrary. For Vermigli, therefore, his work as a commentator should fulfil three important principles of theological work:

First: that the apostle's meaning is understood clearly and plainly. Secondly, that in the things which I present there should be no superstition. Finally, that nothing that is in accordance with the word of God be rejected though a love of wrangling.⁹²

To reveal the truth of scripture, 'obscure passages are to be compared with clear ones' and the difficulties 'which often occur' must be explained. For this, and because 'the meanings of the divine words are difficult,' it is necessary 'to show by explanation the arguments and reasons which are concealed under the otherwise simple and brief words.'⁹³ Literal meaning must point beyond itself.

Sometimes, but not always, the commentator may be helped in his task by what 'the ancestors and fathers' wrote;⁹⁴ contemporary commentators can also be helpful. Vermigli praises the commentaries on Romans written by Melancthon, Bucer, Bullinger and Calvin, and admits that their existence could be thought to render his own commentary unnecessary. However, 'the fruitfulness of the Holy Scriptures is so great that it cannot be drawn out by any one man, however wise, learned, knowledgeable and industrious.' Therefore, 'all men should prophecy that those immeasurable riches which are still hidden in the mines of the word of God and in the hidden veins of the holy books may with great study be excavated.' Differences in interpretation (Vermigli admits that he has found himself disagreeing with some of his illustrious contemporaries) 'should be taken in good part if they do not damage the unity of the church.'⁹⁵

Vermigli's description of how Scripture should be read and preached is congruent with the evidence of a series of orations which he gave at each university at which he taught, in an attempt to encourage students to take up the study of Scripture and to seek 'these highest things, this "heavenly philosophy"' which can be known only through theology and the study of Scripture.⁹⁶ Scripture is this 'amazing book' which

⁹² COR unnumb. fol. aa5^r.

⁹³ COR unnumb. fol. aa5^v.

⁹⁴ COR unnumb. fol. aa5^v.

⁹⁵ ROM dedicatory epistle.

⁹⁶ Jason Zuidema, 'The Primacy of Scripture in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Understanding of Theological Education,' in Herman J. Selderhuis and Markus Wriedt (eds.),

is like no other book or writing: 'None of the orators of this world,' states Vermigli, 'have ever had so many ornaments, analogies, tropes, colorations, and forms and ways of speaking as the Holy Spirit has employed in presenting one and the same thing in infinite ways. No human faculty has such an abundance and variety of material as God's sermons have; in them nobody ever is sufficiently learned, and nobody sees everything.'⁹⁷

Scripture is a tool or instrument which God had given to be used by pastors and preachers to break the 'hard and obstinate hearts' of their hearers and bring about their conversion.⁹⁸ His prefaces suggest that he was particularly concerned to ensure that its powerful truth should not be obscured by excessive or self-conscious rhetorical flourish. That this was not simply a theoretical but also a practical concern, may be revealed through the increased emphasis laid on disputations on scriptural themes found in Oxford University's Edwardian Statutes.

EDWARDIAN STATUTES AND VISITATION

In 1549, subsequent to the Royal Visitation under Edward VI, the University of Oxford was given new statutes. These were provisional, 'offered to the university for the time being, until the commissioners had been able to inspect, consider, correct and reduce' the medieval statutes,⁹⁹ and they were never entered in the official register of the University.¹⁰⁰ The Edwardian statutes shortened the time spent in residence for a theological degree, requiring for the BTh that MAs spend five years (rather than seven), and those without MAs seven years (rather than eight), hearing lectures in theology and Hebrew, disputing and responding at least twice, and preaching in Latin and English '*in academiae templo*'.¹⁰¹ Candidates for the doctorate in theology resided for four more years, attending lectures, disputing twice, responding once, and

Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung: Studien zur Theologienausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 99–108, especially 102–107.

⁹⁷ Zuidema, 'Primacy of Scripture,' 104.

⁹⁸ Zuidema, 'Primacy of Scripture,' 104–105.

⁹⁹ *Statuta Antiqua*, I.

¹⁰⁰ *Statuta Antiqua*, I.

¹⁰¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, 345, 356–360. The BTh is instructed: *concionabitur in academiae templo*. The reference to the University Church is notably different than that found in the medieval instruction that the BTh should *fiat sermo publicus in ecclesia beate virginis* [*Statuta Antiqua*, 52]. See also Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 297.

preaching twice in Latin and once in English.¹⁰² The responsibility of those proceeding BTh to lecture on Lombard's *Sentences* was replaced by a requirement that they lecture on a biblical book.¹⁰³ The 1549 Statutes reiterated the Henrican visitation's emphasis on Scripture, but now with an explicit expectation that the exegesis of Scripture would generate reforming ideas. Notably, the frequency of theological disputations was increased to fortnightly, and the Regius Professor in theology—that is, Vermigli himself—was instructed to preside over them.¹⁰⁴

By the time that the 1549 Statutes were presented to the university, Vermigli was fairly well established in Oxford, and indeed the 1549 visitation provided the context for his Eucharistic disputation. There is no direct indication that Vermigli had been involved in planning the visitation and shaping the content of the Statutes, but references to the frequency of disputations in his correspondence hints that the introduction of more frequent disputations might have been made, if not at his initiative, then with his approval.¹⁰⁵ He was reported to have been deeply frustrated at finding 'the common sort of people so vnskilful as the Gospel seems but a fable to them.'¹⁰⁶ The responsibility of supervising students in regular disputations would certainly have offered an opportunity to shape their arguments according to his own understanding of the correct use of rhetoric in arguing theological questions.

CONCLUSION

Vermigli's explication of his hermeneutical principles deserves much more study, in particular to discern the extent to which he was influenced by, but also goes beyond, Erasmus. This study has suggested that the Oxford to which he came was likely to be open to the use of

¹⁰² *Statuta Antiqua*, 345, 356–360, and cf. Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 297.

¹⁰³ *Statuta Antiqua*, 345, 356–360.

¹⁰⁴ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 368. University disputations had long formed part of the formal exercises needed to take a degree, and theological disputations had always been organised on a university level several times each term, and by the colleges often on a weekly basis [Greenslade, 'Faculty of Theology,' 308–309].

¹⁰⁵ Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 368. See the references to the frequency of disputations in Vermigli to Bullinger, 1 June 1550, in *OL* 481; ab Ulmis to Gualter, 5 November 1550, *OL* 419.

¹⁰⁶ McNair, 'Peter Martyr in England,' 95, and compare also Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' 368.

humanist principles in exegesis, and indeed that Richard Smyth and others before him had preceded Vermigli in introducing them. Smyth and Vermigli disagreed profoundly on the question of the clarity and perspicuity of scripture, and on this question Smyth was clearly more closely aligned to Erasmus than was Vermigli. Although Erasmus emphasised the need to approach Scripture with 'a heart filled with simplicity, innocence and humility of faith, singleness of love, and eagerness to learn,' and emphasises that instruction in secular disciplines is only helpful if it does not run counter to Christ's teachings,¹⁰⁷ Hoffmann suggests that he had a much higher view of the liberal arts than did Vermigli. For Erasmus, rhetoric and the other arts 'serve theology, which is the understanding of divine speech,' to the extent that, with the aid of the Spirit,

the study of rhetoric and theology forms a habit in the student's nature.... Art becomes nature. The habits acquired by rhetorical ethical and theological training have become an ontological habit, and essential quality of life, the restoration of the original nature.¹⁰⁸

This is far further than Vermigli would have been prepared to go, and it is possible that his caution about the application of the liberal arts in the service of theology did not go down well in a university which for the past half century had been guided by humanist principles. For Vermigli, however, the fundamental and abiding principle was that rhetoric must not be allowed to disguise the truth:

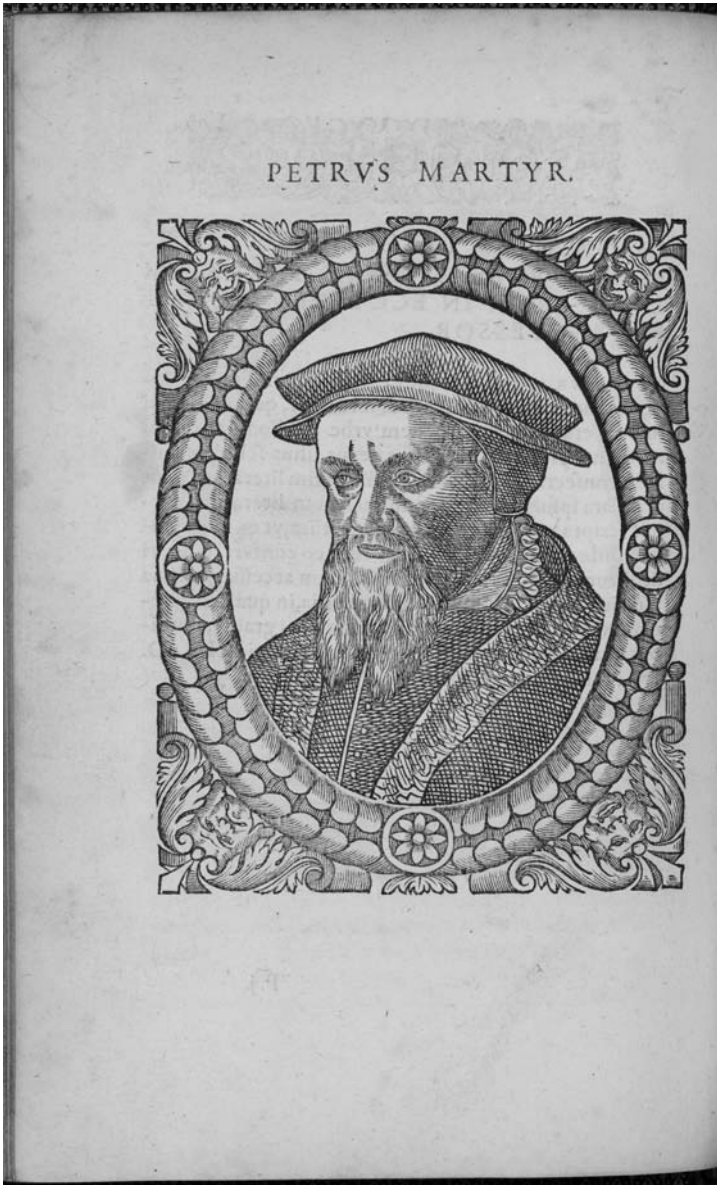
For it often happens that the unlearned are through too much exquisiteness and fineness of speech so hindered, that they are not able to understand the sense or meaning.... And the learned are sometimes so ravished in admiration of that art, that they give little heed to the matter and wisdom which are set forth under the ornaments of rhetoric. As a remedy it is right that a plain and customary speech be used... For this way it can be taken heed of, that it should not be ascribed to human wisdom that men were drawn to Christ.¹⁰⁹

That people should be drawn to Christ was the principal aim of Vermigli's work at Oxford.

¹⁰⁷ Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology*, 32.

¹⁰⁸ Hoffmann, *Rhetoric and Theology*, 92–93.

¹⁰⁹ ROM fol. a3r [CER Biii^v–Biii^r].



1 Theodore Beza. *Icones, id est Veræ imagines virorum doctrina simul et pietate illustrium: quorum praecipuè ministerio partim bonarum literarum studia sunt restituta, partim vera religio in variis orbis Christiani regionibus, nostra patrûmque memoria fuit instaurata: additis eorundem vitæ & operæ descriptionibus, quibus adiectæ sunt nonnullæ picturæ quas emblemata vocant.*

Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1580. Fol. Piv.

CHAPTER FOUR

ZÜRICH: PROFESSOR IN THE *SCHOLA TIGURINA*

Emidio Campi*

By European standards, the University of Zurich is of recent foundation. Established in 1833 by popular referendum, it cannot compare in age to such time-honoured seats of higher learning as Basel and Heidelberg, or Oxford and Bologna. Nevertheless, the origins of Zurich's university are somewhat older than the founding referendum and can, in fact, be traced back to a tradition dating from the early Reformation. Inspired by Erasmus of Rotterdam who had instituted the 'Collegium Trilingue' in Louvain as an independent school without connection to the university, Huldrych Zwingli founded the 'Prophezei' in 1525 as an institution for the training of the clergy in Zurich.¹ Considerably less dramatic than the name might imply, the school aimed at providing future pastors with a firm grounding in the Biblical languages of Hebrew and Greek as well as Latin.² The Prophezei quickly developed into an institution of higher learning whose influence and reputation spread within a short time beyond Switzerland to the rest of Europe: namely, the *Schola Tigurina*.³

* This essay is the revised and enlarged version of a paper published under the title 'Peter Martyr Vermigli as a teacher at the *Schola Tigurina*', in Emidio Campi et al., eds., *Scholarly Knowledge: Textbooks in early modern Europe* (Geneva: Droz, 2008), 391–405.

¹ The name was derived from 'prophecy' following Zwingli's interpretation of 1 Corinthians 12, 28 and 14, 26–33 and used as term for school in the church ordinance of 1535 (Christenlich ordnung und bruch der kilche Zürich). See Emidio Campi, 'Prophezei' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4th ed., vol. 6 (Tübingen: Mohr, 2003), col. 1716.

² Cf. Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte nach dem Autographon*, ed. by Johann Jakob Hottinger und Hans Heinrich Vögeli, vol. 1, Frauenfeld: Beyel, 1838, 281–291 (reprint Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1985).

³ See *Schola Tigurina. Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, ed. Institut für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte, 2nd edn. (Zurich: Pano Verlag, 2000).

The driving force behind this growth was Zwingli's successor as Antistes of Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger.⁴ Among the faculty at the *Schola Tigurina*, one finds such notable scholars as Jacob Wiesendanger, called Ceporinus, Konrad Pellikan, Konrad Gessner, Theodor Bibliander, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Josias Simler as well as outstandingly erudite pastors devoted to theological inquiry like Leo Jud, Rudolph Gualther, Otto Werdmüller (alias Myliander), Johannes Wolf, and Ludwig Lavater. Their importance has been largely overshadowed by Bullinger, whose leadership and enormous productivity have thus far been the main focus of modern scholarly interest. In recent years, however, more intensive research has led to increasing recognition of these lesser known, although not less important figures.⁵ In particular, Peter Martyr Vermigli has become a frequent subject of research.⁶ Why did this Florentine refugee (*religionis causa*) arouse the interest of his Zurich contemporaries? What did they know about him, about his thought and his writings? What were their hopes and expectations when they appointed him to the chair of Old Testament at the Zurich school? What was his distinctive contribution to the *Schola Tigurina*? Why did his works form a standard against which future Reformed theology came to be measured?

It is worthy of note that despite the growing interest in Vermigli's life and thought, and in particular the undeniable importance of his

⁴ See Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, 'Bullinger and the schools', in Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi, eds., *Architect of Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004), 215–229. For the most recent literature on Heinrich Bullinger, see Fritz Büsser, *Heinrich Bullinger. Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004–2005); Emidio Campi, ed., *Heinrich Bullinger und seine Zeit. Eine Vorlesungsreihe* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe: Eine Studie zu den 'Dekaden'* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); Emidio Campi and Peter Opitz, eds., *Heinrich Bullinger: Life, Thought, Influence*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2007).

⁵ Christine Christ-von Wedel and Urs B. Leu, eds., *Erasmus in Zürich: eine verschleierte Autorität* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2007), 77–165, 309–326.

⁶ See for the most recent literature, Emidio Campi, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli. Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), cited hereafter as PMV; Achille Olivieri, ed., *Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499–1562). Umanista, Riformatore, Pastore* [Italia Sacra 76], (Rome: Herder, 2003); Frank A James III, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004); Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007); Luca Baschera, *Tugend und Rechtfertigung. Peter Martyr Vermigli's Kommentar zur Nikomachischen Ethik im Spannungsfeld von Philosophie und Theologie* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag 2008); Jason Zuidema, *Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) and the Outward Instruments of Divine Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008).

short but highly productive Zurich period (1556–1562), the scholarly literature on this topic is extremely limited and a great many aspects are in need of illumination. This chapter seeks to respond to that need, but does not—indeed cannot—attempt to convey all the variety and richness of Martyr’s career in Zurich. Rather, the aim here is to focus on a single, though decisive aspect of his career, namely his activity as ‘*divinarum literarum professor*’ in the *Schola Tigurina*. We will address briefly Vermigli’s contacts with Bullinger in the years 1542–1556 and provide an overview of his literary production during the Zurich period. We will then examine his writings, with particular attention to the commentaries in an attempt to understand more clearly his exegetical method and to identify some key theological topics emerging from his reading of Scripture.

CONTACTS WITH BULLINGER, 1542–1556

Vermigli first came into personal contact with the Zurich theologians in 1542, at the time he was forced to flee from Italy. Unlike his intimate friend and vicar general of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino, who also decided to leave the peninsula and took temporary refuge in Geneva, the former Augustinian canon set out for Zurich. This decision by Vermigli can be ascribed to his long-standing acquaintance with Zwingli’s work *De vera et falsa religione*. More important, however, was his determination to continue the work he had initiated as Prior of San Frediano at Lucca. In the company of other learned and godly teachers such as Zwingli, Bucer, Melanchthon, and Bullinger, Vermigli saw himself as a teacher called to restore the right way to read the Scripture. No doubt Martyr was received with respect and even affection in Zurich by Bullinger and his colleagues. Since no chair was available at the *Schola Tigurina* at that time, however, he could not remain in the city on the Limmat. At any rate, the Zurichers recommended him to Oswald Myconius in Basel, who in turn played a role in Vermigli’s call to the Senior School in Strasbourg where the chair of Old Testament had recently been left vacant by the death of Wolfgang Capito.⁷ Later, in 1547, Vermigli accepted the invitation of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer to come to Oxford, where he was appointed Regius Professor

⁷ Marvin W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr: a Reformer in Exile (1542–1562): A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 76–80.

of Divinity. During his residence in Strasbourg and England he forged a good relationship with Bullinger; they corresponded regularly about theology as well as about events across Europe. Through Bucer, other Strasbourg theologians, and Zurichers studying in Strasbourg at that time, Martyr's fame as a highly learned scholar skilled in the interpretation of the Old and New Testament, and deeply committed to restore the church by teaching solid doctrine, spread to Zurich. Moreover, Vermigli's involvement in harsh academic disputes in Oxford, his role in the so-called 'vestiarian controversy', in the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and in the project to reform the English canon law, all served to increase the respect of the Antistes for the Florentine as a scholar and teacher. With the brief restoration of Catholicism to England following the accession of Mary Tudor in 1553, Vermigli was compelled to return to Strasbourg. By this time, however, the Alsatian capital had fallen under the influence of Lutheranism. Martyr's emphatically Reformed theology led to his increasing isolation and he began looking for a new base for his scholarly activities. By now, Vermigli evidently enjoyed an excellent reputation as a theologian throughout Europe, and numerous offers of academic employment arrived, including invitations from England (the interregnum of Mary Tudor having ended), Heidelberg and Geneva. Finally, in 1556, he accepted a call to assume the professorship of Old Testament in Zurich as successor to the recently deceased Hebraist Konrad Pellikan. At this point, Bullinger was engaged in an energetic attempt to convince Martyr to join the *Schola Tigurina*. His invitation of 1 May 1556, in the name of the City Council, is impressive:

The reasons that should move you to accept are hardly to be numbered. To begin, there is that the choice, of truly divine inspiration, was reached in entire unanimity. Then, you will be freed from the enmity and belligerency of your colleagues and will enter into a community of men who love you and who are averse to all quarrel... You will encounter an Italian congregation such as none other in all Germany... You will receive an adequate salary. Great exertions will not be demanded of you... I hope that you will reject the call to Heidelberg... Here with us, you will be living amongst a free people, who have no traffic with the Emperor and the unreliable Diets of the Empire.⁸

⁸ From Bullinger's letter to Peter Martyr Vermigli of 1 May 1556, in *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, E II 342, f. 323/324.

Vermigli arrived in Zurich on 17 July 1556, and Bullinger welcomed him into his house showing sincere confidence that the Florentine divine and his new Zurich colleagues were of one mind and heart. Martyr appeared before the City Council on 20 July and was inducted into his new office by the chapter of the *Schola Tigurina* on 28 July.⁹ The appointment did not require him to continue with the double course load of his predecessor. Relieved of the duty to teach Hebrew grammar, he lectured only on Old Testament exegesis. Moreover, the weekly lectures were held alternately by Vermigli and the school's other Old Testament specialist, Theodor Bibliander.¹⁰ This allowed Vermigli time for his own study and writing. Indeed, the years from 1556 to 1562 were the *most* concentrated and *productive of his life*. Here, working in close cooperation with Bullinger, he enjoyed anew the cordial relationship between the School and the Church which he had painfully missed during his second stay at Strasbourg. Through his literary production and frequent epistolary exchanges with numerous correspondents, friends and adversaries, he emerged as one of the leading theologians of the Reformation. On account of his merits the City Council granted Vermigli honorary citizenship of Zurich.¹¹ In 1562, the year of Vermigli's death, a silver medal was struck in Zurich to commemorate this distinguished biblical scholar and Reformed theologian.¹²

VERMIGLI'S LITERARY PRODUCTION DURING THE ZÜRICH PERIOD

Vermigli began lecturing in Zurich with his interpretation of the Books of Samuel and Kings. Between 1558 and 1561, he made use of the free

⁹ See Heinrich Bullinger, *Diarium (Annales vitae) der Jahre 1504–1574*, ed. Emil Egli (Basel: Basler Buch- und Antiquariats-Handlung, 1904 (reprint, Zurich: Theologische Buchhandlung, 1985), 48 and the protocol of the City Council concerning Vermigli's call to Zurich in the *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, B II 94. Bullinger wrote to Calvin on 26 July 1556, 'Venit autem ad nos [Vermigli] XVII huius mensis sanus et incolumnis et exceptus est publico omnium gaudio. Nam et concordibus votis electus est...', in CO 16, 239.

¹⁰ On Vermigli's teaching assignment in Zurich, see Heinrich Bullinger, *Reformationsgeschichte*, vol. 1, 290–291. On Bibliander see Christine Christ-von Wedel, ed., *Theodor Bibliander 1504–1564: Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005).

¹¹ The citizenship was 'freely granted' (*fryg einhellig geschännckt*) on 28 August 1557 according to the Citizenship Rolls of the City of Zurich, *Stadtarchiv Zürich*, III. A.4b, 195v. A copy of this document is preserved in *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, BX 254, 2.

¹² Torrance Kirby, 'Vermilius absconditus? The iconography of Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in Campi, ed., *PMV* 295–303, here 301.

time afforded him by his reduced teaching load to revise, enlarge, edit, or simply prepare for publication works that he had begun earlier. These include his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (1558),¹³ the lengthy *Disputations* against Richard Smith on celibacy and monastic vows and his *Defensio* against Stephen Gardiner on the Last Supper (both 1559),¹⁴ the *Commentary on Judges* (1561)¹⁵ and, in response to Johannes Brenz, the *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ*.¹⁶

More than half of Vermigli's works and five of his eight commentaries did not appear until after his death in 1562, printed by Christoph Froschauer. The first of these posthumous publications was of Vermigli's commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, edited in the year following his death by his famulus, Giulio Santerenziano.¹⁷ Vermigli's commentary on both books of *Samuel*, which he had reviewed but not yet prepared for publication, was issued in 1564 by Josias Simler.¹⁸ The same year this faithful disciple of Peter Martyr also edited one of the most fascinating works of the Florentine theologian under the title *Preces sacræ*.¹⁹ In 1566, Johannes Wolf published Vermigli's commentary on

¹³ *In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos* (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1558). For a bibliography of the works of Vermigli, see John Patrick Donnelly, Robert M. Kingdon and Marvin W. Anderson, eds., *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Kirkville: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990).

¹⁴ *Defensio D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris ad Riccardi Smythaei... duos libellos de cœlibatu sacerdotum, et votis monasticis* (Basel: Petrus Perna, 1559); *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosancto eucharistiae sacramento Petri Martyris Vermilii Florenti, divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris, in quatuor distincta partes, adversus Stephani Gardineri librum* ([Zurich: Christoph Froschauer], 1559).

¹⁵ *In librum Iudicum D. Petri Martyris Vermilij Florentini, professoris divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina, commentarij doctissimi...* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1561).

¹⁶ *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura, quomodo cœant in unam Christi personam inseparabilem, ut interim non amittant suas proprietates... authore D. Petro Martyre Vermilio Florentino* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1561).

¹⁷ *In primum, secundum, et initium tertii libri Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum, clariss. et doctiss. viri d. Petri Martyris Vermilij Florentini, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris, commentarius doctissimus* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer iunior, 1563); on which see Emidio Campi and Joseph C. McLelland, eds., *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics* (PML 9) (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 2003).

¹⁸ *In duos libros Samuelis Prophetæ, qui vulgo priores libri Regum appellantur D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, professoris divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina, commentarii doctissimi...* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1564).

¹⁹ *Preces sacræ ex Psalmis Davidis desumptæ per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professorem* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1564).

the two books of the *Kings*.²⁰ Finally, in 1569, it was Simler again who edited a manuscript of Vermigli's commentary on *Genesis* based on his early Strasbourg lectures.²¹

In addition to Biblical exegesis, Vermigli's commentaries also contain numerous remarks on theological doctrine and political theory. Beza had proposed collecting these remarks into a systematic presentation of Vermigli's theology as early as 1563.²² Nevertheless, it was not until 1576 that Robert Masson/Le Maçon, pastor of the French exile community in London, excerpted these 'fidei christianae capita' from Vermigli's commentaries and other works, arranged them according to the structure of Calvin's *Institutio*, and published them under the title *Loci Communes*.²³ These were later republished in numerous editions and are considered, along with Calvin's *Institutio* and Heinrich Bullinger's *Decades*, among the most influential general exposition of Christian doctrine in early Reformed Protestantism.²⁴ Following this brief overview of Vermigli's extensive literary production during his Zurich period, we can turn now to his teaching activity there, both as exegete and as theologian.

²⁰ *Melachim id est Regum libri duo posteriores cum commentariis Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris...* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1566).

²¹ *In primum librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur commentarii doctissimi D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, professoris divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina...* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1569).

²² Letter from Beza to Bullinger, 1 July 1563, in Pierre Meylan, Alain Dufour and Arnaud Tripet, eds., *Correspondence de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 4 (Geneva: Droz, 1965), no. 274, 162: 'Quidam hic putant utilissimum ecclesiis laborem fore, si quis ex Martyris nostri scriptis, locos communes seorsim excudendos in unum corpus componat. Nolumus tamen hoc nisi vobis consultis aggredi, ne vestri Typographi sibi fieri injuriam conquererentur. Rogo ut ad me scribas quid tibi de hoc consilio videatur.'

²³ *Loci communes Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini praestantissimi nostrae aetate theologi. Ex varijs ipsius auctoris libris in unum volumen collecti, et quatuor classes distributi* (London: John Kyngston, 1576). See Christoph Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci communes* und Calvins *Institutio Christianae Religionis*,' in Campi, ed., *PMV 77–104*; Kurt Jakob Rüetschi, 'Gwalther, Wolf und Simler als Herausgeber von Vermigli-Werken,' in Campi, *ibid.*, 251–274, here 268–271.

²⁴ Particularly important was the *editio secunda* of 1580 published by Rudolph Gualther that became the model for all later editions issued between 1587 and 1656. On the theological importance of the *Loci communes*, see Christoph Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes* und Calvins *Institutio Christianae Religionis*,' in Campi, ed., *PMV 77–104*.

THE EXEGETE

Between 1553 and 1562, Vermigli prepared commentaries on the Books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*, in that order.²⁵ Beginning in Strasbourg and continuing in Zurich, he was clearly following a unified, coherent plan for the exegesis of the books covering the history of Israel from the period of the conquest and construction of the empire through the divided monarchies. A detailed analysis of Vermigli's exegesis belongs in another study. Here we shall content ourselves with a few illustrative examples.

A conspicuous feature of Martyr's exegetical works is the combination of a running commentary on the text with more or less extensive thematic digressions on various *loci communes*. This is, in fact, typical of all sixteenth-century Protestant commentaries on the Bible. Martyr, however, goes much further than other commentators in introducing such digressions for which, at the same time, there is always a cogent textual justification. Thus, for example, in *Judges* (3:12–30), the killing of King Eglon by Ehud imposes upon the commentator the duty of treating the subject of resistance to tyrants. In *Kings*, the marriage of Solomon to a daughter of the Egyptian Pharaoh raises the question of the validity of mixed marriages (1 Kings 3:1). Throughout the commentary, there is a treatment not merely of historical events, but also of the fundamental questions of theology implicit therein. The ascension of Elijah (2 Kings 2:11), for example, calls for a discussion of questions ranging from the resurrection of the dead to matters of confessional polemics—such as whether Evangelicals should be considered schismatic owing to their separation from Rome—all the way to the issue of the legitimacy of placing icons in churches.

Equally conspicuous is Vermigli's distinct tendency in the running commentary to adhere to the *sensus litteralis*, the historical sense of the text, while largely dispensing with allegorical or anagogical interpretation. It is only the need for Christological interpretation—in particular

²⁵ *In librum Iudicum* (*supra*, note 15); *In duos libros Samuelis Prophetarum* (*supra*, note 18); *Melachim, id est Regum libri duo* (*supra*, note 20). Vermigli lectured on the Book of Judges in Strasbourg from November 1553, to the summer of 1556; the commentary was not published, however, until 1561, in Zurich. On Vermigli's bibliography and the chronological order, see Anderson, *Peter Martyr: a Reformer in Exile*.

of the Psalms—that occasionally induces him to consider the person of the Christ typologically in his exegesis of the Old Testament.²⁶

As Thomas Krüger has rightly noted,²⁷ Vermigli is drawn to make text-critical remarks by a continuous comparison of the Hebrew text of the Masoretic Bible with the Aramaic translation of the *Targum Jonathan*, to which he regularly refers. At the same time, the Septuagint seems to play a relatively important role in his textual considerations, which are, to be sure, not intended as textual criticism in the modern sense. The Aramaic translation is used rather as a philological reference source for the clarification of difficult passages in the Hebrew text.

Vermigli's frequent references to the *Targum*, as well as to his own translations from the Hebrew, are evidence of his highly developed linguistic capabilities. In the view of his biographer, Carl Schmidt, there was, 'with the exception of Fagius,' nobody 'who knew the Medieval rabbis better at that time.'²⁸ In any event, the extent of Vermigli's knowledge, and the command with which he is able to discuss ancient and Medieval Jewish authors—from Philo and Josephus to the post-exilic chronicle *Seder Olam Rabbah*, to Rashi (Solomon ben Isaac, 1040–1105), Ibn Ezra (1089–1164), Joseph Kimchi (1105–1170), David Kimchi (1160–1230) and Levi ben Gerson (1288–1344)—is indeed remarkable. Some of these sources had presumably been brought to his knowledge by way of the Rabbinic Bible.²⁹ Like Bucer, Vermigli seems to prefer citing from those Jewish authors who were interested primarily in the *peshat*, the 'simple' meaning of the text, authors such as David Kimchi, whom he quotes at length. The Jewish commentators are referred to for the clarification of matters ranging from the philological to the archaeological, from architectural detail and topography

²⁶ See John L. Thompson, 'The Survival of Allegorical Interpretation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis,' in Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson, eds., *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 255–271; John Patrick Donnelly, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Sacred Prayers Drawn from the Psalms of David* (PML 3) (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 1996); Emidio Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae* of Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in James, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 251–266.

²⁷ Thomas Krüger, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli's Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments,' in Campi, ed., *PMV* 225–240, here 233–235.

²⁸ Carl Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli. Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: Friderichs, 1858), 58.

²⁹ Daniel Bomberg (ca. 1458–ca. 1553) of Venice issued two successive Rabbinic Bibles (1517, 1524–25) as well as the Hebrew concordances that would render accessible the medieval Jewish commentators to Christian readers.

to customs and ritual practices. Theological matters, by contrast, are barely touched upon.

Vermigli devotes a great deal of attention also to the literary and rhetorical analysis of the Biblical text, employing, obviously, the tools available in his day. This includes not only the semantics of individual words, but also the function of poetic devices such as metaphor and irony, as well as the use of rhetorical strategies, in particular in direct speech. Thus in addition to exegetical insights, Vermigli provides his listeners and readers with rhetorical understanding and skills.³⁰

The commentary on I Kings 1:31 offers a pertinent example of the way in which he approaches the explanation of the meaning of a Hebrew word. This is the passage where Bathsheba says to King David, 'Let my lord, king David, live forever!' According to Kimchi's commentary on this verse, this speech must be a reference to the life of the soul in the world to come, since David, in this world, was already close to death. Vermigli contradicts him, pointing out—rightly, in the modern view—that the meaning of the Hebrew noun *'olam* is in not at all limited to 'forever' in the strict sense of 'eternity.' Quite often, it is used to mean simply a very long period of time: 'Vocabulum "olam" significat non rara spatium temporis bene longum, non autem semper infinitum. In summa, regi leni fausta & vitam precatur.'³¹

Not only individual words or expressions, but also behavioural gestures or even entire speeches are given a rhetorical analysis in Vermigli's commentaries. A telling example is the famous Judgement of Solomon (I Kings 3:16–28), including Solomon's well-known order to solve the dispute between two prostitutes over the same child by proposing to cut it into two and giving half to each of the would-be mothers (I Kings 3:24ff.). Vermigli makes it clear that Solomon had in no way actually intended to kill the child. Rather, he was testing the two women, in the same way God had tested Abraham in Genesis 22, when he demanded of him the sacrifice of his son Isaac. In both cases the order to take a life can be properly construed only if the rhetorical sense is taken into

³⁰ This is an extensive and complex field of research that has thus far lain fallow, and into which few until now have dared to tread. Cf. Cesare Vasoli, 'Loci Communes and the rhetorical and dialectical traditions,' in Joseph C. McLelland, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ont.: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 17–28.

³¹ *MEL* fol. 6a, cited from Krüger, 'Vermigli's Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments' in Campi, ed., *PMV* 235.

account.³² Bathsheba's brief speech at I Kings 1:17–21, provides Vermigli with the opportunity for a detailed discussion of her role in securing the throne for her son in the struggle for the Davidic succession. More than that, Vermigli points out to his readers how Bathsheba 'acted with skill as an orator and a diplomat—and thus provides them, *en passant*, with a lesson in rhetoric and diplomacy.'³³

In addition to his use of secondary literature of Jewish provenance and of rhetorical analysis, Vermigli also drew on classical Greek and Roman literature. Of these he had equally full command,³⁴ and they served him as sources for what was termed the 'historical' explanation of the text. Vermigli makes repeated reference to Aristotle, Plato, Pythagoras, Democritus, Zeno, Cleanthes, Homer, Hesiod, and Sophocles, as well as to Cicero, Lactantius, Terence, and Virgil. To these can be added the Patristic sources, particularly the Greek, in which Vermigli was well versed and which he draws upon, along with medieval authors, in his commentaries.³⁵ To put it simply, Vermigli was familiar with virtually all of the printed works of his time, as well as with many additional manuscripts that had not yet been printed, including, for example, Chrysostom's *Epistola ad Caesarium Monachum*.³⁶ One glance at Vermigli's use of these classical authors in his writings is sufficient to dispel any notion of applying any strictly antithetical distinction between Humanism and Reformation in his case.

One further aspect of Vermigli's writings should also not be overlooked, viz. the clarity of his argumentation and the fluidity of his style. These characteristics undoubtedly contributed to the exceptionally long history of success of his commentaries and further help to explain why modern readers continue to be intrigued, even fascinated by them. More important, however, is the interlinking of scientific theology with Church life, the consequences of which can be of a thoroughly practical

³² MEL fol. 176b, cited from Krüger, 'Vermigli's Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments' *ibid.*, 236.

³³ Krüger, 'Vermigli's Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments', *ibid.*, 236.

³⁴ See Marvin W. Anderson, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: Erudite Florentine Reformer,' in Olivieri, ed., *Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499–1562)*, 37–78.

³⁵ Cf. Alfred Schindler, 'Vermigli und die Kirchenväter,' in Campi, ed., *PMV* 37–43; Douglas H. Shantz, 'Vermigli on Tradition and the Fathers: Patristic Perspectives from his Commentary on I Corinthians,' in James, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 115–138.

³⁶ Cf. Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Word of God: an Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli, A.D. 1500–1562* (Edinburgh & London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 269.

nature. Vermigli, it will be recalled, was not working in a vacuum. His strict philological analysis and meticulous interpretation of the Scriptural text were undertaken with a purpose, namely to educate his fellow Christians and influence the way in which they conducted their daily lives. This brings us to a second aspect of Vermigli's activities in Zurich. He was not simply an outstanding exegete, but also '*praestantissimus theologus*,' outstanding theologian, as Josias Simler calls him in his *Oratio de Vita Vermilii*.³⁷

THE THEOLOGIAN

The range of subjects touched on by Vermigli in his commentaries is broad.³⁸ Three of them in particular are worth special notice: a) the attitude towards authority, b) the question of resistance to tyrants, and c) determining the relationship between Church and State. The choice is justified both by the large number of political and legal references found in Vermigli's commentaries to *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*—paralleled neither in quantity nor quality by other contemporary exegetes—and by the far reaching influence of Vermigli's texts. In addition I would like to mention a fourth theme which offers a wide and difficult field of investigation, namely the relationship between Vermigli and Bullinger.

a) *The Attitude towards Authority*

Vermigli's understanding of political authority is based on Scriptural principle: the ruling authority, according to Romans 13, is ordained by God.³⁹ All human beings are subject to this higher authority, which has the double responsibility of punishing wrongdoers and defending the pious. Coupled with this attitude toward higher authority is Vermigli's rejection of the doctrine of the 'Two Swords' which had come to full development in the Papal bull *Unam sanctam* (1302), and which upheld

³⁷ Josias Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri et praestantissimi theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermilii divinarum literarum professoris in schola Tigurina* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1563). For an English translation see *LLS*.

³⁸ Following Marvin W. Anderson, 'Royal Idolatry: Peter Martyr and the Reformed Tradition,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 69 (1978), 178–182. Further bibliography can be found in: Robert M. Kingdon, *The Political Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli: Selected Texts and Commentary* (Geneva: Droz, 1980).

³⁹ ROM fol. 640. See Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*, 61–63.

the subordination of temporal to spiritual jurisdiction even in worldly matters in name of the papal plenitude of power. For Vermigli, ecclesiastical power was not superior to the worldly and was not permitted to hinder the latter in the performance of its duties.⁴⁰ Like all human professions exercised for and within the community, civil authority is an office (*munus, officium, ministerium, onus, functio*) to which are attached certain inherent rights and obligations. Like other such offices instituted for the realization of God's just will in the community and accompanied by authority to rule, civil office is a divine calling that bestows upon its holder a certain elevated status and dignity. This dignity is necessary in order to distinguish rulers from their subjects, and it should not be diminished without reason. Since God realizes His divine order through these earthly offices, having Himself instituted them, respect for the office of the magistrate, even if not for the person who holds it, is actually part of the proper service owed to God.

In defining the responsibility of the civil authority, Vermigli follows the medieval tradition based upon Biblical and Aristotelian notions. The goal of a just, as opposed to a tyrannical, government is the well-being of the polity, the common good: *salus rei publicae, bonum publicum*.⁴¹ Characteristically, Vermigli sees the 'common weal' as consisting in the realization of justice from which it cannot be detached. For this reason it is of particular importance that the civil authority understand political virtue not as the fulfilment of its own personal will, but as the recognition, care, and execution of the law as the fundamental basis of polity. Respect for the law, recognition of a political order based on the rule of law, and vigilance in the face of human authority are, for Vermigli, inseparably bound together. In this he bears witness to a specific understanding of authority that has become one of the cornerstones of modern constitutional government, particularly in its Calvinistic form.⁴² Concerning the optimal form of government, Vermigli has a

⁴⁰ Kingdon, *Political Thought*, 1–15; Torrance Kirby, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli and Pope Boniface VIII: the Difference between Civil and Ecclesiastical Power,' in James, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 291–304.

⁴¹ NE 41: 'Studet politica facultas in republica..., ut cives omnes ex virtute agant'; for an English translation see CNE 45.

⁴² Cf. Ernst Wolf, 'Theologie und Sozialordnung bei Calvin,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 42 (1951), 11–31; André Biéler, *Calvin's economic and social thought* (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches/World Council of Churches, 2005), 247–268; Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002), 533–546.

clear preference: given the choice between monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, like Calvin⁴³ he would choose aristocracy, in combination with democracy, if need be.⁴⁴

b) *The question of resistance to tyrants*

The stories of Ehud, the second Judge of Israel, who stabs Eglon, king of Moab (Judges 3:12–4:1) and of Jael, who kills Sisera, captain of the enemy army, by hammering a nail into his skull (Judges 4:9ff.), induce Vermigli to treat the question of resistance to tyrants. He does so in a number of lengthy digressions.⁴⁵ As Orazio Bravi has convincingly shown, Vermigli's thoughts on the subject are a mixture of ancient political theory, the humanism of the Florentine bourgeoisie, legal terminology, and Covenant theology.⁴⁶

In keeping with Italian juridic tradition, as represented in particular by Bartolo da Sassoferrato (1314–1357)⁴⁷ and Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406),⁴⁸ Vermigli distinguishes between two types of tyrants: the tyrant *ex defectu tituli*, who takes power illegitimately and changes the form of government; and the tyrant *ex exercitio*, who, although having come to power legitimately, rules unjustly and in his own personal interest. The first type is to be considered an enemy to the fatherland in every respect. Citizens are thus entitled to resist him by force of arms. Offenses committed by the tyrant *ex defectu tituli* can be counted among the serious crimes (*crimen laesae majestatis*), since they are directed against the public order and the freedom of the people. The struggle against such tyrants is necessary for the defence of the fatherland, in keeping, according to Vermigli, with both natural and common law.⁴⁹

Faced with a tyrant *ex exercitio*, on the other hand, the private citizen in Vermigli's view is not entitled to take up arms; were this to be

⁴³ William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin. A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 207.

⁴⁴ *IUD* ch. 19, fol. 183v (English trans. in Kingdon, *Political Thought*, 27). See Orazio Bravi, 'Über die intellektuellen Wurzeln des Republikanismus von Petrus Martyr Vermigli,' in Campi, ed., *PMV* 120–121.

⁴⁵ See, e.g., the excursus '*an subditis liceat contra suos principes insurgere*,' English translation in Kingdon, *Political Thought*, 99–100.

⁴⁶ Bravi, 'Über die intellektuellen Wurzeln', 126–128.

⁴⁷ Cf. Diego Guaglioni, *Politica e diritto nel Trecento italiano: il De tyranno di Bartolo da Sassoferrato, 1314–1357* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983).

⁴⁸ Coluccio Salutati, *Il trattato 'De Tyranno' e lettere scelte*, ed. Francesco Ercole (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1942).

⁴⁹ *IUD* fol. 16v–17r.

permitted, any citizen could claim legitimacy for mere insubordination. Under tyrants of this kind, the private citizen must suffer for the sake of his beliefs (*Acts* 5:21), bearing his suffering with patience, albeit *usque ad aras*, preferring exile if the ruling authority were to seek to coerce him into committing sacrilege.⁵⁰ By contrast, lower authorities (*minores magistratus*) do have a certain duty to resist.⁵¹

Vermigli draws a distinction among the lower authorities between those, such as prefects and civil servants of a region or city, who pronounce justice in the name of a higher authority, and those who participate in making the law or who have the right to elect the higher authority and to examine the legality of its actions. Here he is referring to the electors in an empire, the parliament in a monarchy, or the senators in a republic. As concerns the first group of *minores magistratus*, by offering resistance in cases where a higher authority has ordered them to commit a sacrilege or an injustice, they act according to their duty, *ex officio*, in keeping with imperial, royal, or republican law. Vermigli's remarks to this effect were a significant step in the development of the theory of government and were later adopted, word for word, by Althusius in his *Politica methodice digesta* (Cap. XXXVIII, 43), 1614. As for the lower authorities of the second type, these have the additional obligation to take up arms against the higher authority when it oversteps the bounds of the authority it has been granted. This second remark by Vermigli attracted the attention of John Milton, who quotes it in his *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 1649.⁵²

c) *Determining the Relationship between Church and State*

The close link between the religious and political communities that was part of the historical reality in Zurich both before and, especially, after

⁵⁰ IUD fol. 107v: 'Cum vero principes ita corrupti fuerint, quid agendum? Pareamus oportet, sed usque ad aras.' See the pertinent considerations of Torrance Kirby in his introduction to Vermigli's 'Sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion' in Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology*, 121–148.

⁵¹ IUD fol. 40v: excursus '*an Christianis liceat cum infidelibus habitare*' (English trans. in Kingdon, *Political Thought*, 86–89). This had already be taught by Zwingli in his *Schlussreden* of 1523 (Z II, 342, 346); by Bucer in his *Commentaries on the Gospel* of 1530 (*potestates inferiores* contra the *potestas superior*); and, of course, by Calvin, in the *Institutio* IV.20.31 (as early as the 1536 edition).

⁵² John Milton, *The Complete Prose Works*, vol. 3 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1962), 221, 247.

the Reformation,⁵³ finds its counterpart in Vermigli's remarks on the nature of the relationship between Church and State. These are found, primarily, in his commentary to the book of *Kings*. Although *ecclesia* and *res publica* are taken there as separate entities, they do not represent two irreconcilable orders organized along fundamentally contradictory principles. Rather, they are two organs of the same body. While each has its own tasks to fulfil, nonetheless the two remain inseparably linked. The norm of justice that is applied equally to both orders is a unified idea of human community, structured invariably according to Scriptural principles, which form the basis of both the ecclesiastical and the civil order. The religious community, in which justice is realized primarily through the belief born of inner conviction, can serve as a model for the political community. At the same time, the political community is, for Vermigli, clearly not just an external ruling order imposed from without for the protection and preservation of life. The state, too, is the embodiment of a moral community.

The logical consequence of this close relationship between the *ecclesia* and the *res publica* is the responsibility of the Christian community to watch over worldly matters and to speak out at every injustice in order to influence the conduct of the ruling authority. Quite naturally, however, if both the church and the civil authority are founded upon the same principles, an autonomous church authority becomes superfluous. The *cura religionis* can be entrusted to the civil authority without any loss to the autonomy of the Church—at least not in the view current in Vermigli's day.⁵⁴ In Vermigli's view, the civil authority had been empowered by divine right as guardian of the second tablet of the Decalogue (*custos secundae tabulae*), that is of the commandments regarding the responsibilities of mankind in its dealings with one another. Through its link to the Church, however, the civil authority also has a protective obligation with respect to the first table of the law (*custos primae tabulae*), that is to the proper service of God. The civil authority is thus granted a role of eminent importance in the conduct of the *cultus Dei legitimus*.⁵⁵ The unity of *res publica* and *ecclesia* comes

⁵³ Zwingli and Bullinger saw no problem in entrusting the political authorities with the care for the church and the preachers with the role of guardians watching over the state. Cf. Emidio Campi, 'Bullingers Rechts- und Staatsdenken,' in *Evangelische Theologie* 60 (2004), 116–126.

⁵⁴ Cf. Kirby, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli and Pope Boniface VIII,' 303–304.

⁵⁵ ROM fol. 609; English trans. in Kingdon, *Political Thought*, 13.

nowhere more clearly to expression than in the age of the pious Kings Solomon, David, and Josiah. Just as they and, in the days of the early Church, the Emperors Constantine, Theodosius, and Justinian watched over the *ecclesia*, so also does the responsibility for the protection of the contemporary Church fall to civil authority.⁵⁶

It is precisely this reciprocal linkage between *ecclesia* and *res publica*, constructed on the idea of a well-ordered human community that provides the intellectual background underlying the solution developed in Zurich for the coexistence of its religious and political institutions. Specifically, the collaboration between the ecclesiastical and the civil authorities was so well-coordinated that they formed a commonality without ever losing their individual identities. The problems inherent in such a constellation of power, in which there is, at least potentially, the risk of the Church being controlled from without by the state, do not seem to have been considered by Vermigli (nor by Bullinger!). This is also evident from the fact that Vermigli, like Bullinger, but in contrast to Calvin, showed no great interest in independent measures to strengthen the autonomy of the ecclesial community over against the civil power. The participation of the civil authority in the decisions of the religious community was, it seems, not a result of the political authority seeking to expand its influence into the domain of religion. Rather, it was the expression of what Vermigli and other leading theologians of Bullinger's day wanted. It was, they believed, only within such a framework that the Church could devote itself fully to purely doctrinal matters and preach the Gospel unencumbered. It thus makes perfect sense that Bullinger and the Zurich City Council would, in 1556, invest heavily, both financially and otherwise, in Vermigli's appointment, and that he would be granted citizenship only one year later, contrary to the usual practice.⁵⁷ As outside pressures on the new confession grew it also makes sense that the recruitment of Vermigli as an international representative of the Reformed Church would be of such importance to the Church and Council of Zurich. Thus were they able to send him in 1561 to the Colloquy of Poissy, where he could plead for the Reformed faith before his countrywoman, the regent of France, Catherine de Medici.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ SAM fol. 15v; cf. Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, 200.

⁵⁷ See *supra* note 11.

⁵⁸ Vermigli's passport, signed by King Charles IX, is in the *Zentralbibliothek Zurich*, Urk. A 21. On Vermigli's participation in the Colloquy of Poissy see his *Relatio colloquii Possiaceni*, in CO 18, No. 3541, Bullinger's entries in his *Stiftsgeschichte* (1573),

Vermigli's thinking matched perfectly with the views and expectations of both the church and the civil authority of Zurich.

d) *The relationship between Vermigli and Bullinger*

There existed between the Florentine theologian and the Antistes of Zurich not only a heart-felt friendship⁵⁹ but also a deep theological bond. Despite their different role in school and church, they both worked to maintain a higher standard in their respective exegetical works. Both sought out main topics or *loci* that would help readers to understand the meaning and intention of the biblical text. Evidence of their fruitful cooperation is strewn through the works of both, but scholars have not yet pursued them. To mention some few examples: to what extent did Bullinger's *Decades* influence Martyr's monumental work *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosancto eucharistiae sacramento*?⁶⁰ And in the other direction, it is well known that Bullinger sought the counsel of Vermigli while drafting the *Second Helvetic Confession*.⁶¹ How large was Vermigli's contribution to that fundamental document of Reformed faith? Was it only coincidental that in the Christological controversy with the Lutheran theologian Johannes Brenz, which initially preoccupied Vermigli⁶² and then, after his death, Bullinger, both garnered the same ironic commentary of their learned opponent?⁶³

Zentralbibliothek Zurich, Ms. Car. C 43, 834, and Andreas Mühling, 'Vermigli, Bullinger und das Religionsgespräch von Poissy', in Campi, ed., *PMV* 241–249; idem, *Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (Bern: Lang, 2001), 204–215. On the Colloquy of Poissy in general, see Alain Dufour, 'Das Religionsgespräch von Poissy: Hoffnungen der Reformierten und der "Moyenneurs"', in Gerhard Müller, ed., *Die Religionsgespräche der Reformationszeit* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980).

⁵⁹ To give but one example: Heinrich Bullinger and Galeazzo Caracciolo were witnesses at the wedding of Vermigli to Caterina Merenda in Zurich; see *Staatsarchiv Zürich*, Ratsurkunde B V 33.

⁶⁰ The *Defensio doctrinae veteris et apostolicae de sacrosancto eucharistiae sacramento... adversus Stephani Gardinineri... librum* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1559), an extensive volume of 821 folio pages, is a compendium of the Reformed teaching on the Lord's Supper and was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth I of England. A comparison with Bullinger's *Sermonum Decades quinque* (Dec. 5, 9 'Of the Lord's Holy Supper') could be revealing.

⁶¹ In the elenchus of his writings (*Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, Ms. F 98, 30a.) Bullingers noted: 'Initio scripsi hanc confess[ionem] anno salutis 1562 et contuli cum D[ivo] Martyre, qui probabat plurimum.' See also Carl Pestalozzi, *Heinrich Bullinger: Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: Friderichs, 1858), 416.

⁶² *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* [...] (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1561).

⁶³ See Hans Christian Brandy, *Die späte Christologie des Johannes Brenz* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991).

Did the predestination controversy which afflicted the *Schola Tigurina* at the beginning of the 1560s and led to the abrupt departure of Bibliander 'reflect a shift in Zurich's theology towards Geneva'?⁶⁴ Or, alternatively, did Bullinger hold firm to his own position expressed during the notorious Bolsec dispute when the Züricher refused to give unqualified support to Calvin?⁶⁵ How is one to distinguish between the influence of Bullinger and that of Martyr in Hungary?⁶⁶ Vermigli's dialogue with Bullinger is both subtle and complex at the same time, and consequently difficult to determine, but certainly offers a unique window into the formation of Reformed orthodoxy.

Vermigli returned from the Colloquy of Poissy exhausted and ill. Despite devoted care, he became seriously ill and died on December 12, 1562.⁶⁷ It was Bullinger who performed the last duty of respect for his good friend: he 'closed the eyes of the dying man and clothed him for burial'.⁶⁸ Martyr was ceremoniously buried three days later in the cloister of the Grossmünster.⁶⁹ The funeral oration was entrusted to his disciple Josias Simler, whose *Oratio* has remained and will continue to be the foundation for every future biography. However, Vermigli's influence in Zurich in no way ended with his death. On the contrary, the very qualities of his gifts as teacher brought into being an astonishing admiration for his writings, many of which, as we have seen, were first published posthumously. Generations of Swiss, German, Dutch and

⁶⁴ So Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 177. On the controversy between Vermigli and Bibliander over the doctrine of predestination, see Emil Egli, *Analecta Reformatoria* 2 (Zurich: Zürcher and Furrer, 1901), 70–80; Joachim Staedtke, 'Der Zürcher Prädestinationsstreit von 1560,' *Zwingliana* 9 (1953), 536–546; Frank A. James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁶⁵ Philipp C. Holtrop, *The Bolsec Controversy on Predestination from 1551 to 1555: The Statements of Jerome Bolsec, and the Responses of John Calvin, Theodore Beza, and Other Reformed Theologians* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 1993). On Bullinger, see Peter Walser, *Die Prädestination bei Heinrich Bullinger* (Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1957), 200–210; Peter Opitz, *Heinrich Bullinger als Theologe*, 175–185.

⁶⁶ Mihály Bucsay, 'Leitgedanken der Theologie Bullingers bei Petrus Melius: Ein Beitrag zur Ausstrahlung des Zürcher Reformators nach Ungarn,' in Ulrich Gäbler and Erland Herkenrath, ed., *Heinrich Bullinger 1504–1575. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum 400. Todestag*, vol. 2 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 197–214, esp. 199–200; Endre Zsindely, 'Bullinger in Ungarn,' in *ibid.*, 361–84, esp. 374.

⁶⁷ See Simler, *Oratio*, 26'; *LLS* 59–62 and Heinrich Bullinger, *Diarium*, 68.

⁶⁸ Simler, *Oratio*, 26'; *LLS* 61.

⁶⁹ Peter Martyr Vermigli is listed on 15 November 1562 in the 'Totenbuch' of the Grossmünster, *Stadtarchiv Zürich*, VIII C 48.

English pastors were trained with his commentaries and *Loci communes*. An inquiry into Vermigli's influence on European Reformed theology of the 16th and 17th centuries is indeed an urgent desideratum. Loosely speaking, one could compare such an investigation to the discovery of a vast continent that few have dared set foot on to this day.⁷⁰ How did Vermigli's works spread from Zurich into German- and French-speaking Switzerland, into the Reformed German territories, and especially into the Netherlands at the time of the Synod of Dort? How did they become known to the English Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic? And how does one explain the surprising influence of Vermigli on Johannes Althusius, above all in the *Politica Methodice digesta*?⁷¹ On these questions there are still many fascinating pages to be written. At any rate, these preliminary investigations reveal how decisive his influence was on Reformed theology in the 16th and 17th centuries. Indeed, without reference to Peter Martyr Vermigli, 'the teacher...inspired by the Spirit'—to use Simler's words—early Reformed theology is simply incomprehensible.

⁷⁰ In addition to the contribution of Giorgio Spini, *Riforma italiana e mediazioni ginevrine nella Nuova Inghilterra puritana*, in *Ginevra e l'Italia*, ed. by Delio Cantimori et al. (Florence: Sansoni, 1959), 451–89, repr. *idem*, *Barocco e puritani: Studi sulla storia del Seicento in Italia, Spagna e New England* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1991), 239–69; Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 86–90; Anderson, *Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile*, 378–417; Mariano Di Gangi, *Peter Martyr Vermigli 1499–1562: Renaissance Man, Reformation Master* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 127–148 and Andrew Pettegree, *La réception du calvinisme en Angleterre*, in Olivier Millet, ed., *Calvin et ses contemporains: Actes du Colloque de Paris 1995* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 261–82, esp. 268–77.

⁷¹ Christoph Strohm, *Calvinismus und Recht: Weltanschaulich-konfessionelle Aspekte im Werk reformierter Juristen in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2008), 218–222.

PART TWO

LEARNING SACRED AND PROFANE

CHAPTER FIVE

EXEGESIS AND PATRISTIC AUTHORITY

David Wright(†)¹

The general estimate of Peter Martyr Vermigli's stature as a patristic theologian (i.e. a theologian who uses the writings of the early Church Fathers) is not in doubt. Pontien Polman's still indispensable *L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (1932) credits him with 'the merit of being the first clearly to formulate the principles which undergird the "Calvinist" [Reformed, we might prefer today] interpretation of the Fathers and which, more or less knowingly, Zwingli, Oecolampadius and Bullinger had already applied in their polemics.'² According to Joe McLelland's judicious appendix on 'Peter Martyr's Patristic Sources' (in that pioneer monograph, based of course on his Edinburgh PhD and published in that fair city, of which this conference marks the fiftieth anniversary of publication), his theology is 'Patristic in a profound sense: extensively a work such as the *Defensio* is actually a commentary upon the writings of the Fathers; intensively, his Patristic sources have authority because of their relation to holy Scripture.'³ That 1559 *Defensio* was, according to Polman, 'the lengthiest monograph and perhaps the most erudite which Protestant polemic in the sixteenth century produced on a special subject in the history of dogma'—and the controversy pivoted on the interpretation of the Fathers.⁴

¹ At the time of Dr. Wright's untimely death in February, 2008, this essay remained incomplete. The editors are indebted to Dr. Jon Balserak of the University of Bristol, who in the best scholarly tradition brought Dr. Wright's rough draft to fruition. Dr. Wright would have been deeply honoured.

² Pontien Polman, *L'Elément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932), 121–24. Translations are my own.

³ Joseph McLelland, 'Peter Martyr's Patristic Sources,' in *The Visible Word of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 267–271.

⁴ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Defensio doctrinae veteris & apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae sacramento, D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini, divinarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris, in quatuor distincta partes, adversus Stephani Gardineri, quondam Wintoniensis episcopi, librum, sub nomine M. Antonii Constantii editum,*

It is, then, at first sight puzzling that Peter Martyr Vermigli's name scarcely appears at all in those three volumes, two edited, one authored, by Irena Backus on the reception of the Fathers and on *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)*—this last monograph conceived as a corrective replacement for Polman.⁵ Why Vermigli should have failed to make it into these invaluable works (a fate shared almost entirely by Heinrich Bullinger) is no doubt a question open to a wide range of answers. For example, they illustrate and could not hope to cover comprehensively the vast scope of this field of early modern scholarship.

Another possible partial explanation may be that scholarship is still far short of being able to give a considered synoptic account of Martyr's use of the Fathers. That is to say, the massive, detailed, and difficult craft of identifying sources, texts and editions now regarded as indispensable in the production of a critical edition and as essential groundwork for constructive analysis of the reception of the Fathers has still a long way to go for Vermigli's corpus.⁶ The publication of most of the first series of translations in the Peter Martyr Library represents a huge advance in the accessibility of his works, but I would not be honest if I did not express a degree of disappointment that, given the recognition on all sides of the fundamental importance of the patristic dimension in those works, the admittedly wearisome task of tracking down source references and presenting them in footnotes and indexes with the requisite regard for standard conventions and uniformity has been executed with some unevenness among the translation series.

In the way of formulating an overall account of how Peter Martyr Vermigli used the Fathers stands his own express disavowal of ever having conceived such an undertaking. In the *Defensio*, when he embarks on his 'Excursio of certain rules,' repromulgating the ten he had set

♣ c. Cui de novo iam accesserunt, priùs quidem tractatio, deinde verò disputatio de eodem Eucharistiae sacramento, eiusdem authoris, habita in celeberrima universitate Oxoniensi in anglia (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1559). Cited hereafter DES. See Polman, *L'Élément historique*, 119.

⁵ Irena Backus, *The Reception of the Church Fathers in the West: From the Carolingians to the Maurists*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997); idem, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁶ See the thesis by J.H. Kim currently under the supervision Professor Frank van der Pol at Kampen on 'Scripturae et Patrum Testimoniis: The Function of sola scriptura in Peter Martyr's Use of the Fathers in his Eucharistic Treatises,' (PhD Thesis, Theologische Universiteit Kampen).

down in the Oxford *Tractatio* a decade earlier and adding two more, he writes as follows:

I do not want anyone to think that I've ever written a book in which I profess to wish to give *regulae* or *normae*, from which the Fathers were to be understood. That would be an almost infinite labour, chiefly because the *res* and *materiae* handled by the Fathers are innumerable. So nothing of the kind ever came into my mind, even in my sleep.⁷

He stresses that he is not setting out to prescribe a rule or *ius* which the Fathers must follow—but merely *annotationes* drawn from ‘observations’ of the Fathers’ usage,

to prevent the reader being disconcerted in reading the Fathers by their forms of expression and being led astray from the truth especially by the expressions they customarily use on this subject [i.e. the eucharist]. So my rules establish no *ius*, but only show how many things there are to be understood which fall *sub eandem causam* with those which were stated by the Fathers. From where the *causa* of their statements is the same, no-one can doubt that the same interpretation is appropriate.⁸

After further explanations of his own method (to which we will return in this paper), he repeats himself for emphasis: ‘I have never wanted to establish anything *in univsum* about the reading of the Fathers... but only what was relevant to the subject in hand.’⁹ When the objection is raised that, if it was all right for Tyconius and Augustine to propose general rules for interpreting Scripture, *cur idem nobis non liceat in patribus?* Vermigli stands his ground. His first *regula* holds for *sacramenta* and *res sacramentorum*—and, by implication, only in this territory, and the same applies for the other eleven.¹⁰

Vermigli never repeats the exercise of laying down subject-specific *regulae* for interpreting the Fathers, on any other topic, at least in the formal manner of the eucharistic works, although the *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ* at times approximates to a regulatory mode of exposition in a field which predictably overlaps with the eucharistic debate. And on one occasion in the *locus* on justification Martyr spells out one rule and alludes to others:

⁷ *Defensio Doctrinae veteris & Apostolicae de sacrosancto Eucharistiae Sacramento... adversus Stephani Gardineri... librum...* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1559) [hereafter DES], 595.

⁸ DES 596.

⁹ DES 597.

¹⁰ DES 597.

Let us remember that if at any time the Fathers seem to attribute righteousness to works, this is not to be understood of that righteousness which God freely imputes to us through Christ, but that inward righteousness which is rooted in us, which we obtain and confirm by leading a continually upright life. Or if those things they say clearly pertain to imputed righteousness, that is, to the remission of sins, we must always, as we have taught, run to the foundation of good works, namely, to a lively faith in Christ. If our adversaries would consider these rules and others like them, they would never so impudently and obstinately defend so many lies.¹¹

This is not the place to look in any detail at Martyr's twelve rules for reading the Fathers on the Eucharist. The two added in the *Defensio* of 1559 illustrate the versatility he reckoned the task required. Rule XI states that

Wherever the Fathers speak about the true presence and eating of the body of Christ, with whatever words they express it, they are to be understood to be speaking either of the divine nature or *figurate* or spiritually.¹²

Rule XII is almost scholastic:

Wherever the Fathers say that the *natura* of the bread is changed, *natura* is to be taken as *proprietas*, as in Cyprian; wherever they say the nature is not changed, that nature is to be accepted as *substantia*, as in Gelasius.¹³

The first rule of the set of X/XII is undoubtedly the most important for Vermigli. It establishes the principle of *alternatio*, whereby both Scripture and the Fathers ascribe to realities what properly belongs to symbols of realities, and vice-versa. What facilitates this *alternatio* is the close likeness between the two by the Lord's institution. The proof text is Augustine's *Epistle* 98 to Boniface, where in the course of explaining

¹¹ *Dialogue on the two natures in Christ*, ed. J.P. Donnelly, PML, vol. 2, (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1995) [hereafter DTN], 205.

¹² DES 638.

¹³ DES 640. 'In alio argumento dicebatur Christum cum proferret, Hoc est corpus meum, non dixisse, Hoc significat, aut repraesentat corpus meum. Iste panis est figura, aut signum corporis mei. Istit nos regerimus, Christum non dixisse, In illis accidentibus absque; subiecto corpus suum latitare, neque asseruisse substantiam panis desinere esse, aut converti, aut transsubstantiari in suum corpus. Deinde miror ista obiici, cum apud patres inveniuntur istae expositiones. Nam frequenter aiunt repraesentari, significari, designari, ostendi, corpus & sanguinem Domini, & symbola panis ac vini apellant signaculum figuram, ac typum, & ἀντίτυπα Neque est quod aliquis cavilietur, ista signa aut figuras eos referre ad mortem & non ad corpus Christi, quia Patres apertè dicunt significari corpus & sanguinem, & signa, & figuras dari corporis & sanguinis Domini.'

that the baptized infant may rightly be called *fidelis* because he/she has received the sacrament of *fides*, Augustine asserts that just as in a certain fashion the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood, so too the sacrament of faith is faith.¹⁴ (Martyr refrained from asking whether Augustine's chief baptismal argument in Letter 98 was plausible).

This letter of Augustine's furnishes Peter Martyr Vermigli with an essential hermeneutical key—one patristic text supplying the device for understanding many others, the default procedure, as it were, for unlocking the true mind of Fathers more generally on the Eucharist. This becomes evident as early as the second rule (*altera regula*):

If you carefully examine what precedes and what follows [in Augustine's passage], you will always see that the Fathers bear witness that the food is spiritual, and not for the gullet, teeth or stomach.¹⁵

This accords, says Martyr, with what Augustine propounds in *De Doctrina Christiana*, that the meaning of obscurities is often clarified from the context before and after. Did not Augustine and Cyprian warn against sharpening your teeth and preparing your stomach? Don't be offended, pleads Martyr, that I have interpolated the gullet. At least I've not touched on Origen's question whether such food is voided down the latrine.¹⁶ If you challenge me with omitting the mouth, which the Fathers did not exclude, then I refer back to the first rule, of *alternatio*.

In reality, Vermigli formulates a number of guidelines—rules of thumb, we might say, rather than prescriptive norms—for the general invocation of the Fathers' testimony. They take their place in what I would estimate to be for the sixteenth century an unusually reflective and discriminating use of the Fathers. In the first place, for one who devotes so many pages to citing and evaluating the Fathers, Vermigli seems never in danger of thereby subverting the authority of divine Scripture. This insistence on the supremacy of the Word of God finds

¹⁴ DES 70. Vermigli cites the letter as See Augustine, *ad Bonifacium*, Epistle 98, 9: PL 33, 363–64. 'Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque iam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt, sicut ergo secundum quandam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.'

¹⁵ DES 641. 'Altera est regula, quòd si diligenter inspexeris quae supra & infra dicuntur, semper videbis patres attestari, hanc alimoniam spiritualem esse, non autem gulae, ventris aut dentis.'

¹⁶ Cf. OTD 95.

ever-repeated expression in numerous ways. It is not a Christian thing to appeal from God's Scripture to human judgements. Faith, so says Paul in Romans 10: 7 and elsewhere, comes from hearing the Word of God, not the words of the Fathers. To abandon the Bible for the Fathers is to leave certainty for uncertainty, clarity for obscurity, stability for instability. However, wise and learned they might seem, they were but human and fallible. They do not always agree among themselves, and sometimes a Father does not agree with himself. Nor are they to be followed when they are in agreement unless they are also in agreement with God's Word. Chalcedon rejected the consensus of the second council of Ephesus, and later conciliar consensus at Constantinople on abolishing icons was itself overthrown by the consensus on veneration of them at the later council of Nicaea (and that council's consensus in turn by the German council under Charlemagne at Frankfurt). The councils never sustained their resolutions by citing earlier churchmen but only Scripture. The Fathers themselves grounded their teachings on Scripture, not on their predecessors' authority. *Quare qui a Scripturis provocat ad Patres, provocat ad Patres contra Patres*. The Fathers thus provide a criterion that relativised their own status. Such argumentation is familiar enough among Reformers, but Vermigli advances numerous supporting examples drawn from his extensive 'observation' of the Fathers' works. Here is Chrysostom on Hebrews 7: 'Just as those who lay down rules have no need to lay down sentences by the thousands (*mille versus*) but only a few chosen things whence the rest may be understood, so if we held only to the divine writings we would not only avoid slipping up but also retrieve other lapses.'¹⁷

What did the church of the most primitive writers do when none as yet had become Fathers? If then the church reached its decisions through the Word and the Spirit, why not now also? It was never the Fathers' wish to deprive the church of its liberty. Martyr ridicules the notion that the infant church had to depend on the Fathers:

Haec non refellenda, sed ridenda sunt. Whereas Paul had no desire to lord it over the faith of the Corinthians (2 Cor 1: 24), our opponents adduce the Fathers seeking only to dominate us. To be unable to have opinions against what the Fathers wrote or said is tyranny. We do Cyprian

¹⁷ DES 464. 'Sicut qui regulas tradunt, non habent opus ut tradant mille versus, sed pauca quaedam, unde reliqua intelligantur, ita si nos teneremus tantum literas divinas, non tantum non laberemur ipsi, sed etiam alios lapsos revocaremus.' See also DES 128 and LC IV.iv, fol. 876.

no injury, wrote Augustine to Cresconius, when we distinguish his letters from the canonical Scriptures. Paul instructed that when someone prophesied, the rest should be silent and 'judge' (assess) what he said. When the Fathers interpret Scripture, *nonne prophetant*? So we should, as it were, be quiet and 'judge' what they have to say. If the Fathers were needed to rescue the Scriptures from their obscurity, then Fathers too can be obscure, and the *sententia* of the *magister* is then needed to deliver us from patristic obscurity. And so repeatedly, by infinite regression, to the multiple competing schools of the present day, each claiming to clarify the obscurity of earlier *magistri*.¹⁸

On the contrary, Martyr is not short of instances when Fathers fell out and recourse was necessary to Scripture's adjudication. Our opponents always cry up the Fathers' *annos* and *tempora* and *sanctitatem*. 'But all these things must carry no weight against the Word of God.' Christ and his apostles never cited the rabbis and the *patres* (elders?), although many were very learned; they taught everything from the scriptural law and prophets. The Fathers were indeed *spirituales* (in the context with reference to 1 Corinthians 2: 13), not *qua Patres* but *qua* Christians, and as spiritual, they did not always speak *ex spiritu*.

What then? Are we to have done with (*abijcimus*) the Fathers? Not at all! We must cut down to size the widespread *superstitionem*—here, I think, over-pious aversion to the Fathers—about the authority of the Fathers. 'They wrote a great deal, and discovered a great deal which we perhaps would never have discovered. Yet all their writings were not such that we are exempt from assessing and evaluating them.' Two κριτήρια must be applied in this judgement, the external one of the Word of God and the internal one of *spiritus* (the Spirit?). 'If the authority of the Fathers satisfies these criteria, it will count very highly. As in the civil courts, the judge must function by laws, not by precedents.' Demosthenes is Vermigli's authority here, as elsewhere in establishing that only those church councils should be received which have kept their deliverances within the rule of Scripture.¹⁹

This is the perspective, claims Vermigli, from which to understand Augustine's famous statement from his anti-Manichaean work, *Against the Epistle of Mani called Fundamental*: 'I would not believe the gospel unless the authority of the church moved me.' The dictum has his opponents boasting with glee, because it sets the authority of

¹⁸ LC IV.iv, fol. 878.

¹⁹ *Locus* on justification in PJ 152.

the church over that of the scriptural Word of God. With examples to press home his point, Martyr rebuts this conclusion, since 'in the case of efficient causes, this rule does not hold unless the cause is both total and immediate (*proxima*), not remote or instrumental. But the church is not the whole cause why we believe the gospel; the Spirit is also involved (*accedit*), without whom we never believe.' In his *locus* on schism from his lectures on 2 Kings, Peter Martyr Vermigli gives a similarly moderate interpretation of this heavily ventilated text. 'The church...is not the whole cause of our faith. It only proclaims, preaches, and teaches. Beyond all this there is need of the Holy Spirit, who enlightens hearers and inclines their wills to embrace the teaching that are given.'²⁰ Hence Augustine's wisdom in using the compound verb *commoveret* (here *commovisset*) rather than simply *moveret* (*movisset*): i.e., 'if the authority of the church had not helped/did not help to move me.' So Vermigli endorses the truth of Augustine's words when rightly interpreted, by making him wiser than he intended to be!

Peter Martyr's most personal reflections on the use of the Fathers are found in his *Exhortation* to the young to study theology:

Still I would not want to incur hatred from what I have just said or stir up envy, as if I were trying to make light of the Fathers' authority or banish their teaching from the church. That is not the case. I know and confess frankly that I have made considerable progress by reading the Fathers, and I admit frankly that they have been of no little help to me, for through them I have understood many things which I otherwise would perhaps have never penetrated by myself. I know that the eunuch in the chariot had read the Scriptures, but he still was instructed about them by Philip. It would be enormous arrogance and intolerable pride for one to claim complete knowledge of the holy Scriptures for himself alone. How can this be considered anything except deliberately setting oneself up for being tricked by the snares of the devil? That way we would be clearly tempting god, and we would seem to be spurning godly and learned persons who could help us and expecting to be snatched up to the third heaven along with Paul. The centurion Cornelius was sent to Peter to be instructed by him. Nor should we be ignorant that holy men were temples of the Holy Spirit, from whom God often used to draw forth prophecies. Charity is preserved and increased when in the Church one person teaches another.

I ask, why do we come here every day? Certainly so that we may go over the sacred writings together and so hold public disputations in which we listen to one another and learn from one another. [1050] So let those

²⁰ EW 182.

stop being angry with me who perhaps suspected that I am trying to wrest away from the faithful the reading or teaching of the Fathers. I was not saying what they imagined, but I do say this: The Fathers and all mortals should be read with discernment so that any doctrine should be measured against the touchstone of the sacred writings. If we shall have done this, we shall be doing no injury to the Fathers. Indeed, nothing else could be either more gratifying or more welcome to them than this, since this is part of their godliness. Paul allowed that his tradition about a woman who kept her head covered be tested; likewise that spiritual persons judge about his decision that a woman should be quiet in church. The Fathers also did not shrink from being tested by the norm of the divine Spirit and of the sacred writings since they acknowledged that they were far inferior to Paul.

Therefore when the divine Scripture passes down knowledge of God and teaches the secret of the divine will regarding human salvation, and supplies sufficient arms and answers against ungodliness, it is more precious and pleasant than all riches and worldly delights. It is clear and transparent about the things necessary for salvation. Its differences are not so controverted that they cannot be easily reconciled; it by itself is strong enough to refute heretics, nor did the Fathers exhaust its meaning; finally, all things are to be tested against it as the norm. By God immortal, I beg you, let us pull together our work, I by teaching, you by listening. Let us apply ourselves with supreme diligence to the word of God. We are called theologians and that is how we want to be known. Let us live up to our name and profession unless we should prefer being patrologians instead of theologians. Our profession absolutely requires us to deal with the words of God.²¹

An element in Martyr's discriminating reliance on the Fathers is his rule of thumb that in general the earlier the Father, the better. It is, however, no more than a rule of thumb, and he is free to observe it or not as he wishes. He enunciates the rule in the Judges commentary, in a *locus* on whether children can contract marriage without parental consent.²² On this *Veteres patres in sententia nostra fuerunt* (and the same holds for the canons also). In the *Defensio* against Gardiner, John of Damascus is disqualified as *recens*,²³ at a time when errors multiplied (he was over a century later than Gregory the Great, after all) and many errors are found in his works (on images and relics and purgatory), and so we need not worry too much about what he says on *transelementatio*. Yet in the

²¹ LLS 283–84.

²² *In Librum Iudicum . . . Commentarii* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1563) [hereafter *IUD*], 134r (on Judges 14: 5–6).

²³ DES 98–99; cf. OTD, 91–94.

Christological *Dialogue*, the Damascene is an unproblematic witness to the nature of heaven.²⁴ Theophylact of Ohrid was not of such great authority that we should be much concerned if he is clearly wrong on transubstantiation.²⁵ After all, he made the whole Latin church wrong on the procession of the Holy Spirit, and he fell in those *postrema tempora* (ET 'seems to have lived in an unfortunate age') when errors began to 'pullulate'.²⁶

But the *veteres Patres* are not immune to criticism or marginalization. In the *Dialogue* Jerome's blast *Against Vigilantius*, which Brenz had cited (in connection with Revelation 14: 4), is dismissed as 'a minor work that is not much esteemed'.²⁷ Irenaeus, that 'most ancient author,' lies open to questioning because he talks about Enoch apparently dabbling in the apocryphal—but then so does Jude.²⁸ Challenges could be brought against 'Tertullian and Origen and similar Fathers who strayed from the truth in serious matters, whereas on other questions they wrote in a very orthodox way'.²⁹ (Origen, for example, failed to make election all of grace, as did Paul.)³⁰ Since Tertullian lapsed later into Montanism 'his authority [on infant baptism] cannot be of so great force'³¹—and then there is his condemnation of second marriages and of the baptism of young widows.

So the criterion of 'the best and most ancient Fathers' proves only a partially adequate criterion. It was when Philip Morgan in the Oxford disputation pressed Vermigli even on his star witness Augustine—who allegedly countenanced invocation of saints, images and prayers for the dead—that Vermigli acknowledged the need to recognize gradations (*gradus*) of authority among the Fathers.³² (Elsewhere, Martyr is happy to invoke Augustine's *Retractationes* as a praiseworthy model of a (the!) Father acknowledging his own errors.)³³

Elsewhere, Martyr adopts a more colloquial rule of thumb:

²⁴ DTN 119–120.

²⁵ *Petri Martyris Vermilii Locorum communium theologicorum...*, 2 vols. (Basle: ad Perneam Lecythum, 1581), 2:1275.

²⁶ OTD 215–7.

²⁷ OTD 99.

²⁸ PJ 205–6.

²⁹ LLS 189 (Ep. to the Strangers' Church in London).

³⁰ ROM 250r.

³¹ ROM 14r–v.

³² OTD 216.

³³ ROM 249v.

If as sometimes happens, [the Fathers] word will not bear such an [acceptable] exposition, then when they write carelessly we will appeal from them, as seems right, to the same fathers writing elsewhere in a more sound and orthodox way. It is like that woman in ancient times who appealed from Philip when drunk to the same Philip when sober.³⁴

This suggests that Vermigli is highly reluctant to let the Fathers go, to allow his opponents' claims for them to be vindicated. As was indicated earlier, Martyr spent a great deal of time and effort working with the Fathers. Their value was qualified in several ways, but it persisted nonetheless.

My judgement is that Martyr did not contribute to a significant extent to fresh knowledge of the Fathers. The two texts in whose use he was a pioneer were the Dialogues of the Antiochene theologian Theodoret of Cyrrhus, which Martyr was the first to introduce into the eucharistic dispute, at Oxford in 1549 (first edition in Greek, Rome 1547; in Latin translation, Venice 1548), and the letter to Caesarius the Monk attributed to Chrysostom, a MS of which Martyr brought to England with him (copied from a MS in library in Florence). These two cases have been well covered by Joe McLelland, and there is no need for further details to be repeated here. The letter to Caesarius is now regarded as not by Chrysostom, but nevertheless written within half a century of the latter's death. As for Theodore's *Evanistes* (the usual title for what Peter Martyr Vermigli refers to as the *Dialogues*), Vermigli must have had a copy of the *editio princeps*, but in the eucharistic works used only the first two Dialogues. In his Christological work against Brenz written in 1561³⁵ he cited from the other, third, Dialogue, *Impatibilis*, on five occasions. In the *Tractatio* Martyr gives extended quotations from Theodoret in Greek, followed by Latin translation, but without making any statement about the importance of reading the Fathers in their original language.³⁶

Knowledge of the inauthenticity or doubt about the authenticity of patristic works generally (but not invariably)³⁷ attracted Vermigli's attention, but he did not allow that knowledge or doubt to impose a

³⁴ I.e. Philip II of Macedon, according to a story transmitted by Valerius Maximus, *Facta ac Dicta Memorabilia* (c. AD 32), PJ 211.

³⁵ DTN 17, 22, 55, 62, 69–70.

³⁶ OTD 56–61; Polman, *L'Élément historique*, 124 n. 3.

³⁷ Cf. Marvin Anderson, *Peter Martyr, a reformer in exile (1542–1562): a chronology of biblical writings in England & Europe* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1975), 421, n. 47.

self-denying ordinance debarring those texts from favourable citation.³⁸ Ambrose's authorship of *De Sacramentis* may be doubted in some quarters, but Martyr was content to accept it; in any case it taught only that change of bread which 'we call sacramental'.³⁹ Dionysius was certainly not Paul's Areopagite convert, and the contents of his works shows he was not apostolic, but none doubts that he was ancient, even if no-one cites him before Gregory the Great.⁴⁰ II Clement was not by Clement of Rome (late first century) but *confictam* by the papists—but conveniently in three places excludes papists' errors!⁴¹

Nor was Martyr's knowledge of the Fathers free from error. Two undergraduate howlers have first Athanasius presiding as bishop at the Council of Nicaea (perhaps, in terms of UK politics, Peter Mandelson or Alastair Campbell might provide contemporary role models for Archdeacon Athanasius' true influence on that Council) and secondly Gregory of Nazianzus borrowing (*mutuatus*) from Augustine of Hippo (who was a late teenager perhaps getting to know Manichaeism when Gregory died a long way away).

Vermigli will have no truck with the Anabaptist identification of Hyginus, an early-second-century 'bishop' of Rome, as the inaugurator of infant baptism,⁴² but has no qualms in relying on Hyginus' (supposed) ruling on sponsors (*susceptores*) at baptism to argue that this shows the baptizing of infants was already under way. The Reformers in general were more sceptical regarding early papal letters and decrees (and about the later category of 'apostolic fathers').

A very minor lapse of memory will bring me to one of the most important things to be said about Vermigli and the Fathers. Earlier in the *Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ*,⁴³ he mentions Alypius, companion of Augustine in his early days as a catholic, as never being satisfied with a short answer to any question. The modern translator failed to track down the reference in Augustine's corpus. The explanation lies in Vermigli's confusing Alypius with Nebridius, another of the young *spirituales* around Augustine the catholic convent. And where has Martyr got this tid-bit about Nebridius/Alypius? From *Epistle* 98, one

³⁸ Polman, *L'Elément historique*, 124–5.

³⁹ OTD 81.

⁴⁰ *The Life, Early Letters, and Eucharistic Writings of Peter Martyr*, eds Joseph C. McLelland and G.E. Duffield, eds. (Oxford: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1989), 305.

⁴¹ DES 717.

⁴² ROM 147r.

⁴³ DTN 4.

of his fundamental patristic sources in the eucharistic debates and basis of his all-important first *Regula* about *alternatio*. Martyr read and knew not simply selected *testimonia*, the ammunition of controversy, but the Fathers' works as a whole. This accords with Marvin Anderson's report⁴⁴ on the extensive annotations by Martyr in his editions of the Fathers now in the Geneva library (a patchy report by Anderson, as so often in his nevertheless invaluable compilation of material).

The big point is this: Martyr repeatedly surprises by his unusual (in the setting of early modern debates) quotations from Fathers, even on hackneyed topics of controversy such as the supremacy of Scripture. This is not to deny his dependence in part on early compilations of *patristica* by such as Peter Lombard and Gratian, including less familiar ones such as Algers of Liege,⁴⁵ or on other Reformers' works, such as Bullinger's treatise on the 'many mansions/dwelling places' Jesus spoke of in John 14: 2. Yet Vermigli had beyond doubt read very widely among the Fathers—what in *Defensio* he referred to, as we have seen, as his *observatio* of the Fathers' usages on the basis of which he drew up his *annotationes*—and was able to quarry from a particular Father's less celebrated works or from less familiar stretches of well-known works. It is not easy to illustrate this in short compass, and unsafe to attempt to do so without having checked that no intermediate source had used the quotation before him—which is a time-consuming taste. So I report it as my impression, my instinctive feel for an industrious student of the Fathers who did not simply turn to the index and home in on the purple patches.

Peter Martyr Vermigli had a sunny confidence in appealing to most of the Fathers most of the time. More than once in the *Dialogue* on Christology his exasperated opponent cries out, 'I've heard enough about the quantity and quality of the statements from both the Fathers and Melanchthon that you have scraped together...' Nothing daunted, Vermigli appeals for his conversion:

So what's left for you except to offer your assent to a doctrine that is so easy, straightforward and orthodox? As you have heard, very many of the Fathers, who are famous for their antiquity and teaching and outstanding

⁴⁴ Anderson, *Peter Martyr, a reformer in exile*, 373–8.

⁴⁵ E.g. Augustine from Gratian (DTN 157); Ambrose, *De Sacramento* from Algers (OTD).

in their holiness, together with recent writers, have approved and taught this doctrine.⁴⁶

If that is his last word, it is not his only last word. Here is another, on predestination:

I see that the intention of those who labour to apply the statements of the Fathers to the truth (as far as is possible) is not to be denied. However, I cannot say that what the Fathers assert is true, for certain statements of theirs are so harsh that they cannot be drawn to this meaning to all. To defend the freedom of our will they deny that everything depends on God's predestination. They intend to say that everything does not depend on God, that something is also required of us. They say explicitly that God elects some because he foresaw that they would believe. Occasionally, they also say many other such things, so that by no means can I see how their statements can agree with our doctrine on this point.

Augustine fully agrees with us, and Jerome does not disagree, although he does agree often with Origen and others, but against the Pelagians he highly commends Augustine's position on this matter and strongly accepts his writings against this heresy. Seeing that Augustine often used this argument against the Pelagians, it must follow that he greatly pleased Jerome in his old age. Cyprian, as we said before, clearly writes that nothing is ours; so that it follows necessarily that it is all of God. However, as it stands, there is no need for us to debate now regarding the fathers, for when I explained the text of Romans itself, I spoke at length on these matters as the passage taught. As in all other things that pertain to faith, so also in this question, we must speak according to the Scriptures, not according to the Fathers.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ DTN 170 (cf. 125) from an autograph copy.

⁴⁷ See the *locus* on Predestination, LC 504: Non me later fuisse quosdam, qui voluerint sententias Patrum conciliare... Habent etiam alia passim multa familia, ut ego planè non videam, quemadmodum illorum sententiae cum nostra, in hac doctrina possint convenire. Augustinus tamen in eam apertè concedit. Hieronymus etiam ab ea non abhorret, quamvis multis saepè in locis cum Origene aliique consentiat. Verùm contra Pelagianos plurimùm in hacere cominendat sententia Augustini, eiusque contra illam haeresim scripta, vehementer probat. Cùm ergo Augustinus contra Pelagianos saepè usus sit hoc arumento, necesse est, illud Hieronymo iam seni placuisse. Cyprianus etiam, ut suprà diximus, manifestè scribit, Nihil esse nostrum. Conficitur ergo necessariò, totum esse Dei. Sed quicquid sit, de Patribus nihil est quòd multum in praesentia disputendus: Nam cùm textum ipsum interpretarer ad Romanos, pro loci opportunitate de illis abundè dixi. Ut de aliis rebus omnibusque ad fidem pertinent, ita de hac quoque quaestione, secundum Scripturas pronuntiandum, est, non secundum Patres.

IN ARISTOTELIS
ETHICORVM AD NICOMACHVM
Librum primum, secundum ac initium tertij:

CLARISSIMI ET DOCTISSIMI VIRI D. PETRI
MARTYRIS Vermilij, Florentini, Sacrarum literarum
in Schola Tigurina quondam Professoris,
Commentarius doctissimus.

Huic accessit INDEX rerum & uerborum locupletissimus.



TIGURI

APVD CHRISTOPHORVM FROSCHOVE-
rum, Anno à Christo nato M. D. LXXXII.

- 2 In Aristotelis ethicorum ad Nicomachum, Librum primum, secundum et initium tertii libri clarissimi & doctissimi viri D. Petri Martyris Vermilij, Florentini, Sacrarum literarum in Schola Tigurina quondam Professoris commentarius doctissimus. Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1582.

CHAPTER SIX

ARISTOTLE AND SCHOLASTICISM

Luca Baschera

In 1969 Brian Armstrong expressly attributed to Peter Martyr Vermigli a 'scholastic methodology' and a special 'affinity with Aristotle,' quoting as evidence for his opinion a statement of B.B. Warfield, according to whom 'the scholastic theologian among the early Reformers was Peter Martyr.'¹ Perhaps inspired by Armstrong's vague allusions, further research in the following decades has contributed to showing the extent to which the Aristotelian and scholastic tradition influenced Vermigli, and what consequences this had for the structure and contents of his theology. In order to sketch the contours of Vermigli's 'Aristotelianism' and 'scholasticism,' in the present essay we will of course rely on the achievements of past research, but also try to add some new elements by concentrating our attention on specific issues of Vermigli's theology, as well as on Vermigli's one philosophical work, namely his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*. However, before undertaking the task of investigating Vermigli's approach to Aristotelian philosophy and scholasticism, it is necessary to sketch briefly the way in which Reformed theologians looked at Aristotelianism and scholasticism around the middle of the sixteenth century, i.e. in the period in which Vermigli also was active.

REFORMATION AND PHILOSOPHY

If we consider the works of some Reformed authors such as Otto Werdmüller (1513–1552), Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590) and Andreas Hyperius (1511–1564), all active as professors of theology and/or philosophy in Zurich, Strasbourg and Marburg in the middle of the sixteenth century, we can easily detect some features of the general

¹ Brian G. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy: Protestant Scholasticism and Humanism in Seventeenth Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 131.

Reformed understanding of philosophy in that period. All these authors were not only convinced of the legitimacy of philosophical studies from a Christian point of view, but decisively emphasized the usefulness of philosophy for the theologian. Relying on arguments which Melancthon had already used for the same purpose,² they recognized first of all the indispensability of logic as the discipline which taught the rules of correct thinking and of scientific methodology.³ Secondly they signalled how fruitful can be the application of such disciplines as geography, geology, botanics and physics—all considered part of ‘philosophy’ in the broadest sense of the word—to the investigation of holy scriptures.⁴ Werdmüller and Zanchi were especially emphatic in formulating their preference for Aristotelian philosophy on account of its internal coherence and clarity, which made it particularly apt to pedagogical purposes.⁵ However, the appreciation for philosophy found in the works of these authors is always accompanied by words of caution about the dangers which an overestimation of philosophy can import. For all of them it was clear that the only authority in matters

² See above all Melancthon’s *Oratio de philosophia* (CR XI 280–283). Cf. also Günter Frank, *Die theologische Philosophie Philipp Melancthons (1497–1560)* (Leipzig: Benno, 1995), 67–71.

³ Otto Werdmüller, *De dignitate, usu et methodo philosophiae moralis* (Basel: Curio, 1545), 13: ‘Docendi methodum numerari debere inter Dei munera praestantissima.’ Andreas Hyperius, *De recte formando theologiae studio* (Basel: Oporin, 1556), 39: ‘Non minus ad percipiendum quam ad tradendum aliis res graveis et sublimeis, quales in theologia permultae occurrunt, magnopere conducit bonarum artium, ut vocant, seu philosophiae cognitio.’

⁴ Werdmüller, *De dignitate*, 22; Hyperius, *De recte formando*, 49; Girolamo Zanchi, *De naturali auscultatione cum praefatione doctoris Zanchi* (Strasbourg: Rihel, 1554), b4v: ‘Secunda [philosophiae utilitas] est, quod ad phrases scripturae, quae abundat metaphoris a natura desumptis, intelligendas plurimum adfert adiumenti. [...] Quis non videat, quam utilis (ne dicam necessaria) sit haec scientia physica ad scripturas recte intelligendas?’

⁵ Werdmüller, *De dignitate*, 133f.: ‘Fatendum est tamen figurata dictione, socraticis inductionibus, pythagoricis numeris Platonem philosophiae suae nebulas offundere. A quibus Aristoteles alienus perspicuam magis et methodicam philosophiam composuit.’ Zanchi, *De naturali auscultatione*, b7v–c1r: ‘Contendo utiliore esse rationem, quam in tradenda philosophia secutus est Aristoteles, ea, quam secutus est Plato, [...] propter methodum, quam in docendo praeclaram ita persecutus est Aristoteles, ut alius neque meliorem meque similem secutus sit nemo. Omnia enim suo ordine tractavit, ut quae prius, quae posterius erant tractanda, pertractaverit; et in rebus probandis eo ordine procedit, qui nobis est utilior, adde et necessarius, omnesque bonae methodi (ut uno verbo dicam) partes absoluit.’

of faith is the Bible, which as such does not need the support of any profane science.⁶

Their position can be described therefore as an attempt to avoid both the overestimation of 'human wisdom,' as they saw it in most of medieval theology, and a total condemnation of the *artes liberales*, as propagated by radical exponents of the Reformation movement. According to these authors, their moderate view of the relationship between reason and revelation had its counterpart in certain statements of the apostle Paul in which the latter seems to support similar views. In 1 Timothy 3.2 Paul mentioned for example that a good bishop should be 'apt to teach,' whereas in 2 Timothy 2.15 he indicated the 'right dividing of the word of truth' as one of the main duties of a preacher. Already Melanchthon had seen in the latter statement a confirmation of the positive role logic has to play in the organization of theological discourse, an interpretation which Reformed theologians took up:

When Paul—speaking of the election of bishops, who are expected to be apt to teach—requires that they be able to divide rightly (*orthotomein*) the word of truth, he is actually commending dialectics, i.e. the way of teaching and of right division.⁷

Requiring that a bishop be *orthotomounta*, [Paul] demonstrated that that instrument of instruments [i.e. logic], without which we would not be able rightly to divide holy scriptures, should be at disposal of every biblical interpreter.⁸

Reformed theologians were nonetheless also aware of the presence in Paul's epistles of several warnings against the deceits of 'worldly wisdom,' which seem at a first glance to contradict their affirmations about the positive function of philosophy in Christian perspective. In order to

⁶ Zanchi, *De naturali auscultatione*, b6v: 'Verbo Dei primas (ut par est) demus; ipsa [philosophia] vero illud sequatur ut pedissequa, non praeceat ut domina.' See also Werdmüller, *De dignitate*, 207 and Hyperius, *De recte formando*, 686f.

⁷ Philipp Melanchthon, *Erotemata dialectices* (CR XIII 517): 'Cum autem et Paulus in electione episcopi, quae iubeat idoneum ad docendum, iubeat item doctores recte secare verbum Dei, seu, ut ipse loquitur, *orthotomein*, certe dialecticen, quae est via docendi et recte partiendi, nobis commendat.'

⁸ Girolamo Zanchi, *De natura Dei seu de divinis attributis* (Neustadt an der Haardt: Harnisch, 1590), b5v: 'Neque statim ex Christi schola egredimur, cum Lycaeam ingredimur, aut scientias confundimus, quando ad scripturarum explicationem artes adhibemus. Cum Apostolum quoque ipsum videamus a philosophicis et poeticis non abhorruisse atque ita suo exemplo docuisse, quid nobis sit faciendum, imo aperte, dum *orthotomounta* requirit episcopum, demonstrasse instrumentum illum instrumentorum, sine quo recte secare scripturas non possumus, ad manum illis, qui sacras literas sunt interpretaturi, habendum esse.'

avoid possible criticisms they advocated a differentiated exegesis of such passages as Colossians 2.8 ('Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophie and vaine deceit,' KJV), reading them not as straightforward condemnation of philosophy as such, but only as a rejection of the sophistic rationalising which overtly contradicted biblical revelation.⁹ At the basis of this interpretation lies the conviction that *abusus non tollit usum*: although philosophy actually can degenerate into sophistry and be tempted to put aside the authority of holy scripture, this should not lead to denial of the existence of sound (*sana*) philosophy. The latter, humbly recognizing its limitations, does not set itself on an equal level with theology, but rather comports herself—according to a traditional expression which also Protestant theologians often used—as a handmaiden of theology (*ancilla theologiae*).¹⁰

From this conviction about the ancillary function of philosophy in relation to theology derives another characteristic of the Protestant approach to western philosophical tradition which is worth noticing here, that is, its fundamental eclecticism. We have already remarked that many reformed authors expressed their preference for peripatetic philosophy, sharing with Melanchthon their special appreciation for Aristotelian logic and for the scientific quality of the Stagirite's inquiries. However, this did not hinder them either from criticizing Aristotle when they found in his philosophy doctrines which contradicted biblical revelation—as, for example, in the case of Aristotle's belief in the eternity of the world—or from relying at times on other philosophies, both ancient and modern, such as Platonism, Stoicism or Ramism.¹¹

⁹ Zanchi, *De naturali auscultatione*, b6v–b7r: 'Verba Apostoli ad Coloss[enses] diligenter consideranda sunt, quid philosophiae nomine intelligat, nempe omnem doctrinam adulterinam ex humano capite natam qualemcunque habeat rationis colorem [...]. Caeterum non loquitur Paulus de vera philosophia, quae ex rebus creatis vere ac certissime desumpta Deum conditorem patefacit.' Werdmüller, *De dignitate*, 32f.: 'Ita, si Paulum de philosophia loquentem, philosophiae peritus legat, quid Apostolus ibi reprehendat, clarius animadvertit, videlicet quod methodum docendi, operum Dei cognitionem, virtutes in hac vita necessarias aliasque philosophiae partes, Dei dotes eximias, in Aristotelis scriptis eminentes, haudquaquam improbet, iudicium vero de Dei erga nos voluntate, de maximis in religione locis minime ex philosophia [...], sed e sacra scriptura sumendum esse moneat.'

¹⁰ Werdmüller, *De dignitate*, 207: 'Adhortor omnes [...], ut religioni velut dignissimae reginae philosophiam Aristotelis velut commodissimam famulam adiungant.' Hyperius, *De recte formando*, 686f.: '[Philosophia] tanquam fidelis ancilla seu pedissequa servire debeat dominae suae et omnium disciplinarum reginae, theologiae.'

¹¹ Cf. Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics. The Rise and Development of Reformed Orthodoxy, ca. 1520 to ca. 1725* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004), vol. 1, 375.

This eclecticism was in fact a direct consequence of the subordination of philosophy to theology, which Protestant theologians, like their predecessors in late antiquity and in the Middle Ages, strongly advocated.¹² If biblical revelation constitutes the criterion to judge the truth of philosophical thought and no pagan philosopher taught all the truth contained in the Bible, then it is impossible for a Christian to commit himself totally to a single philosophical school.¹³ Rather, he should critically consider the doctrines professed by each philosopher, reject those which seem to him incompatible with biblical revelation, and feel free even to mix together elements of different provenience.

On the basis of this brief survey of Reformed views on philosophy around the middle of the 16th century one finds, on the one hand, the presence of a positive attitude towards liberal arts, the indispensability of which was generally recognized. On the other hand, a particular appreciation for Aristotelianism, which was considered as the most reliable among ancient philosophical systems, is also evident. However, these two elements did not prevent the same authors who exalted the merits of sound philosophy and the extraordinary achievements of Aristotle from warning against the dangers of an overestimation of the capacities of human reason, which as a consequence of original sin always tends to rebel against the Word of God.

REFORMATION AND SCHOLASTICISM: ATTRACTION AND REPULSION

According to a traditional interpretative pattern, the relationship between Reformation and Scholasticism should be considered as inherently in conflict. In fact, the Reformation movement was initiated in reaction against the decadence the church had undergone in the late Middle Ages and which was above all owing, according to the Reformers, to

¹² Cf. David C. Steinmetz, 'The Scholastic Calvin,' in Carl R. Trueman and R.S. Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism. Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 23: 'It is probably never possible or even desirable for Christian theologians to become overly loyal to a single philosopher, since the odd shape of the Christian faith forces a kind of philosophical eclecticism on its serious practitioners. [...] Thomas Aquinas, to take a famous example, is frequently described as an Aristotelian. But Thomas was not loyal to the opinions of Aristotle that he did not abandon them when what he regarded as better opinions could be found elsewhere.'

¹³ Cf. Richard A. Muller, 'Ad fontes argumentorum: the Sources of Reformed Theology in the Seventeenth century,' in Id., *After Calvin. Studies in the Development of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 55: 'Reformed theologians remained wary of the wholesale adoption of any particular philosophy.'

the progressive alienation of medieval theology from the content of biblical revelation. Scholastic theology was therefore strongly criticized by Luther because of its dangerous mixing of philosophy and theology which expressed itself in an almost blasphemous reliance on Aristotle as an authority in theological matters. Against the distortions of scholastic theology the Reformers pursued the foundation of a thoroughly biblical theology, whose only purpose should be the faithful propagation of the Gospel. Therefore, seeing that in the second half of the sixteenth century Protestant theologians began to use a more sophisticated scholastic style and even to quote from medieval sources in order to defend their positions, older scholarship has tended to consider such developments as a sort of betrayal of the original inspiration of Reformation theology. According to the traditional view, whereas the Reformation proper had been biblical and humanistic, Protestant orthodoxy was scholastic and hence represented a sort of relapse into the bad theology of the Middle Ages.¹⁴

As it is well known, the appropriateness of such an extreme opposition of Reformation and post-Reformation theology has been challenged by an increasing number of scholars in the last two decades.¹⁵ According to the advocates of the new interpretative line, the differences existing between the theology of the Reformers and the more scholastic style of later Protestant theologians do not entail any change or distortion of the original message of the Reformation. These differences, it is argued, do not pertain to the content, but rather to the form and method of theology, which had to be adapted to the new needs of the incipient confessional age. Thus, the development of a Protestant scholastic theology should be understood as an aspect of the 'educational as well as theological-confessional institutionalization of the Reformation.'¹⁶ Protestant scholasticism is an attempt to respond to the pedagogical

¹⁴ This view is expressed among others by Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut Heresy*, 127–140 and by Basil Hall, 'Calvin against the Calvinists,' in Gervase E. Duffield (ed.), *John Calvin. A Collection of Distinguished Essays* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1966), 19–37.

¹⁵ See e.g. Carl R. Trueman and R.S. Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism. Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999); Richard A. Muller, 'The Problem of Protestant Scholasticism—A Review and Definition,' in Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker (eds.), *Reformation and Scholasticism. An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001), 45–64; Richard A. Muller, 'Scholasticism and Orthodoxy in the Reformed Tradition,' in Id., *After Calvin*, 25–46; Richard A. Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 1, 132–146.

¹⁶ Muller, 'The Problem of Protestant Scholasticism,' 62.

(training of future ministers of the Word) and polemical necessities (defence of true faith against the attacks of Catholics and Radicals), with which the established Protestantism was confronted.¹⁷

In the light of this new historiographical approach the seeming contradiction between early condemnation of scholasticism and its later appreciation among Protestants can be better explained. To this purpose it is first of all necessary to distinguish between two meanings of scholasticism, namely scholasticism as that method of teaching developed at medieval universities, the main features of which kept on shaping academic life in modern times; and scholasticism as a philosophy and theology with specific content.¹⁸ A careful examination of Luther's and Calvin's criticisms against the scholastics makes clear that their critique was focused not so much on the methods of theological discussion used in the Middle Ages, as on the content of late medieval theology, with its Pelagian tendencies and its legitimising of Papal authority.¹⁹ It is therefore understandable that, since the Reformers' rejection of scholasticism related primarily to the content of medieval theology and not to its form, later Protestant theologians felt free to employ scholastic methodology in order to defend in a more effective way the evangelical message against the attacks of their adversaries. Moreover, it is important to notice that those teaching techniques such as the disputation, which had been developed in the medieval schools, continued to be employed at Protestant universities and academies as well as in many other academic institution in early modern Europe.²⁰ In view of this continuity between medieval and early-modern academic life, as well as on account of the fundamental distinction between scholastic methodology and the contents of scholastic theology, it is no longer

¹⁷ Cf. John Patrick Donnelly, 'Italian Influences on Calvinist Scholasticism,' in *Sixteenth Century Journal* 7.1 (1976), 83–86; Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 1, 65.

¹⁸ Cf. Charles B. Schmitt, 'Towards a Reassessment of Renaissance Aristotelianism,' *Studies in Renaissance Philosophy and Science* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), VI, 161; Richard A. Muller, 'Scholasticism and Orthodoxy in the Reformed Tradition,' 29.

¹⁹ On Luther's selective use of scholastic methods cf. D.V.N. Bagchi, 'Sic et non: Luther and Scholasticism,' in Trueman and Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism*, 14f. On Calvin's polemics against and appreciation of scholasticism see Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin. Studies in the Foundation of a theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 44–56.

²⁰ See William T. Costello, *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth-Century Cambridge* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, vol. 1, 189–192.

necessary to see in the pleas for *scholastica methodus* by such advocates as Andreas Hyperius, Antoine de Chandieu (1534–1591) or Antoine de la Faye (1540–1615) any dangerous modification of the original message of the Reformation.²¹

If the use of scholastic argumentative devices by later Protestant theologians appears in this way less problematic than older scholarship assumed it to be, there is nonetheless another characteristic of post-Reformation theology which still seems to depart from the roots of the Reformation movement: the explicit and positive appeal to medieval authorities on the part of Reformed theologians in order to corroborate their theses. Although examples of such a procedure can be found in several writings and increase in number after 1600, it is perhaps sufficient in this context to hint at Girolamo Zanchi's considerable use of Thomas Aquinas in his *De natura Dei seu de divinis attributis* (Heidelberg, 1577).²² Zanchi's appreciation for Aquinas, due especially to his Augustinianism in matters of soteriology, did not remain an isolated phenomenon. In fact, it was shared by many other Protestants, as the publication in 1656 of a demonstration that the teachings of Aquinas were identical with the contents of the Augsburg Confession by the Lutheran Johann Georg Dorsche (1597–1659) clearly testifies.²³ Even though this enthusiasm for one of the leading medieval theologians on the part of Protestant authors may be astonishing at first glance, it becomes more comprehensible when its motives are examined. Interest in Aquinas, as in any other scholastic theologian, was for Protestants always determined by apologetical interests and was, therefore, conditional. They could indeed choose to refer to medieval sources in order to show that even in an age of decadence of the Christian faith there

²¹ On the approach of these authors to scholasticism see Donald Sinnema, 'The Distinction Between Scholastic and Popular: Andreas Hyperius and Reformed Scholasticism,' in Trueman and Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism*, 127–143; Id., 'Antoine De Chandieu's Call for a Scholastic Reformed Theology (1580),' in W. Fred Graham (ed.), *Later Calvinism. International Perspectives* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), 159–190; R.S. Clark, 'The Authority of Reason in the Later Reformation: Scholasticism in Caspar Olevian and Antoine de La Faye,' in Trueman and Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism*, esp. 123–125.

²² An interesting analysis of the points of contact and of divergence between Zanchi's and Aquinas' doctrine of God can be found in Harm Goris, 'Thomism in Zanchi's Doctrine of God,' in Asselt and Dekker (eds.), *Reformation and Scholasticism*, 121–139.

²³ Cf. Johann Georg Dorsche, *Thomas Aquinas dictus doctor angelicus exhibitus confessor veritatis Augustana confessione repetitae* (Frankfurt: Nikolaus Schumann, 1656). See also John Patrick Donnelly, 'Calvinist Thomism,' in *Viator* 7 (1976), 442.

had been loyal witnesses of the evangelical truth; but such authorities were never put on the same level as the Gospel itself. This means that their appeal to scholastic theologians was—as Scott Clark pointedly notes in commenting on Zanchi’s approach to Aquinas—selective and critical.²⁴ Further evidence for the critical approach of Protestants to scholastic tradition is supplied by the attempts of several authors, both Lutheran and Reformed, to outline a history of scholasticism, in which both good and bad dimensions of medieval theology in its various phases of development come to the fore.

One of the earliest examples of such Protestant historiographical reflection on scholasticism is to be found in the preface to Lambert Daneau’s commentary on the first book of Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*.²⁵ Daneau (1530–1595), who actually refers to ideas already present in Caspar Peucer’s appendix to the *Chronicon Carionis*,²⁶ distinguishes between three periods of scholasticism—*vetus*, *media*, and *nova scholastica*—which correspond to a progressive decadence of Christian theology.²⁷ Although the general tone of Daneau’s treatment of scholastic theology is critical, the distinction of different phases in its history enables him not only to regard the ‘old scholasticism’ in a relatively favourable way,²⁸ but also to consider some authors such as Bernard of Clairvaux as ‘luminaries of their age.’²⁹

In view of these considerations it would appear that setting early Protestantism in opposition to later Protestantism because of the latter’s pretended relapse into scholasticism does not seem to do justice to the actual state of affairs. Rather, it is appropriate to see a fundamental

²⁴ See R.S. Clark, ‘The Authority of Reason,’ 117: ‘Zanchi made selective, critical use of Thomas because he served his apologetical purposes.’

²⁵ Lambert Daneau, *In Petri Lombardi episcopi Parisiensis [...] librum primum Sententiarum [...] commentarius triplex* (Geneva: Eustache Vignon, 1580).

²⁶ Caspar Peucer, *Tertia pars Chronici Carionis: a Carolo Magno, ubi Philippus Melanthon desiit, usque ad Fridericum Secundum* (Wittenberg: P. Seitz, 1562).

²⁷ After the publication of Daneau’s commentary on Lombard, Peucer took up once more in his small treatise *Triplex aetas doctorum scholasticorum* (1588) the issue of the periodization of scholastic theology. Cf. Riccardo Quinto, *Scholastica* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2001), 226.

²⁸ Lambert Daneau, *Prolegomena in Petri Lombardi*, in Quinto, *Scholastica*, 313, 387–391: ‘Haec vetus scholastica certe quidem prudentior adhuc erat. [...] verbum Dei tractabat et commentariis pro captu illorum hominum, id est pro ignorantia et barbarie illius aetatis, explicabat.’

²⁹ Daneau, *Prolegomena in Petri Lombardi*, in Quinto, *Scholastica*, 311, 314f: ‘Bernardi enim Clarevallensis veri suae aetatis luminis et hominis in vera theologia eruditissimi.’

continuity in the Protestant approach to scholasticism, which was characterized in both early and later phases by the same blend of attraction and repulsion: attraction for scholastic methodology and for certain authors who could be effectively quoted for apologetical purposes; repulsion against the pedantry of scholastic theology and its lack of exegetical basis.

A PROTESTANT ARISTOTELIAN? VERMIGLI'S PHILOSOPHICAL
EDUCATION AND HIS COMMENTARY ON *THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS*

Vermigli entered the Order of the Regular Canons of St. Augustine in 1514. After the completion of his novitiate in 1518, when he was nineteen years old, Vermigli was sent to receive higher education at the University of Padua.³⁰ In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Paduan university had achieved international fame thanks to philosophers such as Pietro d'Abano (1250–1316) or Paolo Veneto (ca. 1369–1429) who, according to Randall's interpretation, with their theory of *regressus* even set the course for the future development of Galilei's experimental method.³¹ Moreover, Padua had become a centre of Averroism, both in logic and psychology.³² As Vermigli arrived in Padua, however, the university was just recovering from the great crisis caused in 1509–1510 by the War of the League of Cambrai.³³ From 1517, the University Rectors tried to revitalize the academic life by appointing illustrious personages to both chairs of philosophy. Among the new professors Marcantonio de' Passeri—otherwise called 'Genua'—deserves special mention, not only because of his innovative reading of Simplicius as a source for Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle, but also because his name is explicitly mentioned in Josias Simler's funeral oration as one of Vermigli's philosophy teachers in Padua.³⁴ During the period of Vermigli's studies in Padua (1518–1526),

³⁰ Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy. An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), 88.

³¹ Cf. John Herman Randall, 'The Development of Scientific Method in the School of Padua,' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1 (1940), 177–206.

³² Cf. Agostino Poppi, *Introduzione all'aristotelismo padovano* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1972), 33f. On Averroist logic and theory of knowledge in Padua see Wilhelm Risse, *Logik der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1970), vol. 1, 207–211.

³³ Cf. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 86f.

³⁴ Josias Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu [...] Petri Martyris Vermilii*, in *Loci communes d[omi]ni Petri Martyris Vermilii* (London: Vautrollerius, 1583), b5r: 'Habebat

Genua, first active as extraordinary professor (1517–1523), was successively appointed in 1523 to the second chair of philosophy. Further, the two other professors mentioned by Simler held either an extraordinary position, as in the case of Giambattista Gonfaloniere, or the second chair of philosophy, as did Branda Porro (1487–1571).³⁵ However, one should not exclude *a priori* the possibility that Vermigli had attended also the lectures of Juan Montesdoca (†1532) and Marco Antonio Zimara (ca. 1470–1535), who between 1518 and 1526 successively held the first chair of philosophy at Padua.³⁶

As Simler reports, to the end of his life Vermigli retained a warm regard for his professors and considered his Paduan years as a very formative period in his life:

He [...] often used to say that whatever he knew about philosophy and about those writings which he calls the humanities he had received in great part from his Paduan studies. He himself used to say this was rather little, but I and many others always judged it to be great.³⁷

It must be noted, however, that Vermigli supplemented his academic training in philosophy through painstaking private studies. When he was still at Padua, seeing the inaccuracies of most of the Latin translations of Aristotle, Vermigli taught himself Greek in order to be able to read the Stagirite's works in the original. After his academic training and even after his conversion to Protestantism his special interest for Aristotle's philosophy did not diminish. This is clearly attested by the fact that Vermigli took along his own copy of Aristotle's works (Basel, 1531) through all stations of his peripatetic existence in exile.³⁸ Finally,

quos audiret philosophos insignes, docebant enim tum in illa academia celeberrimi philosophi Branda, Genua, Confalionierus.' *LJS* 15: 'Among those lectures he heard were the distinguished philosophers Branda, Genua, and Gonfaloniere who taught at that time in that famous university.'

³⁵ McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 108–111.

³⁶ Cf. McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 107f. and 111f. On Juan Montesdoca and Marco Antonio Zimara see Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries* (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 272f. and 504–512. On Zimara's psychology and gnoseology see Alba Paladini, *Il pensiero psicologico e gnoseologico di Marco Antonio Zimara* (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2001), as well as Daniela Rugge, *La dottrina logica di Marco Antonio Zimara* (Lecce: Congedo Editore, 2004).

³⁷ Simler, *Oratio*, b5r: 'Saepe referre solebat sese quicquid philosophia et illis litteris, quas humaniores nominant, sciret, quod ipse quidem parum esse dicebat, ego vero cum aliis multis magnum semper iudicabam, id se magna ex parte acceptum referre Patavinis studiis.' English translation by John Patrick Donnelly in *LJS* 15.

³⁸ John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 211 n. 8.

an examination of his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* reveals Vermigli's deep knowledge of the Aristotelian *corpus* as well as of several ancient, medieval and modern commentators, whose views he carefully scrutinizes.

Vermigli's *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* belongs to the group of his posthumously printed works and contains a revised version of the lectures Vermigli gave in Strasbourg between 1554 and 1556, when he occupied, in addition to the chair of Old Testament, the extraordinary chair of Ethics at the *Hohe Schule*. As his editor Giulio Santerenziano declared in a dedicatory letter to bishop Edwin Sandys, he relied for the preparation of the edition not only on Vermigli's own notes, but also on those of students who had attended his lectures on the *Ethics* in Strasbourg. After moving to Zurich in 1556 and, absorbed as he was by teaching and polemics, he did not expand his notes with a view to publication. The printed commentary covers exactly that portion of Aristotle's text which Vermigli had lectured upon in Strasbourg, namely the first two books, as well as chapters one and part of two of the third book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. After the first edition, appeared in Zurich in 1563, this Commentary was reprinted first in Zurich in 1582, and finally in Lich (near Giessen, in Hessen) in 1598. The third and last edition was prepared by Rudolph Goclenius, then professor of physics and logic at the University of Marburg, who reissued Vermigli's text together with the much smaller—but complete—commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* by Andreas Hyperius. Goclenius, who occupies a distinct position in the history of German philosophy,³⁹ expressed in a short foreword his deep appreciation for Vermigli's accuracy as a commentator:

Many things are discussed and elucidated by Martyr in this commentary, and I prefer him to others who endeavoured to explain and illustrate the structure and contents of this ethical work [i.e. the *Nicomachean Ethics*]. Since it seemed to me that copies of it were longed for, I took care that it be newly printed by Nikolaus Erben.⁴⁰

³⁹ Cf. Wundt, *Die deutsche Schulmetaphysik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1939), 57–59.

⁴⁰ Goclenius, *Praefatio*, in *Meditationes ethicae* [...] *per d[ominum] Petrum Martyrem Vermilium* [...] *et d[ominum] Andream Hyperium* (Lich: Erben, 1598), 2r: 'Complura disserit et explicat hoc commentario Martyr, quem quidem hoc explanationis genere aliis antepono, qui ethici operis technologian distinguere et tractationem illustrare conati sunt. Cum igitur eius exemplaria desiderari viderem, curavi, ut id per dominum Nicolaum Erbenium denuo in apertum proferretur.'

John Patrick Donnelly insisted in his study of Vermigli's doctrine of man and grace on the presence of 'concepts, terms, and methods of exposition and argument borrowed from the Aristotelian tradition,' which he interpreted as evidence of his having embraced the so-called 'popular Aristotelianism' of his age.⁴¹ A careful study of his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, which testifies to Vermigli's active pursuit of Aristotelian philosophy, will shed more light on the contours of Vermigli's approach to philosophy and to the Aristotelian tradition. Although a full scale analysis of this work would exceed the limits of the present essay,⁴² it is important to give some basic information about its structure and the hermeneutical principles which Vermigli employed, as well as about the sources on which he relied.

As to form, Vermigli's work on the *Nicomachean Ethics* belongs to the category of running commentaries. The discussion of difficult points as well as the presentation of the commentator's doctrinal remarks relate to small portions of text and follow the original structure of the work to be commented upon.⁴³ Moreover, this structure reflects Vermigli's practice in the classroom, where, after having read out a section of Aristotle's Greek text and having translated it into Latin, he proceeded to comment upon it for his students.⁴⁴ As in the case of other Renaissance commentators such as Donato Acciaiuoli, however, the basic preference for a running exposition of Aristotle's text did not exclude the use of another pattern of commentary very popular in late Middle Ages, namely the *quaestio*.⁴⁵ In fact, Vermigli himself, outlining

⁴¹ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 19.

⁴² See Luca Baschera, *Tugend und Rechtfertigung: Peter Martyr Vermigli's Kommentar zur Nikomachischen Ethik im Spannungsfeld von Philosophie und Theologie* (Zürich: TVZ, 2008).

⁴³ Cf. Cristina D'Ancona Costa, 'Commenting on Aristotle from Late Antiquity to the Arab Aristotelianism,' in Wilhelm Geerlings and Christian Schulze (eds.), *Der Kommentar in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden: Brill 2002), 205. D'Ancona Costa traces the roots of this class of philosophical exegesis back to Averroes' Long Commentaries on Aristotle.

⁴⁴ Cf. Anton Schindling, *Humanistische freie Hochschule und freie Reichsstadt. Gymnasium und Akademie in Straßburg 1538–1621* (Wiesbaden: Steiner 1977), 209: 'Der Professor verlas bzw. diktierte die für seine Wissenschaft kanonische Quellenschrift und kommentierte sie absatzweise. [...] Griechische Quellentexte wurden meist zunächst ins Lateinische übersetzt.'

⁴⁵ On Donato Acciaiuoli (1429–1456) and his commentary on the *Nicomachean Ethics* see Luca Bianchi, 'Un commento "umanistico" ad Aristotele: l'Expositio super libros Ethicorum di Donato Acciaiuoli,' in Id., *Studi sull'aristotelismo del Rinascimento* (Padua: Il Poligrafo, 2003), 11–39.

in the preface to his *Commentary* the method he is going to follow, distinguishes between three different levels in his hermeneutics.⁴⁶

The first level is made up of a careful division of the text into sections whose central idea (*scopus et propositio*) is identified together with Aristotle's proof of the same. For the sake of clarity, Vermigli often reduces the latter to a syllogism. The explanation of difficult passages and of Greek terms through etymological remarks and reference to classical authors and commentators also belongs to this first level of exegesis. Moreover, the several explicit references to other works of Aristotle bear witness to Vermigli's inclination to read the *Nicomachean Ethics* against the background of the whole Aristotelian *corpus*.

If the first level of Vermigli's exegesis is concerned primarily with philological questions, *doctrina* comes to the fore at the second level. At this stage Vermigli does not discuss the text as such, but rather questions raised by the text. Sometimes, in view of the importance of issues such as the theory of knowledge or the doctrine of ideas and human affections, Vermigli interrupts the explanation of Aristotle's text by inserting his own thematic digressions.

Finally, the third level in Vermigli's commentary consists in comparisons of Aristotle's doctrine with the contents of biblical revelation, which are appended to the explanations of each major portion of text or to the different excursuses. Although Vermigli does not conceal the differences between Aristotelian philosophy and Christian doctrine, his critique retains a moderate attitude and never leads to a total rejection of Aristotle's ethical teaching.

If we now turn to consider the sources of Vermigli's commentary, we must first of all underline the deep knowledge of the Aristotelian *corpus* which Vermigli exhibits throughout this work. Considering the references to Aristotle's works in Vermigli's theological writings, Donnelly assessed the predominance of the *Rhetoric*, the *Ethics* and the *Politics*

⁴⁶ NE 7: 'Ego vero sum interpretando rationem ac formam hanc persecuturus. Primum partiar propositum Aristotelis textum; secundo scopum et propositionem loci assumpti exponam cum eius probatione; tertio sensum et verba excutiam, quae visa fuerint expositione indigere; quarto, quae dubia fuerint, ostendam; et ad extremum pro locis communibus admonebo, quid cum divinis literis, quae allata fuerint, vel consentiant vel dissentiant.' CNE 13: 'For my part, I will apply the following reasoning and form of interpretation: first, I will dissect the text of Aristotle; second, I will explain the scope and proposition of a chosen passage with its proof; third, I will study its meaning and comment on terms which may require exegesis; fourth, I will expose to view any doubts that have arisen; and last, I will note and discuss those passages that agree or disagree with scripture.'

over the speculative works such as the *Metaphysics*, the *Physics* or the *De anima*, as well as the almost total absence of references to the biological works of Aristotle.⁴⁷ However, an examination of the *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* provides additional information which partially modifies this picture. Commenting on Aristotle's *Ethics* Vermigli refers often not only to the *Physics* and to the *De anima*, but also to a host of Aristotle's biological works, from which he at times gives lengthy quotations.⁴⁸ Further, the impression that Vermigli nourished a deep interest in natural philosophy is reinforced by the familiarity he shows with the works of Galen, upon which he extensively relies in certain contexts,⁴⁹ as well as by his good knowledge of Pliny⁵⁰ and even of the ancient physician Pedanius Dioscorides (ca. 40–90).⁵¹

Less astonishing are the frequent quotations from Cicero's philosophical works such as the *Tusculanae disputationes*, *De officiis* or *De finibus bonorum et malorum*. As Donnelly remarks, such writings were used by Renaissance authors as a source of information on ancient philosophy which were not to be found elsewhere and often are quoted also by Vermigli to the same purpose.⁵² Another ancient author whom Vermigli frequently quotes or alludes to is Plutarch, whose moral works constitutes a rich deposit of anecdotes and aphorisms which Vermigli enjoyed drawing upon. Lastly it must be remarked that Vermigli enriched his exposition with references to historical and literary works both Roman and Greek, as well as with occasional hints at Roman law.

More relevant in order to assess Vermigli's approach to the Aristotelian tradition are, however, his references to ancient, medieval and modern commentators of different works of Aristotle. The only commentator on the *Nicomachean Ethics* he explicitly mentions and extensively quotes is Eustratius, a Byzantine bishop who in the twelfth

⁴⁷ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 22f., in particular 23: 'Martyr seems to have little interest in Aristotle's biological works.'

⁴⁸ NE 26; 136; 150; 177f.; 335; 372 (*De anima*). NE 33; 71; 88–90; 192f.; 227 (*Physics*). NE 35 (*Historia animalium* and *De generatione animalium*). NE 123; 283f. (*De somno et vigilia* and *De insomniis*).

⁴⁹ Cf. NE 63–67, where Vermigli summarizes the whole chapters 7 and 11 from Galen's *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequantur*. See *Claudi Galeni opera omnia*, ed. by Karl Gottlob Kühn (Leipzig: C. Knoblochii, 1821–1833), Vol. 4, 791–798 and 814–822.

⁵⁰ Quotations from Pliny's *Naturalis historia* are to be found in NE 229; 233; 243; 356.

⁵¹ NE 243f.

⁵² Cf. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 32.

century composed explanations of the first and sixth books. Originally written in Greek and annexed to other Greek commentaries on the remaining books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Eustratius' annotations were first translated into Latin by Robert Grosseteste in the thirteenth century.⁵³ In 1543 the philologist Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano provided a new translation of the whole collection, along with other manuscript sources and notes on the *Ethics* by Aspasius.⁵⁴ Since some passages quoted by Vermigli as belonging to the anonymous *scholia græca* on the second book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* are actually part of Aspasius' commentary and not of the Greek collection reprinted in Venice in 1536, it must be assumed that he knew Feliciano's translation and used it alongside the original Greek text.⁵⁵

No medieval or early-modern commentaries on the *Ethics* are mentioned by Vermigli, although he explicitly refers to the translations of Leonardo Bruni (1369–1444) and John Argyropoulos (1415–1487) with regard to the vexed question of the meaning of the Greek expression *t' agathon*.⁵⁶ Even the commentary of the French humanist Jacques-Louis d'Estrebay, a copy of which, according to Ganoczy, belonged to Vermigli's private library, is never mentioned.⁵⁷ However, despite the total absence of any explicit reference to this work, a careful comparison of Vermigli's and Estrebay's commentaries reveals striking similarities. Vermigli seems to have borrowed largely from Estrebay's explanations of Greek terms, as well as from the *quæstiones* the French humanist presented in his commentary. Moreover, several references to ancient authors which Vermigli included in his commentary may also stem from Estrebay.

⁵³ H.P.F. Mercken, 'The Greek Commentators on Aristotle's Ethics,' in Richard Sorabji (ed.), *Aristotle Transformed. The Ancient Commentators and Their Influence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 407f.

⁵⁴ See David A. Lines, 'Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano and the Edition of Eustratius,' in Giovanni Bernardo Feliciano, *Aristotelis Stagiritæ moralia Nicomachia* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2006), XII f.

⁵⁵ Cf. NE 400. Vermigli quotes the example of Socrates refusing to kill a man by order of the thirty tyrants, and declares to have found it in the *scholia græca*. However, this example does not appear in the Greek text of the *scholia*, but only in Feliciano's translation, who derives it from Aspasius' commentary. Cf. Feliciano, *Aristotelis Stagiritæ moralia Nicomachia*, 53v–54r and Aspasius, *In Ethica Nicomachea quæ supersunt commentaria*, ed. by Gustav Heylbut (Berlin: Reimer, 1889), 60, 26–30.

⁵⁶ NE 14.

⁵⁷ Jacques-Louis d'Estrebay, *In III priores libros Ethicorum commentaria* (Paris: Vascosan, 1549). Cf. Alexandre Ganoczy, *La bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin. Le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 253.

Finally, apart from the explicit or implicit references to commentaries on the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Vermigli's familiarity with the Aristotelian tradition is attested also within the thematic digressions, where he mentions several exegetical works based on other writings of Aristotle. Such secondary exegetical references include Ammonius' annotations on *De interpretatione*,⁵⁸ *De anima* by Themistius,⁵⁹ as well as the commentaries on *Metaphysics* by Simplicius, Averroes and Albert the Great.⁶⁰

Turning now to the question concerning Vermigli's attitude towards philosophy in general and Aristotelianism in particular, we find in his writings the same appreciation and the same cautions which are to be found in most of his fellow-Reformed theologians around the middle of the sixteenth century. On the one hand Vermigli often recognizes the merits of liberal arts and defends them against the advocates of any sort of radical biblicism or anti-intellectualism. In particular he acknowledges the usefulness of the study of logic for the theologian and praises the achievements of natural philosophy.⁶¹ It is interesting to note that Vermigli defends his position appealing to arguments which are found also in the writings of his contemporaries, and therefore have to be considered as commonplaces in the Protestant debate about the legitimacy of philosophical studies. In the *Ethics* commentary, for example, he states that passages such as Colossians 2.8 should not be interpreted as a rejection of philosophy *tout-court*, but rather as a mere warning against false philosophy and sophistry. On the contrary, sound philosophy, which is always aware of its boundaries and does not exceed them, has to be considered according to Vermigli as a 'work of God' (*Dei opus*) which should not be impugned by Christians.⁶² Moreover,

⁵⁸ NE 150.

⁵⁹ NE 146 and 151. It must be noticed, however, that both references to Themistius are fallacious.

⁶⁰ NE 142 (Averroes); 149 (Albert the Great); 150 (Simplicius).

⁶¹ Cf. COR 289r: 'Universales propositiones, quae in locis dialecticis disponuntur quoad opposita, definitiones, propria, causas et huiusmodi, cum probatae sint ferme omnium consensu, non temere in argumentis theologicis esse reiicienda. [...] Quaeque pervestigata sunt et confirmata physica scientia, retinenda sunt. Unde Paulus primo capite ad Romanos invisibilia Dei, ut est sempiterna virtus et divinitas, cognita fuisse a sapientibus affirmavit et ita naturalem scientiam ornavit suo testimonio.' Cf. Rom. 1, 20: 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternall power and godhead' (KJV).

⁶² NE 7: 'Vera philosophia, cum ex notitia creaturarum colligatur [...], iure accusari non potest; est enim Dei opus et absque illius munere singulari ab hominibus haberi non potuit. Sed Paulus eam philosophiam reprehendit, quae hominum inventis et ambi-

Vermigli especially commends Aristotelian philosophy as the one which contains fewer errors than any other.⁶³

On the other hand, however, Vermigli does not show any hesitation in condemning all those philosophical doctrines which, in his view, are absurd or overtly contradict biblical revelation, such as the atomism and deism of the Epicureans, the fatalism of the Stoics, or the scepticism of the Academics.⁶⁴ Even Aristotle and his school meet on some occasions with criticism, as when Vermigli rejects the Peripatetic doctrine of the eternity of the world or rebukes the Stagirite for his reticence in acknowledging that happiness is a gift of God.⁶⁵ This critical attitude, however, does not clash with Vermigli's formerly mentioned recognition of the merits of philosophy and of Aristotelianism in particular. Rather, Vermigli is ready to acknowledge the positive contributions of philosophy, but is at the same time aware of the fact that any philosophical doctrine need to be evaluated according to the standards of biblical truth. Revelation remains for him the only criterion according to which the validity of any extra-biblical doctrine has to be determined.

Against the background of these considerations is it tenable to label Vermigli a 'Reformed Aristotelian'? Such a question requires a nuanced answer. Clearly, Vermigli was well acquainted with the Peripatetic tradition, and regarded favourably many aspects of Aristotle's philosophy. His preference, however, did not derive from a blind commitment to the Philosopher, but rather from the recognition of the objective valid-

tiosis certaminibus philosophorum est vitiata.' *CNE* 13: 'Since true philosophy derives from the knowledge of created things, [...] it cannot therefore rightly be criticized: it is the work of God and could not be enjoyed by us without his special contribution. But Paul censured that philosophy that is corrupted by human invention and by the bitter disputes of the philosophers.'

⁶³ *NE* 5: 'Ab hoc Aristotele secta Peripateticorum est orta, quae minus habet errorum quam ullae aliae sectae.' *CNE* 11: 'The school of Peripatetics sprang from Aristotle: it had fewer errors than any other school.'

⁶⁴ *NE* 7: 'Mundum ex atomorum concursu ac temere constare natura non ostendit, sed vanae cogitationes confinxerunt. Stoicorum fatum et apatheian, Academicorum perpetuam dubitationem, Epicureorum deitatem ociosam et nihil agentem fuisse vanam huiusmodi deceptionem, quis dubitet?' *CNE* 13: 'Nature did not show that the universe is composed of the random conjunction of atoms; this was conceived by empty speculation. Stoic fate and impassibility, the perpetual doubt of the Academics, the motionless and idle deities of the Epicureans—who would question that such ideas are empty deceit?' Cf. *ROM* 27.

⁶⁵ *NE* 7; 224.

ity of most of Aristotle's doctrines.⁶⁶ Vermigli preferred Aristotle to other philosophers because he found in him fewer errors. This implies that Vermigli, as did his Reformed contemporaries and their medieval predecessors, felt free to depart from Aristotle whenever this would prove necessary for the sake of truth. Vermigli's Aristotelianism was, therefore, as sincere as it was essentially eclectic.

'*VIA THOMÆ*' AND '*VIA GREGORII*': SCHOLASTICISM IN VERMIGLI

The question about the degree of influence scholasticism had on Vermigli can be adequately answered, only if two different aspects of it are distinguished from one another. The question aims first at establishing Vermigli's general attitude towards scholasticism and, secondly, at assessing possible influences of specific currents of scholastic philosophy and theology on Vermigli.

As far as Vermigli's general attitude towards scholasticism is concerned, his position appears to stand in continuity with that of most Protestant divines, as it has been sketched above. On the one hand, it can hardly be questioned that Vermigli employed scholastic methods and terminology, in order to increase the clarity and effectiveness of his argumentation. As John Patrick Donnelly emphasizes, Vermigli should be regarded as a pioneer in the development of that style of theological argumentation, which became afterwards typical of Reformed orthodoxy and did not scorn 'scholastic terminology, metaphysics, and subtlety of argument,' seeing in them rather 'valuable weapons for the Reformed theologian.'⁶⁷ His polemical works, as well as the *scholia* in his biblical commentaries, and his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* are replete with logical and technical terms, definitions, and distinctions which evince Vermigli's acquaintance with the scholastic tradition, both in philosophy and in theology.⁶⁸ Moreover, as Donnelly also points out, Vermigli's discussion in *scholia* of such key-doctrines as predestination

⁶⁶ Cf. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 46.

⁶⁷ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 50. See also 207: 'Jerome Zanchi was the most thorough-going and influential in pioneering Calvinist scholasticism, Theodore Beza was the best known and most prolific, but Peter Martyr Vermigli was the first and the inspiration of all who came after.'

⁶⁸ Cf. Vermigli's use of the concept of 'subalternation of sciences' (*NE* 4; *CNE* 10) or his reference to the Boethian definition of 'person' as 'an individual substance of a rational nature' (Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1561), 16v; *DTN* 33).

and justification takes often the form of a *quaestio disputata*.⁶⁹ In his works, however, Vermigli not only used concepts, distinctions, and argumentative devices typical of the scholastic tradition, but occasionally also referred to scholastic theologians in order to corroborate his theses. Such appeals to the scholastics are more frequent in his polemical works such as the *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* (Zurich, 1561), where at one point Vermigli substantiates his rejection of the ubiquity of Christ's body through repeated references to Aquinas, Peter of Tarentaise, Albert the Great, Ulrich of Strasbourg, Gabriel Biel and Richard of Middleton.⁷⁰

While no doubt can be cast on Vermigli's positive use of scholastic terminology and method, one must at the same time recognize that he also criticized scholastic theologians because of their enslavement to papal tyranny, their contentiousness and the lack of biblical basis in their works.⁷¹ While appreciating scholastic methodology, Vermigli was therefore fairly critical concerning at least some of the contents of medieval theology, which he—as a Protestant theologian—considered responsible for the decadence of the church. For this reason, in Vermigli's works the same critical and selective approach to scholastic theology that was common to most of the Reformed and Lutheran theologians in the sixteenth century can be observed. As we saw in the case of the *Dialogus*, he could indeed refer positively to scholastic theologians for polemical and apologetic purposes, but was also ready to back away from their teachings when they seemed to contradict biblical revelation. For the latter remained for him, in good Protestant fashion, the only authority in matters of faith.

Turning now to the second aspect of the question about the influence of scholasticism on Vermigli, a certain disparity in the conclusions of different Vermigli scholars can be discerned. Whereas John Patrick Donnelly points at the overall influence of Thomas Aquinas and the *via antiqua* on Vermigli, and more generally even tends to trace the roots of 'Reformed scholasticism' back to Thomism,⁷² Frank James rather insists upon Vermigli's reliance on Gregory of Rimini for

⁶⁹ See Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 62. The two scholia from Vermigli's Commentary on Romans have been published in English translation by Frank James in *PJ*.

⁷⁰ Vermigli, *Dialogus*, 64r–v (DTN 101f.).

⁷¹ See Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 49.

⁷² Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 202 and 205.

the formulation of his thoroughly Augustinian doctrine of predestination.⁷³ Both theses are supported by convincing arguments as well as by clear evidences in Vermigli's works, and actually do not contradict each other, but rather serve to underscore an eclecticism in Vermigli's intercourse with medieval sources which parallels his attitude towards the different strains of ancient philosophy. Such eclecticism becomes even more evident, if we give attention to the fact that also within one and the same context Vermigli could combine elements derived from different currents of medieval philosophy and theology. It is my intention to show this first of all in connection with Vermigli's discussion of the theory of knowledge, and secondly in relation to his treatment of future contingents.

John Patrick Donnelly saw in Vermigli's conviction about the pre-eminence of the intellect over the will a clear sign of continuity with Aquinas' position in contrast with the voluntarism of Duns Scotus.⁷⁴ Although Vermigli's distance from Scotism is plain in this as well as in other contexts,⁷⁵ this does not deny that he could also draw on non-Thomistic elements in order to explain how the intellect knows the external world. Evidence for Vermigli's eclecticism in matters of epistemology can actually be found in one of the excursuses he inserted in his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics*, dealing with the question about the first object of knowledge (*primum cognitum*). As Vermigli himself notes, this question has been much discussed among Aristotelians, but they could not reach any agreement about the correct way to answer it.⁷⁶ His purpose is, therefore, to offer to his students a

⁷³ Frank James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination. The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 149; Id., 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: At the Crossroads of Late Medieval Scholasticism, Christian Humanism and Resurgent Augustinianism,' in Trueman and Clark (eds.), *Protestant Scholasticism*, 73–77.

⁷⁴ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 85.

⁷⁵ In his *Commentary on the Nicomachean Ethics* Vermigli makes critical remarks on Scotus' theory of ideas (NE 151; CNE 151), whereas in the *Defensio orthodoxae fidei de eucharistiae sacramento*, alluding to the affinity between the name 'Scotus' and the greek word for 'darkness', he defines Scotism as 'that scholastic sect, whose name derives from obscurity' (DES 85).

⁷⁶ NE 88: 'Nam hac de re ne quidem omnes Peripatetici secum plane consentiunt, sed eis intervenerunt saepius magna dissidia circa illud, quod in scholis primum cognitum vulgo appellant.' CNE 89: '[...] on this subject not all Peripatetics agree; they are involved in serious disputes among themselves concerning what is commonly referred to by philosophers as [first object of knowledge].' The translation in CNE where *primum cognitum* is rendered as 'basic knowledge', rather misses the point in my opinion.

short and as simple as possible treatment of this issue, the complexity of which he nonetheless acknowledges.⁷⁷

Vermigli develops his inquiry about the nature of the *primum cognitum* on the basis of some fundamental distinctions between different orders of knowledge. According to him, something can be known first of all either naturally or artificially, whereas artificial knowledge can happen either through definition and division, or through demonstration. Moreover, definition, division and demonstration can have as their starting point either a distinct or a confused knowledge of the object. Vermigli's terminology in discussing these different aspects of human knowledge reveals his dependence upon different traditions, among others the Agricolean, Galenic and Averroistic schools. For our present purposes, however, it is his discussion of the natural order of knowledge which appears as most relevant in order to assess his dependence from one or more currents of scholastic thought. If Vermigli's mentioning of abstraction as the process through which we attain knowledge shows his continuity with the Aristotelian tradition in general and could also be interpreted as evidence of his Thomism,⁷⁸ his definite assertion that the individual is the first object of knowledge according to the natural order unmistakably attests to the distance between his theory of knowledge and that of Thomas Aquinas. For Thomas it was clear that in the first phase of intellectual knowledge—the *cognitio intellectiva confusa*—the 'more common' is known prior to the 'less common'.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ NE 88: 'Nos vero circumscriptis reiectisque his, quae ab altercantibus ultro citroque afferuntur, distinctiones quasdam faciles et expeditas faciemus et ad singulas earum partes certas quasdam propositiones aut sententias sic accomodabimus, ut res tota paucis plana, perspicua et aperta nobis fiat.' CNE 89: 'We would like to omit or reject the innumerable arguments brought forth by the disputants, so we will present only some clear and useful distinctions; we will accomodate certain propositions or sentences to their constituent parts so that the whole matter should in a few words become plain and obvious to all.'

⁷⁸ NE 89: '[...] formas colligimus et notiones, quas usitato nomine vocant universalis, semperque ratio retinetur, ut a contractoribus ascendamus ad magis communia, quoniam vis intelligendi a formis, quae individuis fuerint viciniore, notiones parit latius latentes et ampliores, donec in supremas, quae omnium latissime sunt, desinat.' CNE 89f.: '[...] we put together through our intelligence the forms and notions that are commonly termed "universals." The rule is always in respect to the moving from the more particular to the more general, for the power of intelligence is such that it begins with forms that are peculiar to individual objects, and then produces more general and more common notions until it formulates the final notions that are the most universal of all.'

⁷⁹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia q. 85 a. 3 co.: 'Cognoscere autem distincte id quod continetur in toto universali, est habere cognitionem de re minus communi,

This means that, according to Aquinas, we know the animal in general (the genus), before we are able to distinguish a human being from a lion (the species). To illustrate his point of view Thomas referred to an example to be found in Aristotle's *Physics*, where it is observed that children tend to call all men 'father' before they acquire the capacity of distinguishing their real father from the other men they see.⁸⁰ It appears, therefore, that also according to Aristotle the first object of knowledge would be the 'more common.'

Vermigli does not follow Aquinas in this respect, sharing instead the nominalistic view, according to which the 'less common' and the individual is the first object of knowledge:

When we follow the natural order [of knowledge], we get to know first of all the singular things and the individuals [...]. At first we know those singular things and individuals, which are perceived through the senses.⁸¹

It is plausible to assume that Vermigli knew this alternative position through his reading of Gregory of Rimini's Commentary to the Sentences, a work which he perused during his study in Padua⁸² and in

sicut cognoscere animal indistincte est cognoscere animal in quantum est animal. Cognoscere autem animal distincte est cognoscere animal in quantum est animal rationale vel irrationale; quod est cognoscere hominem, vel leonem. Prius igitur occurrit intellectui nostro cognoscere animal quam cognoscere hominem: et eadem ratio est si comparemus quodcumque magis universale ad minus universale.' English translation by Paul T. Durbin in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, vol. 12 (London/New York: Blackfriars, 1968), 67: 'To have distinct knowledge of what is contained in a universal whole is to have knowledge of something less universal. For instance, knowing animals indistinctly means knowing the class "animal," whereas knowing animals distinctly means knowing animals as rational or non-rational—it means knowing, for instance, man or lion. Therefore knowing "animal" comes within the scope of our intellect before knowing the class "man," and the same is true in any comparison of something more universal with something less universal.'

⁸⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* Ia q. 85 a. 3 co.: '[...] puer a principio prius distinguit hominem a non homine, quam distinguat hunc hominem ab alio homine; et ideo pueri a principio appellant omnes viros patres, posterius autem determinant unumquemque, ut dicitur.' English translation by Paul T. Durbin in Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, vol. 12 (London/New York: Blackfriars, 1968), 67: '[...] a child in the beginning distinguishes man from non-man before he distinguishes this man from that one; as Aristotle says, a child starts by calling all men "father," but later on distinguishes between each of them.' Cf. Aristotle, *Physics* 1.1, 184b 12–14.

⁸¹ NE 88f.: 'Quando naturalem ordinem sequimur, ante omnia singularia haec et individua cognoscimus [...]. Ea singularia seu individua, quae subiiciuntur sensibus, prius cognosci.'

⁸² Cf. Simler, *Oratio*, b5v: '[Martyr], qui pro scholarum consuetudine hactenus se potissimum in scholasticis theologis, Thoma praesertim et Ariminensi, exercuerat [...].'

which the priority of the knowledge of the individuals is clearly stated: 'Before something universal may be imagined or formed, something singular has to be known. Therefore, the singular is known prior to the universal.'⁸³

Of course, Gregory does not deny that we know also the universal, but the very existence of general concepts presupposes according to him the knowledge of the individuals, from which those concepts are to be abstracted.⁸⁴ As an additional proof of his dependence from Gregory's epistemological stance, it is interesting to note that in his excursus on knowledge Vermigli mentions the example taken from Aristotle's *Physics*, interpreting it in the same way as Gregory. For Vermigli as well as for Gregory that example does not prove any priority of the knowledge of the 'more common', but only confirms that in every kind of knowledge confused apprehension precedes plain comprehension.⁸⁵

Just as Vermigli combines in epistemological context a general Thomistic view of the intellect with elements derived from the nominalistic tradition, and peculiarly from Gregory of Rimini, it can be

LLS 17: '[...] he [Vermigli] had hitherto devoted himself chiefly to Thomas [Aquinas] and [Gregory of] Rimini as was the custom in the schools.' Gregory of Rimini's influence on Vermigli is traced by Frank James III, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination*, 126–128 and 148–150.

⁸³ Gregory of Rimini, *Lectura super primum et secundum Sententiarum*, ed. by Damasus Trapp and Venicio Marcolino (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1979–1987), vol. 1, 396,24–26: 'Antequam aliquod universale fingatur seu formetur, aliquod singulare est cognitum. Igitur singulare prius est cognitum quam universale.' On Gregory of Rimini's theory of knowledge see Gordon Leff, *Gregory of Rimini: Tradition and Innovation in Fourteenth Century Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 29–74.

⁸⁴ Gregory of Rimini, *Lectura*, vol. 1, 397,15–28: 'Intellectus ergo [...] faciens intentionem universalem accipit, id est considerat et cognoscit et consimilitudinem inter particularia. Et constat quod non potest eorum consimilitudinem cognoscere, nisi cognoscat illa. [...] Ex quibus patet quod fictio universalis praesupponit comprehensionem particularium, nec est imaginandum quod una virtus comprehendat particularia et convenientiam eorum, et alia formet universale, non plus quam quod unus homo apprehendat singularia et alius abstrahat eorum universalem conceptum.'

⁸⁵ NE 89: 'Sed nos hic ne id quidem lateat eam esse facultatis cognoscentis imbecillitatem, ut ipsa quoque individua et quae sub sensum cadunt primo occursu imperfecte admodum intelligat, hoc est confuse parumque distincte, qui fit, ut pueri soleant viros quoque viderint patres vocitare, ut primo Physicorum dicitur.' CNE 90: 'But it should not escape us here that the shortcomings of our intelligence are such that even these individual qualities falling under the senses are at first grasped imperfectly, that is, in a confused and vague manner. For this reason young boys tend to call all males they encounter "father", as Aristotle teaches in book 1 of *Physica*.' Cf. Gregory of Rimini, *Lectura*, vol. 1, 407,11–16: 'Illud exemplum non probat quod prius cognoscatur universale aliquod quam singulare, sed solum quod singulare prius cognoscatur cognitione imperfecta et debili [...] quam notitia clara et perfecta, qua tale iudicium possit haberi.'

observed conversely how he questions at times the authority of the *Doctor authenticus*, turning to more traditional patterns of thought. This seems to be the case with Vermigli's discussion of the so-called future contingents, as he developed it in connection with the doctrines of providence and predestination, a province of theology in which he otherwise took inspiration from Gregory's position. In his discussion of whether divine foreknowledge renders all events necessary, Vermigli draws on the traditional distinction between necessity 'of the consequent' and necessity 'of consequence' in order to demonstrate how God's infallible knowledge of the future does not entail any coercion of secondary causes.⁸⁶ However, even though the nature of secondary causes is preserved by God who makes use of them without doing violence to them, it is quite clear that according to his position, all events, when related to the knowledge and will of God, are indeed necessary. This appears clear to Vermigli insofar two basic principles—the one philosophical and the other theological—are combined. On the one hand, Vermigli recalls a sentence of Aristotle, when he states that all agree that 'whatever is, is necessary while it exists.'⁸⁷ But since all things and events past, present and future are present to God in reason of his being eternal, then it follows that also what is—in itself considered—contingent has to be regarded as necessary in relation to God's eternal knowledge of all things.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ ROM 434f.: 'Quae [necessitas] vero adhibetur exterius, est etiam duplex: altera violentia, quum aliqua praeter seu contra naturam coguntur manere, vel agere. Altera est ex hypothesi: unde Scholastici dixerunt, aliam esse necessitatem consequentiae, aliam consequentis. Qua distinctione nihil aliud voluerunt, quam interdum esse connexionem necessariam, etiam si illud quod infertur, ex se non sit necessarium.' PJ 69: 'Extrinsic necessity is of two kinds. One is violent, when things are compelled to work against their nature. The other is hypothetical. The scholastics have said that there is a necessity of consequence and another of the consequent. By this distinction they mean that the connection is sometimes necessary, although what is inferred is not itself necessary.' Cf. GEN fol. 116v: 'Datur siquidem duplex necessitas, scilicet absoluta et ex hypothesi, at fieri potest ut quae ex hypothesi sunt necessaria, si ea extra hypothesim sumas, contingentia et non necessaria sunt.'

⁸⁷ SAM fol. 58r: 'Quicquid est, dum est, necessarium est.' PW 192: 'Whatever is, is necessary while it exists.' Cf. Aristotle, *De interpretatione* 9, 19a 23–25.

⁸⁸ SAM fol. 58r: 'Ille enim vocat ea, quae non sunt, tanquam sint. Quoniam enim ambit omne tempus, et nec initium habet, nec finem, omnia etiam infinito tempore post futura, tamen illi sunt praesentia. [...] Atque hoc pacto dico, res ipsas habere rationem necessitatis.' PW 192f.: 'For he calls those things that are not as if they were [Rom. 4, 17]. He encompasses all of time, and has neither beginning nor ending, and even everything future in infinity is present to him. [...] In this way I hold that things themselves possess necessity.'

It is interesting to note that in relation to the same problem Gregory of Rimini had followed a rather different line of argumentation. Although he also emphasized, in continuity with Boethius and Augustine, the ever-present-ness of God's knowledge, he nevertheless tended to question the validity of the principles of the necessity of the present (*omne quod est, quando est, necesse est*) and of the past (*factum infectum fieri nequit*).⁸⁹ Apparently he was led to such a questionable position partly by the desire to underscore the absolute contingency of God's action, and partly by the conviction that this would provide a tenable demonstration of the contingency of future events.⁹⁰ On the one hand, God's being eternal and thus transcending any chronological category of past, present and future, it would not imply any contradiction to maintain that God is able to make the past not to have happened. Moreover, this assertion of the absolute contingency of God's will amounted, in Gregory's view, to a proclamation of the contingency of future events. For, if even past events are to be considered contingent because of God's power to undo them, then also the contingency of events which still have to happen should be acknowledged *a fortiori*.

In view of the differences existing between Gregory's and Vermigli's treatment of future contingents, we can assess that, in spite of his reliance on Gregory in matters of predestination, Vermigli tacitly dismisses the most revolutionary features of Gregory's doctrine of divine foreknowledge. Instead, Vermigli chose to follow in this context a more traditional Boethian-Thomist line, which avoided over-subtlety and which appeared more plausible to him.

⁸⁹ Cf. Gordon Leff, *Gregory of Rimini. Tradition and Innovation in Fourteenth Century Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), 109–111; Jack Zupko, 'Gregory of Rimini,' in Jorge J. Garcia and Timothy B. Noone (eds.), *A Companion to Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 287f.

⁹⁰ Cf. Jack Zupko, 'Gregory of Rimini,' 288: 'Gregory evidently wants to ensure that God's freedom to create or annihilate from eternity is not trumped by such creaturely, perspectival considerations as the necessity of the past.' Gordon Leff, *Gregory of Rimini*, 111: 'Contingency for Gregory [...] is synonymous with possible being, independent of all temporal considerations, belonging as much to the present and the past as to the future.'

CONCLUSION

Through our analysis some fundamental characteristics of Vermigli's attitude towards Aristotelian philosophy and scholastic tradition have emerged. On the one hand it is undeniable that Vermigli indeed had—as Armstrong stated—an 'affinity with Aristotle,' which he shared, however, not only with Beza and Zanchi but also with a large number of Protestant theologians and philosophers active in the middle of the sixteenth century. It is evident that he appreciated and made positive use of scholastic methodology and terminology in his works, reflecting also from this point of view the ongoing tendencies of Protestant orthodoxy. On the other hand his approach to both Aristotelianism and scholasticism, as that of his contemporaries, remained critical and selective, and it was characterized by a fundamental eclecticism. This freedom in approaching tradition, whether philosophical or theological, was first of all a consequence of his conviction that biblical revelation represented the only criterion of truth. However, it also reflected a general tendency of Renaissance culture. For, as Charles B. Schmitt wrote describing Renaissance Aristotelianism: 'The sixteenth century [...], though it saw a certain purifying tendency, was in large measure an age of differing blends of eclecticism.'⁹¹

⁹¹ Charles B. Schmitt, *Aristotle and the Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1983), 102.

CHAPTER SEVEN

HUMANISM, HEBRAISM AND SCRIPTURAL HERMENEUTICS

Max Engammare

Vermigli was as powerful a preacher as he was a scholar.¹ In 1542 he fled Italy and Lucca where he had served as Prior of the Augustinian Canons of San Frediano, and in the early autumn of that year proceeded to Strasbourg, after an initial sojourn in Zurich. After just one month, Bucer invited Vermigli to replace Wolfgang Capito, who had recently died from the plague. Clearly, Bucer thought Vermigli knew sufficient Hebrew to be able to lecture on the Old Testament. We know he had previously spent time learning Hebrew from a Jewish physician named Isaac in Bologna at the beginning of the 1530s.² Vermigli studied in the university in both Bologna and Padua for ten years in order to become a teacher. Emidio Campi, Alessandro Pastore and Marcantonio Flaminio are all persuaded that Vermigli is an exemplary product of the Hebraist culture in Renaissance Italy.³ It is my goal to investigate this question by making three further inquiries: first, the state of learning Hebrew in Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century; secondly, the notably high level of interest in studying the Psalms; and finally, as I have been fortunate enough to have had the opportunity over the period of almost two decades to inspect Vermigli's annotations on his own copies of the Rabbinic Bibles (now housed in the library at Geneva), I shall conclude with some remarks on Vermigli's reading and use of the commentaries of the medieval rabbis.

¹ I warmly thank Anne E. McBride who read and corrected my paper. All remaining mistakes are mine.

² See 'Simler's Life of Peter Martyr Vermigli' in *LLS* 17. See also 'Letter No. 6: To the Church at Lucca' of Christmas Eve 1542 in *LLS* 98: 'Because many in this academy know Hebrew, I expound the Hebrew text in Latin.'

³ Emidio Campi quoted by Daniel Shute, *LAM* xxxv.

I. LEARNING HEBREW IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua had a very important library, which grew to 1,337 volumes at the time of the last entry in the inventory, shortly after 1484.⁴ Monks read classical Latin and classical Greek, and in 1465 the chapter-general admonished its brethren 'to spend more time in the reading of Holy Scripture than of Cicero and of the Greek poets and literature'.⁵ Some taught the Greek language within the Congregation, but only a few knew Hebrew, such as Lucas Bernardus who taught at Padua in 1495.⁶ At the time, very few schools or universities taught Hebrew. It is true that Peter Schwartz (Petrus Negri, 1435–1483) taught Hebrew at the University of Ingolstadt in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and he published in 1477 a Hebrew reader called *Stella Meschiah*, but he was exceptional.⁷

Among both Italian and German monks, the rediscovery of Hebrew commenced in the context of the significant revival of classical Latin and Greek in the 1480s and '90s. Wolfgang Musculus discovered Ovid in his youth on the granary floor of his monastery, where he learned, summarized, and abbreviated the *Metamorphoses*. He later turned his interest to the Bible and to Greek and Hebrew.⁸ *Ad hebraices fontes* began with the revival of classical Latin and Greek.

Daniel Bomberg, the great publisher of Rabbinic Bibles and the Talmud, Pico della Mirandola and Johannes Reuchlin, Philip Melancthon's uncle, received their instruction in Hebrew in Italy on an informal basis, mostly from Jewish physicians. In 1492, Johannes Reuchlin (born in Pforzheim in 1455) secured the services of Jacob Yehiel of Loans, personal physician to Emperor Frederick III. At the end of the century, Reuchlin journeyed to Italy, where Domenico Cardinal Grimani

⁴ See Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: the Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford, 1985), 32.

⁵ Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars*, 29.

⁶ Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars*, 44.

⁷ Eric Zimmer, 'Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration in Sixteenth-Century Germany,' *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series 71. 2 (1980), 69–88.

⁸ See Reinhard Bodenmann, *Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563)*. Destin d'un autodidacte lorrain au siècle des Réformes, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 342 (Geneva, 2000), 128–31. See also my 'D'une philologie l'autre. La muse classique, maîtresse cachée des Réformateurs', in *La Philologie humaniste et ses représentations dans la théorie et la fiction*, edited by Perrine Galand-Hallyn, Fernand Hallyn and Gilbert Tournoy, Romanica Gandensia 32 (Gand, 2005), II, 409–37.

arranged for private lessons with Obadiah Sforno from 1498 to 1500.⁹ Sforno was a Jewish scholar, physician and philosopher, who served as personal physician to Grimani. Six years later, Reuchlin published his famous *De rudimentis hebraicis*. Pico della Mirandola received instruction in Hebrew from Yochanan Allemanno. At San Marco of Florence during Savonarola's time, Hebrew was already being taught. It is believed that Sante Pagnini (born in 1470) began to learn Hebrew at San Marco from a Spanish Rabbi named Isaac who had been converted by Savonarola and Pico della Mirandola.¹⁰

In Germany, Johannes Brenz learned Hebrew from a Spanish *converso* physician, Matthäus Adrian.¹¹ From 1513 Wolfgang Capito did the same with Adrian, although he was not extremely enthusiastic about his teacher.¹² Elias Levita assisted such scholars as Egidio de Viterbo, Paul Fagius, and Sebastian Münster to acquire their knowledge of Hebrew.¹³ Regrettably, we do not know how Martin Bucer came to learn rabbinical Hebrew.¹⁴

Agazio Guidaceri was a secular priest who learned Hebrew in Rome in the first decade of the sixteenth century from a Portuguese exile, Rabbi Jacob Gabbai, and by 1514 the former had become professor of Hebrew at the Sapienza, the Roman University. After the sack of Rome in 1527, and the consequent loss of his own library, Guidaceri fled to Avignon, and thence to Paris where, in 1530, with François Vatable he was appointed Lecturer of Hebrew at the Collège royale. In 1524, he published his commentary of the Song of Songs, in which he used Masoretic accentuation to correct the Latin translation of the Bible and correctly criticized Reuchlin on the meaning of a Hebrew word.¹⁵

⁹ See Jerome Friedman, *The most ancient testimony. Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1983), 21, 24.

¹⁰ See Timoteo M. Centi, 'L'attività letteraria di Santi Pagnini (1470–1536) nel campo delle scienze bibliche', *Archivum Fratrum Prædicatorum* 15, 1945, 5–51, here 7f. This was possibly Isaac Alemanno.

¹¹ See my 'Qu'il me baise des baisiers de sa bouche': *Le Cantique des cantiques à la Renaissance*, Étude et bibliographie, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 277 (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 154–8, here 154.

¹² See James M. Kittelson, *Wolfgang Capito from Humanist to Reformer*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 21f.

¹³ See Eric Weil, *Elie Lévi, humaniste et massorète (1469–1549)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

¹⁴ See R. Gerald Hobbs, *An Introduction to the Psalms Commentary of Martin Bucer*, unpublished PhD dissertation presented at the University of Strasbourg, 1971, 259.

¹⁵ About *bimesibbô* in Song of Songs 1. 12, to explain that Hebrews ate seated, not on beds or sofas like Romans, what Reuchlin explained wrong. See my *Qu'il me baise*

At the beginning of the sixteenth century such scholars as Konrad Pellikan or Sebastian Münster realized that in order to understand the Bible they had to have a working knowledge of Hebrew. Their studies included not only the Hebrew text of the Bible, but also the Rabbinic Bible, that is the Hebrew Bible with rabbinical commentaries which explained, elucidated, elaborated, and interpreted the Biblical text.¹⁶ This helps to explain their extensive interest in medieval Midrashim, Targumim and rabbinical commentaries, whether grammatical with Radak (Rabbi David Kimchi) or mystical with Rashi (Rabbi Solomon). Kimchi wrote *The Book of Roots* (*Sefer Ha-Shorashim*), which was very important for Christian Hebraists. Sebastian Münster in particular made extensive use of this Hebrew dictionary in his biblical references. It was first published 1529 in Venice by Daniel Bomberg. There was no Latin translation of the *Book of Roots* during the sixteenth century, even though Pagnini's *Thesaurus linguae sanctae* had translated many entries based on this source.

As we know, Jewish scholars were reluctant to teach Hebrew to Christians, because of the prohibition of teaching the Torah to non-Jews.¹⁷ Nevertheless, a large number of Jewish teachers did so, as we have seen. There was a marked liberalism among the Jewish physicians and a few rabbis who had fled Spain and Portugal only a few decades previously. Christian Hebraists willingly gave up the ecclesiastical Latin translation of the Bible received from Jerome (the Vulgate) in order to make an altogether new translation directly from Hebrew.¹⁸

We may conclude from this that Christian Hebraists, mainly those trained in Italy, formulated a *Wortphilologie* (philology of the word) as distinct from a *Textphilologie* (philology of the text). When Sebastian Münster and later Leo Jud translated the Bible into Latin from the Hebrew and Aramaic sources, published respectively in 1534–35¹⁹ and

des baisiers de sa bouche. Le Cantique des cantiques à la Renaissance (Geneva, 1993), 187–92.

¹⁶ See Eric Zimmer, 'Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration in Sixteenth Century Germany', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 71 (1980), 69–88, here 69.

¹⁷ Zimmer, 'Jewish and Christian Hebraist Collaboration,' n. 5, 70–1.

¹⁸ On that point see Marie-Luce Demonet-Launay, 'La Désacralisation de l'hébreu au XVI^e siècle', in *L'Hébreu au temps de la Renaissance*, ed. Ilana Zinguer (Leiden, 1992), 154–71.

¹⁹ See *Hebraica biblia* (Bâle: Michael Isengrin et Henricus Petri). There were three forewords: 'Christiano et pio lectori' in Latin and Hebrew (tome 1, fol. a₄r^o–[a₅]v^o); 'Præfatio Sebast[iani] Munsteri in vetus testamentum' (*ibid.*, fol. [a₅]v^o–[b₆]v^o); 'In prophetas præfatio', (tome 2, fol. a₂r^o–a₃v^o).

1543,²⁰ they did not confer with other Hebrew manuscripts, and did not give Hebrew variants or Hebrew sources. Neither Münster nor Jud collated different editions of the Hebrew Bible; the edition published by Bomberg—in particular, the edition of 1524–25 with small and large Masorah—was considered by them to be sufficient. Christian Hebraists of the sixteenth century followed in the footsteps of Jewish scholars who did not correct the Masoretic text. Münster noted some differences between Hebrew and Greek versions, explicable on the ground that most translators were not fully fluent in Hebrew, while his Hebrew text became the new *veritas hebraica*, with or without Masoretic vocalisation. Vermigli also applied a similar, simple philology of the word to his exegesis.

II. ITALIAN INTEREST IN THE PSALTER

In Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was another way to learn Hebrew which derived from an Italian interest in the Psalms and a polyglot Psalter. In 1509 Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples published the *Quincuplex Psalterium* in Paris with Henri Estienne, followed by a second edition by Estienne in 1513, but Lefèvre did not know Hebrew. Some years later in Italy, Felix de Prato and Agostino Giustiniani, as it were new Jeromes, edited a polyglot Psalter, and with them we see early Christian Hebraists of the Renaissance at work.²¹

Felix de Prato

In 1515 Felix de Prato published a new edition of the Psalter 'from Hebrew accurately translated': *Psalterium ex hebreo diligentissime ad verbum fere tralatum: fratre Felice ordinis Heremitarum sancti Augustini interprete summum pontificem Leonem decimum approbatum*.²² Prato

²⁰ See Claire Gantet, 'La Bible latine de Zurich (1543) entre la tradition et l'innovation', *Zwingliana* 23 (1996), 143–67.

²¹ See Bernard Roussel's article, 'Les "Nouveaux Jérôme" (1525–1535): Les Psaumes traduits en français *juxta veritatem hebraicam*,' *Les Réformes: Enracinement socio-culturel*, XXVe Colloque international d'Études humanistes, Tours, 1er–13 juillet 1982, ed. Bernard Chevalier and Robert Sauzet (Paris: Éditions Trédaniel, 1985), 273–84. We remember that Jerome gave three different translations of the Psalter.

²² (Venice: Peter Liechtenstein from Köln, at the expense of Daniel Bomberg from Antwerpen; London, British Library, 3090 cc.9), colophon on page 63v. Daniel Bomberg added a poem under the Privilege (F^o [2]v): 'Hoc arcana Dei lector studiosae libello:/ Ueraque veridici carmina vatis habes./ Caldeos etiam passim mirabere sensus:/ Quæque probant nostram dicta vetusta fidem./ Non labor hic paruus: bene verbum reddere

was a converted monk who had been ordained into the Augustinian order. In his first preface to Pope Leo X,²³ Prato explains that he knows Hebrew and Latin, and that he spoke with Pietro Bembo about his translation (as the Pope's secretary Bembo signed the *imprimatur* for publication on 10 October 1515). Bembo was a good resource since he possessed many Hebrew books and manuscripts in his personal library.²⁴ As the son of a rabbi who had converted from Judaism to Christianity, Prato's knowledge of Hebrew is assured. In his second preface devoted to the reader, he explains that he is not as accomplished as his predecessors in translating Hebrew idiom.²⁵ Prato was the first Christian Hebraist to divide and number chapters of the Bible into verses, a pattern later imitated by Oecolampadius and Pagnini, who had already numbered verses for the entire Bible by 1528, more than twenty years before Robert Estienne.

As Prato translated from the Hebrew he repeatedly corrected the Latin *textus receptus* and added numerous marginal notes. In some important verses, he adopted an explicitly Christian interpretation. For example, in Psalm 22:16 he retained '*foderunt manus meas et pedes meos*' ('they pierced my hands and my feet') which is based on a misreading of the Hebrew *kâ'arî yâday weragelây*. In note 10, he gave the marginal annotation 'Sicut leo', which is the correct translation of the Hebrew at that time, but was no longer part of the prophetic announcement of the Passion. In a note, Prato explains:

Verum id quod te latere minime velim: quam Iudei in sua pristina persistentes pravitae nunquam desistunt mordere Christianos quoscumque interpretes. Ob sexti decimi versus huius psalmi interpretationem. nam dicunt quod ubi nos habemus Foderunt, in hebreo ponitur dictio *caari*: quam quidem dicunt significare sicut leo: atque similem modum loquendi adducunt ex capite trigesimo octavo Ysaie prophete: sicut leo sic conteret omnia ossa mea...²⁶

Felix de Prato offers a very long excursus on a reference to *caari* in Isaiah and asserts that *caari* has two meanings ('*in duplici significato*').

verbo:/ Asserere e tenebris omnia maius opus./ Omnia testificor Felicis acumine nostri:/ Non plus ter quina facta latina die.'

²³ Prato, *Psalterium*, verso of the title page.

²⁴ See Massimo Danzi, *La biblioteca del cardinal Pietro Bembo* (Geneva: Droz, 2005).

²⁵ 'Omnibus equidem qui antehac hebraici idiomatis transferendi curam aggressi sunt: inferior sum et esse nequaquam diffiteor.' Prato, *Psalterium*, fol. [2]r.

²⁶ Prato, *Psalterium*, fol. 13r-v.

The more common meaning of the word is 'as a lion', but here it means something else ('*opus ut hic aliquid aliud significet*'): 'they pierced, as Christians (*nostri*) have translated' ('*quod significare poterit propter id quod nostri interpretati sunt, scilicet, foderunt*'). In the second part of his note, he explains that *caari* (as a lion) was pronounced *caru* (they pierced), because Jews replaced one letter for another ('*ponatur una littera pro altera*') and because vowels did not receive pointings ('*nam multotiens littere sine punctis*'). Moreover Prato uses kabbalist knowledge to explain that *aleph* is superfluous and *yod* is a very important letter, indeed the first letter of the *tetragrammaton* which, owing to its position, contains within itself the virtue of the sacred name.²⁷ According to Prato, the whole of Psalm 22 foresees and describes Christ's Passion which reflects his Christian interpretation of the text.

In one of the longest notes to his edition—two pages for Psalm 72/73; one and half for Psalms 2 and 45/46—Prato determines that the phrase 'as a lion' refers to the Jews, and the words 'they pierced' has reference to Christians, exactly as Martin Bucer later observed in 1529 in his commentary on Psalms. In his 1555 French Bible Sebastian Castellio retained the *lectio latina* of Psalm 22:16: 'Car les chiens m'environnent: une brigade de garnemens m'assiege, qui m'ont percé mains e pieds'. Castellio clearly preferred the Church tradition over against the Masoretic Text and the Jewish meaning.

Agostino Giustiniani

Agostino Giustiniani planned to dedicate himself to the translation of a Polyglot Bible, but he was able to publish only the *Psalterium octaplum* in Genoa in 1516, two years after his nomination as bishop of Nebbio in Corsica.²⁸ The Dominican Hebraist knew Hebrew quite well, but we

²⁷ 'Verum forte positum est, aleph, superfluum: quam secundum cabalisticos altius speculantes: littera aleph idem importat secundum numerum quod nomen tetragrammaton: et littera, iod, prima est littera ipsius nominis tetragrammaton, continens in virtute totum nomen: ut patet per eosdem cabalistiche artis auctores. Hoc autem totum contemplari, alterius est artificis. Namque in hoc psalmo tota Christi passio: descensus ad inferos...' Prato, *Psalterium*, fol. 13v.

²⁸ *Psalterium Hebræum, Græcum, Arabicum, et Chaldæum, cum tribus latinis interpretationibus et glossis* (Genoa: Pietro Paulo Porrus for Nicolao Giustiniani Paulo, 1516) (colophon from the month of November) (London, British Library 4.d.7). See Gorge K. Hasselhoff, 'Die Drucke einzelner lateinischer Übersetzungen von Werken des Maimonides im 16. Jahrhundert als Beitrag zur Entstehung der modernen Hebraistik: Agostino Giustiniani und Sebastian Münster', in *Gottes Sprache in der philologischen Werkstatt: Hebraistik vom 15. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Giuseppe Veltri and Gerold

do not know how he learned it; perhaps in a monastery in Bologna. When he translated Psalm 22 from Hebrew into Latin, he wrote '*sicut leo, manus meas et pedes meos*' from the Chaldean paraphrasis '*veluti leones manus meas et pedes meos*'²⁹ and, like Prato, Giustiniani provided a long explanatory *scholium*. According to Bernardo Granello, in the name of Laurenzio de Flisco, Giovanni Maria Sforza, and Gasparo de Varagine, in his '*Observatio constitutionis nuper edite in Lateranensi concilio*' the reason for the extended *scholium* was to gain approval for the work, and so he also added a formal *laudatio* ('...*quod non solum probavimus sed et laudavimus et admirati sunt*') on 29 January 1516.

Prato and Giustiniani dedicated their respective editions to Pope Leo X. Giustiniani wrote: 'For a priest nothing is worth more than the explanation and the interpretation of Holy Scriptures'.³⁰ With this humanistic confession of faith, Giustiniani saw himself as a new Origen, who had published only a *Hexapla*, whereas Giustiniani published an *Octapla*, together with his own *scholia*. In 1518 Johann Potken ('*Præpositus Ecclesiæ Sancti Georgii Coloniensis*') published *Psalterium in quatuor linguis: Hebraea, Graeca, Chaldaea, Latina*, in Köln, by Johann Soter. At the end of his edition, he explained how in Rome he learned Aramaic from some monks and Franciscans, who worked assiduously but who nonetheless had wasted time ('*assiduoque labore non sine temporis jactura*').³¹ He confessed that Johann Soter (*alias Heyl*—'salvation') helped him with the edition.³² Various Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians monks learned Hebrew, and even Aramaic, in the two first decades of the sixteenth century, well before Luther who, as

Necker (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 169–88. See also Paul Grendler, 'Italian Biblical Humanism: the Example of Agostino Giustiniani', Sixteenth Century Studies Conference October 2006, Salt Lake City. I thank warmly Paul Grendler who was kind enough to give me a paper copy of his lecture recently published under the title 'Italian Biblical Humanism and the Papacy, 1515–1535', *Biblical humanism and scholasticism in the age of Erasmus*, ed. Erika Rummel (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), 227–276.

²⁹ Fol. D_{iii}v–D_{iii}r.

³⁰ 'Nihil enim æque sacerdoti convenit, quam sacrarum literarum expositio et interpretatio' (fol. A_{ii}r).

³¹ '...omnes in tot regnorum ecclesiis, Monasteriis, et aliis piis locis Chaldaea in eorum sacris uterentur lingua: magno desyderio: dictorum regnorum diversorum ordinum Monachos, et fratres mendicantes, qui tum Romæ peregrinationis causa erant, adii: *assiduoque labore non sine temporis jactura* quom idoneum interpretem reperirem minime, linguam ipsam Chaldeam ab eis ad tantam sufficientiam didici, ut mihi persuaderem me posse Psalterium David arte impressoria edere, ut et quinquennio vix exacto Romæ edidi.' F° [a₅]v. Underline is mine.

³² In 1530 in Lyons Sebastian Gryphius will publish a *Psalterium sextuplex* with Hebrew, three Latin translations (Jerome, Giustiniani and Sante Pagnini), and the Septuaginta with a Latin translation.

we know, learned it indifferently. Where Felix de Prato saw himself as a new Jerome, and Agostino Giustiniani as a new Origen, all were biblical Humanists.

III. PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI'S *BIBLIÆ RABBINICÆ*

As we know, Theodore Beza suggested that the Genevan Academy purchase Peter Martyr Vermigli's library; and the books were eventually sent from Zurich in the spring of 1566.³³ Among the books in this library were the first and the second editions of the Rabbinic Bible published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice in 1515–16 and in 1524–25.³⁴

The first edition was edited by Felix de Prato, like Vermigli a member of the Order of Augustinian canons. The Bomberg Bible was given to him in Oxford at some point during the period 1548 to 1553 when he was Regius Professor of Divinity and a Canon of Christ Church. The Genevan Library has only the second volume, including parts 3 and 4, from the Book of Isaiah forward. The pigskin cover of the edition is inscribed: 'For Mast[er] D. Martyr: an Oxonian gift'. We find many different hands in the margin, among them Vermigli's own annotations.

Vermigli commented on the whole book of Genesis in Strasbourg, but we have only his commentary up to chapter 42, verse 25.³⁵ We can speculate that he may have done this with the help of a third Rabbinic Bible, or perhaps that he had with him only the first volume which is now lost. In any case, Vermigli read and annotated the second volume almost in its entirety, but specifically translated in the margin or at the bottom of the pages references to the rabbinical commentaries. He did not read all of the psalms with the same awareness or interest; some of these margins remain empty. Nor did he underline any portion of Proverbs, only beginning with the Song of Songs, where he translated

³³ See Alexandre Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin*, Etudes de philologie et d'histoire 13 (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 19–27, here 19f (hereafter Ganoczy, *Bibliothèque*).

³⁴ See Ganoczy, *Bibliothèque*, n. 1 and 2, 159.

³⁵ See *In primum librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur... nunc denuo in lucem editi* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1579), fol. α₂v and 169v. Ludwig Lavater wrote: 'Quamvis Martyr noster, integrum librum Geneseos in celeberrima Schola Argentoratensi interpretatus sit: nos tamen solum hæc commentaria ad vigesimum sextum versum capitis quadregesimi secundi, ipsius manu notata reperimus in eius Bibliotheca, ideoque hæc tantum damus.' (fol. α₂v).

some of the allegorical comments on 'Duo filii Aaron, duo ubera'.³⁶ There are hardly any notations on Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Job or Daniel, and none on Chronicles. We must specify further that we see different colours of ink in the marginal notes, with at least two, and perhaps three distinct hands. It would appear to be a *lectio continua* Bible opened also for specific consulting; no dates whatever appear in the margins.

The second edition prepared by Jacob ben Hayim was published 1524–25. We find Vermigli's name at the end of each volume: 'Domini Petri Martyris Florentini'. Whether Vermigli travelled from Lucca to Strasbourg, Zurich, Oxford and back to Zurich with those volumes is difficult to determine. We find exactly the same *ex libris* at the end of his 1527 *Dictionarium Chaldaicum...per Sebastianum Munsterum...congestum*.³⁷ This second edition is more a working copy of the Hebrew Bible, not a Bible to consult or meditate upon. When he was preparing a personal commentary, Vermigli read a book line by line but stopped after some chapters. He did the same with Plato (he owned the 1513 Aldine edition in two volumes).³⁸ We have his own copy at the Genevan Library, and we can confirm Vermigli's habit: in the first volume he read and annotated mostly with translations the first dialogues, the first Tetralogy—*Euthyphro*, *Apology of Socrates*, *Crito*, and *Phaedo*—and abruptly stopped his reading on page 53. In the second volume he only read the first book of the *Republic*. In the first volume of the second Rabbinic Bible, Vermigli left some marginal notes and pen marks in the Pentateuch (notes on Leviticus 17) and the book of Joshua, but began to read carefully the book of Judges with the Rabbinical commentaries: Kimchi, Rashi, and Ralbag (Rabbi Levi ben Gershon, better known as Gersonides, as well as Levi ben Gershom), the Jewish doctor most translated by Vermigli. When Vermigli quoted Hebrew words, he used capital letters and no cursive script, a tiny sign but a sign nonetheless of his Christian knowledge of Hebrew.

In the second volume, which began with the Book of Isaiah, Vermigli only read up to chapter 9:5, giving marginal Latin translations of Rashi's and Ibn Ezra's commentaries. In the book of Isaiah, there is a single underline of the biblical text, in chapter 3:18–23. It is the list

³⁶ Fol. Aleph Beth r from Shir hashirim part.

³⁷ Basle, Johann Froben (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève: Bb 321). We do not find a simple pen mark in this Vermigli's copy.

³⁸ See Ganoczy, *Bibliothèque*, n. 283.

of ornament and jewellery of Jerusalem women. Vermigli's Hebrew interest is mainly onomastic. There are some underlinings and Latin translations in Vermigli's Commentary, but some of the comments and interpretation have no specific source in the Bible. For example, in Judges 3:31, Vermigli quotes Kimchi and the Targum about *bemalmad* in the expression *bemalmad habbâqâr* (an ox goad),³⁹ but these authorities were not underlined in his copy of the second Rabbinic Bible.⁴⁰ In his *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, however, he notes that Sante Pagnini derived *malmad* from *lâmad* (learn) and quotes Radak: '*Hinc est et malmad, id est stimulus, id est baculus (aut virga) in cuius summitate est acus (aut aculeus), sic appellatus quod boves doceat arare, inquit Ra. Da. Judici 3, versu 31: Et percussit de Pelistæis sex centos viros bemalmad habbâqâr, id est stimulo bovis.*'⁴¹

We find just one marginal note in Judges 3 about 'âthnî'el (Othniel). At the beginning of verse 10 which says *waththehî 'âlâyw rûah yâhweh*, and the Spirit of God was upon him, Vermigli underlined some words of Radak's commentary with reference to the first four words of the biblical verse, translated it in the margin, and commented: '*Spiritus domini qui fuit super Othoniel ut in[tel]ligitur spiritus prophetie. ut spiritus fortitudi[nis] qua pugnavit contra gentes. Ego dicerem [u]trunque que spiritus dabat intelligentiam cuius corporis quali vincere posset.*' The interpretation is Radak's *rwh nbw'h* (*rûah nevû'âh*)—'the spirit of prophecy'—not underlined, but not accepted either.⁴² In his commentary, Vermigli quoted both the Targum and Radak: '*Chaldæus Paraphrastes per Dei spiritum, prophetiæ facultatem intelligit. David autem Kimhi χαρισμα roboris et fortitudinis interpretatur. Ego vero utrunque complectendum arbitror. Nam præter fortitudinem ac robur collatum Iudicibus, divinæ voluntatis iudicium et sensum, qui ad prophetiam pertinet, accedebat.*'⁴³

The Book of Judges commences with a consultation with God: *wayyshe'alû benèy isrâ'el bayâhweh*, 'the sons of Israel consulted God'. In his commentary, Vermigli pointed out three ways of asking God from 1 Samuel 28: '*per Somnia, per Urim et Thummim, denique per*

³⁹ See IUD fol. 65r-v.

⁴⁰ He underlined some words of Kimchi's commentary about *rwh*(HET) *yhwh* and translated '*Spiritus Domini qui fuit supra...*' *Biblia Rabbinica*, 1524–25, fol. [33_{viii}]v.

⁴¹ See *Thesaurus linguae sanctae*, 1148.

⁴² *Biblia Rabbinica*, fol. [33_{viii}]v.

⁴³ See IUD fol. 55v.

Prophetas'.⁴⁴ He emphasized and elucidated Urim et Thummin by quoting Radak, explaining moreover that he was using Radak 'at hand': 'longum esset dicere R.D. Kimhi ea de re in lib.[ro] quem habemus præ manibus'.⁴⁵ Vermigli read rabbinical literature *præ manibus*, the book open upon his desk, either the *Book of Roots* or the Rabbinic Bible. On opening Vermigli's Rabbinic Bible one can see that Vermigli read Radak's, Ralbag's, and Rashi's commentaries, underlined and translated them. In this case he underlined what Ralbag wrote at the beginning of Judges 1:1: *b'wry wthwmy* and translated in the margin 'interrogaverunt per urim et thumim. Uri et thumi modus in glossa .27. [N]umeros ad finem',⁴⁶ and the same interest may be found in his own commentary.⁴⁷ In the Book of Numbers, chapter 27, verse 21, we read: 'And he Joshua shall stand before Eleazar the priest, who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord'. Vermigli did not use all of these quotations and all his translations in his commentary, but it is nonetheless clear that he read the rabbinical literature carefully.

Another example from the Book of Judges: the passage in Judges 16:2 begins with: *la'azâthîm lè'mor* ([it was announced] to Azah's inhabitants). In his Rabbinic Bible, Vermigli underlined Levi ben Gershom's Commentary and translated at the foot of the page: '*R. Levi. Viri azotii insidiati sunt in porta, quia illam clausurunt...*' (The men of Azah are those who watch at the door, because they closed it).⁴⁸ In his commentary published in 1561,⁴⁹ he explained that Azzah was read Gazzah, and further that Azzah was one of the main Palestinian cities, but he did not embrace Ralbag's interpretation, which remains only in the margin of his own copy.

⁴⁴ *IUD* fol. 5r.

⁴⁵ See *IUD* fol. 5v: 'Quamvis R.D. Kimhi illud iudicium per Urim et Thummim datum putet. Verum de hoc quicquid sit, non multum refert: nam sortes in usu fuisse tum temporis, nemini dubium esse debet. Dicit quippe Salomon, Sortes in urnam conjici, et a Deo gubernari... De Urim et Thummim, quid proprie fuerint, longum esset dicere R.D. Kimhi ea de re in lib.[ro] que habemus præ manibus, cum Historiam exponit concubinæ vindicatæ contra Gabaonitas, fuse loquitur.' Martyr carries on with the explanation that before the Mosaic Law Patriarchs used that way of consulting God, as Pagans did with their Sibylles.

⁴⁶ *Biblia Rabbinica*, fol. [33_v]r.

⁴⁷ In the 1524–25 second Rabbinic Bible, commentaries are those of Ibn Ezra and Rashi. If Martyr read this chapter in his copy he did not leave any prove of it, did not underline *hâ'ûrim* in the text nor translated a rabbinic gloss (fol. [23_v]v).

⁴⁸ *Biblia Rabbinica*, fol. 36_v°.

⁴⁹ *IUD* fol. 162v.

Vermigli thoroughly read the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings. He underlined many sections, undoubtedly in preparation of his voluminous commentaries on these books, but he no longer translated what he read. Evidently, translation was no longer necessary. It is possible, perhaps even likely that he bought (or received) his second Rabbinic Bible in Zurich in the 1550s, when his knowledge of Hebrew had become very good indeed. In his preface to Vermigli's commentary on Kings, Johannes Wolf informs us about Vermigli's method of compiling his manuscript: '*Cumque essent inventi in schedis Martyris eius prælectionum commentarii, partim ab eo dictati, partim eius manu scripti.*'⁵⁰ Writing and oral reading coexisted in Vermigli's Biblical scholarship.

From these observations, at least to some extent, we may determine Vermigli's knowledge of Hebrew, how he read Rabbinic literature, how he understood it, and how he used and quoted it. Such difficult questions are perhaps best reserved for a full-scale dissertation or monograph by a skilful Hebraist, Latinist and palaeographer. Here I have attempted to offer some preliminary information and observations, based mainly on Vermigli's marginal notes in the book of Judges in the second Rabbinic Bible (1524–1525). From these it is clear, first of all, that Vermigli understood what he read, and that his Hebraism smacks of being thoroughly original, and by no means derivative.⁵¹ Because he underlined many sections without translating them, it would also appear that his knowledge of Hebrew increased with study.

It has been noted already that Vermigli's interest in the Hebrew text of his Rabbinic Bibles is mainly onomastic rather than grammatical or topographical. He translated some quotations from the Rabbinic commentaries of Rashi, Radak (Rabbi David Kimchi) and Ralbag (Rabbi Levi ben Gershom). When he translated *rw h yhw h* ... '*spiritus Dominus qui fuit super Othniel*...' it is just to reinforce a quotation, not to understand it, because the sentence was not difficult. Moreover there are no egregious errors, false translations, or misunderstanding apparent in the margins of the book of Judges. Vermigli's translations do not suggest

⁵⁰ See *Melachim, id est Regum libri duo posteriores* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1566), fol. *2r.

⁵¹ See Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on the Lamentations*, Translated and Edited with Introduction and Notes by Daniel Shute, The Peter Martyr Library, vol. 6 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2002), xxxviii–xli (Caspar Olivétan to be corrected to Pierre Robert Olivétan).

the use of a Hebrew dictionary (Münster's or Pagnini's, for example) or Radak's *Book of Roots* (*Sefer Hashorashim*). Such insights as these will need to be confirmed by additional careful study.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of the sixteenth century in Italy, there were three ways to learn Hebrew: first, with a Jew, most likely to be a physician or a rabbi who had fled Spain or Portugal in 1492, who was ready to help a gentile who respected both him and his language (in some cases, the Hebrew teacher was converted); secondly, in a monastery in Rome or in Bologna, where a converted monk or a learned one taught Hebrew to a happy few; or thirdly, alone with 'mute masters'. This latter possibility was more a personal improvement, a fulfilment of learning sometimes helped by writing a grammatical work or a biblical translation. Olivetan speaks of his own mute masters ('*maistres muets*') to designate his books, and Pierre Viret did the same. Olivetan learned Hebrew in Strasbourg between 1528 and 1531, and translated the Bible into French in 1533–35 in the Valdese Valleys alone and with the aid of his 'mute masters'. Editing a grammatical work on the Psalter, *De modo legendi et intelligendi hebræum*, as Konrad Pellikan did in 1504 in Strasbourg, or *De rudimentis hebraicis* as Reuchlin did 1506, was also a way to perfect one's own knowledge of Hebrew.

Vermigli learned Hebrew in the early 1530s with the Jewish physician Isaac in Bologna and improved his knowledge perhaps on his own, with only the help of some 'mute masters'. He actually acquired or received many Hebraic and Aramaic tools later. In his copy of the *Dictionarium chaldaicum Sebastiano Munstero authore*, for example, there is not a single marginal note, not even a pen mark, but only Vermigli's *ex libris* at the end.⁵² He often read only the opening chapters of many biblical texts, mainly when he was preparing a commentary. After nine or ten chapters he knew the author's thought. Isn't this pattern of reading also the case for us nowadays?

⁵² Basel, Johann Froben, 1527. See Ganoczy, *Bibliothèque*, 164, n. 15 (Bibliothèque de Genève: Bb 321).

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXEGESIS AND THEOLOGICAL METHOD

N. Scott Amos

One of the best known works of Peter Martyr Vermigli is his *Loci Communes*, first published in 1576, some fourteen years after his death, and which would go on to become one of the more influential 'systematic' theologies of the later sixteenth century. It was a compendium of theological topics organized in an orderly pattern not unlike that of two earlier compendia, Philipp Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* and the work of John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Given the chronological priority of Melanchthon's effort, and the prestige of both it and Calvin's work, it is not surprising that the method associated with the phrase *loci communes* is most commonly discussed in the context of theological formulation and its systematic expression. Yet one is led to ask whether this helps us to understand fully the method associated with the phrase. Was the manner in which Melanchthon employed *loci communes* the authoritative rule, and was his practice in the treatise of the same name the only way in which he himself used the method? Was Calvin's *Institutes* the predominant pattern within a Reformed theological context? For that matter, was Vermigli's *Loci Communes* a fair representation of his own thinking on the use of the method?

The aim of the present essay is to argue that there were in fact several approaches to the use of *loci communes* and that, however prominent Melanchthon and Calvin were as proponents of a usage that resulted in what can be termed systematic theological statement, this use was not the only one to which *loci communes* was put. What follows is intended to point to the need for a fuller examination of the concept within the context of the early sixteenth century, and the Reformation in particular. With respect to the use of *loci communes*, I wish especially to draw attention to the method in reference to biblical humanist approaches to the practice of theology within the context of and in service of exegesis. The present essay will look to the background of the practice in the Renaissance, and then highlight four representative Reformers in whose work *loci communes* played an important part in

its development within the context of the Reformation: Melancthon, Calvin, Vermigli, and Martin Bucer. In these four individuals, we encounter approaches that were clearly related to one another and yet which displayed distinct differences that give us an indication of how varied the method could be. With respect to the latter two Reformers, the focus of the present essay will be on their work in the service of the English Reformation, where they were laboring in the universities of Oxford (Vermigli) and Cambridge (Bucer).¹ In particular, the discussion will center on Bucer's lectures on Ephesians² and Vermigli's lectures on Romans,³ given at very nearly the same time (Bucer's lectures, 1550–51; Vermigli's lectures, 1550–52)—not only because in both cases a letter of the Apostle Paul was in view, but also because both letters can be understood as the closest thing to an expression of a comprehensive theological statement as one will find in Paul, and thus naturally lend themselves to more extended considerations of theological issues. We will see that Vermigli and Bucer followed a method that had much in common, one which sets them apart from Melancthon and Calvin, and which (given that both emerged as Reformers in Strasbourg) is suggestive of the existence of what has been described as a distinctive 'Rhenish School' of exegesis and theology—a use of *loci* that did not intentionally result in a separate systematic statement of theology, and which instead kept theology and exegesis closely bound together.⁴

¹ On the sojourn of the two Reformers and in particular their relationship with one another, see N. Scott Amos, 'Strangers in a Strange Land: The English Correspondence of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in Frank A. James III, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 26–46.

² Martin Bucer, *Prælectiones doctiss. in Epistolam D.P. ad Ephesios, eximii doctoris D. Martini Bucerii, habitae Cantabrigiae in Anglia, Anno M.D.L. et LI.* (Basel: P. Perna, 1562).

³ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos commentarij doctissimi* (Basel: P. Perna, 1558). This is the first edition. For this essay, I have consulted the second and third editions, published respectively as: *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli Ad Rom.* (Basel: P. Perna, 1560); *In epistolam S. Pauli apostoli ad Romanos* (Basel: P. Perna, 1568). I have also consulted *In epistolam S. Pauli apostoli ad romanos* (Zurich: A. Gesner, 1559). References below are to the 1568 Basel edition. I have consulted as well the English translation of Sir Henry Billingsley, *Most Learned and Fruitfull Commentaries upon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes* (London: John Daye, 1568) [CER].

⁴ The works of Bernard Roussel and R. Gerald Hobbs are fundamental to the subject of this school. Unfortunately, little has been done to follow up on their work. See: Roussel and Hobbs, 'Strasbourg et "l'école rhénane" d'exégèse (1525–1540),' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* 135 (1989): 36–53; Roussel, 'De Strasbourg à Bâle et Zurich: Une "école rhénane" d'exégèse (ca. 1525–1540),' *Revue*

I. RENAISSANCE HUMANISM AND THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE *LOCI* METHOD

The origins and the development of the method associated with the identification of *loci communes* constitute a complicated history, and we can only touch on the broad outlines here in order to establish the background for the use of the method by early Protestant Reformers.⁵ Ultimately, the concept of *loci* or 'topics' goes back to Aristotle's *Topics* and Cicero's work of the same name, and Renaissance humanists looked to the work of both as the basis for their own further development of the concept.⁶ Parenthetically, it is worth noting that scholastic doctors were familiar with the subject.⁷ For instance, in his *Regulae theologicae*, Alan of Lille (d. 1202) linked the *loci communes* of rhetoric and the

d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 68 (1988): 19–39. On the various 'schools' of interpretation, see: Roussel, 'La Bible de 1530 à 1600,' in *Bible de tous les Temps*, vol. 5: *Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), Guy Bedouelle et Bernard Roussel (eds.), 125–305, esp. 199–283 (the 'Rhenish School' is discussed on 215–233); and the contribution of Irena Backus, 'Biblical Hermeneutics and Exegesis,' to the larger article, 'Bible,' in Hans Hillerbrand, et al., eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 1:152–158. I have dealt with this subject in my PhD thesis: 'The Exegete as Theologian: Martin Bucer's 1550 Cambridge Lectures on Ephesians and Biblical Humanist Method in Theology and Exegesis' (St Andrews, 2003); see especially chapter 4. Much of what follows in this paper is drawn from this thesis, currently in the process of revision for publication as *The Exegete as Theologian: Martin Bucer's 1550 Cambridge Lectures on Ephesians and His Understanding of Paul as a Theologian* (Berlin & New York: Springer Verlag, forthcoming).

⁵ The standard reference on the *loci* method is Paul Joachimsen, 'Loci Communes: Eine Untersuchung zur Geistesgeschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation,' *Luther-Jahrbuch* 8 (1926): 27–97. See also Joan Marie Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (New York: Pageant Press, 1962). For a broader context to 'method,' see Neal W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960). I have found the following to be very helpful: Cesare Vasoli, 'Loci Communes and the rhetorical and dialectical traditions,' in Joseph C. McLelland (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ont.: Sir Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980), 17–28; Quirinus Breen, 'The Terms 'Loci communes' and 'Loci' in Melancthon,' in *Christianity and Humanism: Studies in the History of Ideas*, ed. Breen (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968), 93–97; and Richard Muller's brief sketch in a section entitled 'The locus and the Methods of Theology in the Sixteenth Century:' *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 108–111. Finally, see McLelland's 'Literary History of the Loci Communes' in chapter 23 below.

⁶ Breen, 'The Terms "Loci communes" and "Loci",' 93–94.

⁷ See the discussion of this in G.R. Evans, *Problems of Authority in the Reformation Debates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19–29, as well as her earlier comments in *The Language and Logic of the Bible: The Road to Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 142–143.

main theological doctrines: 'Every science is based on its own rules or foundation... just as dialectic has rules called *maximae* and rhetoric *loci communes*, and ethics *generales sententias*... so theology does not lack its maxims.'⁸ Aquinas offers another prominent example of attention to topics, even using the term *loci*.⁹

Yet with reference to the early sixteenth century and the early Reformers, the work of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Renaissance humanists—particularly on rhetoric—proved to be the formative influence with respect to the *loci* method. Three names in particular should be mentioned in any brief discussion of the *loci* method as developed by Renaissance humanists: Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457); Rudolph Agricola (1444–1485); and Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536). Each of these scholars had a significant role to play: Valla and Agricola, in the development of the fifteenth-century humanist concept of *loci communes*;¹⁰ Erasmus, in the application of the concept in the early sixteenth century to theological studies.

Valla's influence on the early Reformers was indirect and was conveyed through his influence on Agricola. In respect of the *loci* method, this indirect influence was likely exercised through the impact that Valla's project to supplant scholastic dialectic by a humanist rhetoric had upon Agricola.¹¹ This project was most fully expressed in *Repastinatio Dialecticae et Philosophiae* ('The Uprooting of Dialectic and Philosophy'), first written in 1439.¹² In this treatise, Valla attacked scholastic method and aimed to provide 'nothing less than a root-and-branch alternative to scholastic doctrina.' He intended to refute 'Aristotle and the Aristotelians, in order to recall modern theologians from error, and bring them back to true theology.'¹³ In place of syllogistic reasoning, Valla put forward the theory of topics by which material could be

⁸ Quoted in Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 143, from *Regulae theologicae* in PL 210:621A.

⁹ Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 143.

¹⁰ For both, see Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument: Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993).

¹¹ Vasoli, 'Rhetorical-Dialectical Traditions,' 20–21. More generally, see Mack, *Renaissance Argument*.

¹² Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 156. The critical edition is *Laurentii Vallae Repastinatio Dialecticae et Philosophiae*, 2 vols., ed. Gianni Zippel (Padua: In Aedibus Antenoreis, 1982).

¹³ James D. Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 59.

organized for purposes of analysis and argument.¹⁴ Valla emphasized that through rhetoric, rather than scholastic dialectic, the scholar would better be able to find (or, to use his terminology, 'invent') and arrange the key points (the topics or *loci*) of the text under scrutiny.¹⁵ However, Valla's treatise remained unpublished until 1499, and it was largely through the agency of Agricola that Valla's thinking about rhetoric and dialectic came to exercise a wider influence in the sixteenth century.¹⁶

Agricola's major work was *De inventione dialectica*, written in 1479 but not published until 1515; subsequently, it appeared in over fifty editions between 1515 and 1579, an indication of its wide popularity.¹⁷ In this treatise, Agricola (like Valla) sought to make rhetoric the basis for logic, the rules of which were to be drawn from classical oratory. Key to the task of this reformed logic was the effort to identify the chief topics or *loci* in the texts under examination.¹⁸ Significantly, the practice of interpretation in the Agricolan manner came to rely on the tools of rhetoric and philology rather than the logic of demonstration.¹⁹ The consensus of modern scholarship is that in all of this Agricola was clearly influenced by Valla,²⁰ though it has been argued that he did not accept the teaching of his predecessor without criticism.²¹

¹⁴ Lisa Jardine, 'Humanism and the Teaching of Logic,' in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, Anthony Kenny and Jan Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 799–800.

¹⁵ Vasoli, 'Rhetorical-Dialectical Traditions,' 20.

¹⁶ Vasoli, 'Rhetorical-Dialectical Traditions,' 21; Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 156; Jardine, 'Humanism and the Teaching of Logic,' 800.

¹⁷ James H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 93–94. For a relatively recent survey of Agricola and his work, see the following essays in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius*, ed. F. Akkerman and A.J. Vanderjagt (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988): Lisa Jardine, 'Distinctive discipline: Rudolph Agricola's influence on methodological thinking in the humanities,' 38–57; and, P. Mack, 'Rudolph Agricola's topics,' 257–269. See also Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, and Walter Ong, *Ramus: Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 92–130, especially 104–126. Still very useful on Agricola is Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), 20–40.

¹⁸ Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 157; Richard A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin*, 109.

¹⁹ Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 109.

²⁰ For instance, Jardine argues that Agricola's work 'plainly advocates Valla's approach to dialectic.' Jardine, 'Humanism and the Teaching of Logic,' 800. Rummel suggests that 'Valla's critique of scholastic dialectic was given textbook format, so to speak, by Rudolph Agricola.' *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 156.

²¹ John Monfasani argues that Agricola was critical of Valla, and that his *De inventione dialectica* was intended as a correction of Valla's *Dialectica*. Agricola did not

However, Agricola did not address at any length the implications of his program for theology. His primary interest was in the renewal of the classical disciplines,²² and he made only one passing reference to the negative influence of scholastic logic on theology.²³ What he did say is nonetheless highly suggestive for the impact the program he advocated *could* have upon the practice of theology:

And what about theology? What is left of it nowadays after you take away the metaphysical, physical, and dialectical elements? A naked and destitute discipline that cannot live up to its name. Thus when it comes to teaching the people and turning them to religion and justice, they drag up from the depth of their inextricable arts a disputation that wastes time and strikes the ears of their listeners with inane noise. And so they teach, proposing childish riddles, leaving instructor and instructed alike without a grasp of what is being taught.²⁴

The sentiments expressed in this passage have clear resonances with those of Erasmus, who is said to have ‘championed’ Agricola’s treatise;²⁵ and it was with Erasmus that we find a clear instance of the application of the method to theology.

Erasmus’s advocacy of the use of *loci* in the practice of theology was famously expressed in his *Ratio veræ theologiæ* (1518) which, it bears noting, was directed against the dominant method of scholastic theology.²⁶ He proposed in the *Ratio* that beginning theologians take themes or topics (*loci*) as they are found in the course of the study of Scripture

subordinate logic to rhetoric, as did Valla. John Monfasani, ‘Lorenzo Valla and Rudolph Agricola,’ *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 28 (1990): 181–200, at 189.

²² Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 109.

²³ Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism*, 94.

²⁴ *De inventione dialectica*, (Repr. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1967), 2.I, 179; quoted in Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic Debate*, 184.

²⁵ Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 109. Erasmus was involved in the effort to publish Agricola’s *De inventione dialectica*: Tracy, *Erasmus of the Low Countries*, 29. See also R.J. Schoeck, ‘Agricola and Erasmus: Erasmus’ inheritance of northern humanism,’ in *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius*, 181–188; and Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 303–314.

²⁶ Erasmus, *Ratio seu Methodus Compendio Pervenienti ad Veram Theologiam* included in *Desiderius Erasmus Roterdamus: Ausgewählte Werke*, hrsg. Hajo Holborn und Annemarie Holborn (München: C.H. Beck, 1933, repr. 1964), 175–305. In the present essay, I will refer to this as *Ratio*. To my knowledge there is at present no English translation of this work apart from that found in Donald Bernard M. Conroy, ‘The Ecumenical Theology of Erasmus of Rotterdam: A Study of the *Ratio Veræ Theologiæ*, Translated into English and Annotated, with a Brief Account of His Ecumenical Writings and Activities Within His Lifetime,’ (PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1974), 71–366. In what follows, I refer to Conroy’s translation, with parenthetical reference to Holborn’s edition.

and note all of the relevant texts that have a bearing on them. In addition to building a knowledge of these themes as they are dealt with in the whole of Scripture, these *loci* will also aid in the interpretation of obscure passages by means of reference to the clear, which would appear to be a primary reason for his advocacy of the practice.²⁷ His thinking regarding the use of *loci* had been articulated before the writing of the *Ratio*, particularly in his *De copia* of 1512, which was concerned with the method of argumentation and the collection of material for arguments.²⁸ It was in this earlier work that the influence of Agricola would seem to be particularly clear,²⁹ and the advocacy of this method for the study of Scripture and theology as we see it in the *Methodus* of 1516 and then the *Ratio* of 1518 is but an extension of *De copia* as applied to sacred studies. Erasmus was no doubt influenced in his thinking on the use of *loci* by both Agricola and Valla. He was himself in turn a prominent advocate and promoter of the method to the next generation of humanists and (as it happened) evangelical Reformers, particularly those who constituted the 'Rhenish School', including Martin Bucer and the others who labored with him in Strasbourg.

To summarize what we have sketched to this point, Renaissance humanists from Valla to Erasmus developed the *loci* method as a means of analyzing texts, and with Erasmus in particular, the text of Scripture. Using this method, the interpreter would identify the chief points (*loci*) that an author made in his work, and then gather them together to formulate an understanding of the author's argument, or to formulate a statement of teaching or doctrine. Further, it is worth noting again that the method was rooted in the practice of rhetoric, and was explicitly advanced as an *alternative* to scholastic approaches to the study of texts and the formulation of doctrine, approaches which were denigrated by the humanists.

²⁷ Erasmus, *Ratio*, 333–5 (291–2).

²⁸ There is some question as to whether Erasmus had seen *De inventione dialectica* prior to writing *De copia* in 1512, though it cannot be ruled out; and Erasmus clearly knew the work of Agricola. See Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 309–311.

²⁹ Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 109.

II. TWO EVANGELICAL APPROPRIATIONS OF THE *LOCI* METHOD: MELANCHTHON AND CALVIN

The *loci* method was thus received by the early evangelical Reformers as it had been developed by Valla, Agricola and Erasmus, and these Reformers saw themselves as following a trajectory of their humanist predecessors in making extensive use of the method as a means of interpreting Scripture, and as a means of developing a theology more securely based on the exegesis of Scripture. I will continue the discussion of the *loci* method with a brief consideration of how two of its best-known practitioners among the evangelicals employed it: Melanchthon and Calvin. In addition to providing a comparative framework within which to consider both Vermigli's and Bucer's use of the method, this will help establish that there was no single model that held true for the Reformers.³⁰

Melanchthon was the earliest among the evangelicals to put the method into use in his first major theological treatise, the *Loci communes* of 1521.³¹ This work, when taken together with *De rhetorica libri tres* (1519) and *Compendiaria dialectices ratio* (1520), provides us with his theory regarding proper method in the arts as well as in theology.³² In these works, he demonstrated that he was heir to the work of Agricola

³⁰ Indeed, there is a need for a fresh study of the subject with respect to the early Reformation, taking into account not only Melanchthon and the Lutherans influenced by him, but also Reformed figures such as Bucer, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Calvin, Peter Martyr Vermigli, and Wolfgang Musculus.

³¹ The key works on this aspect of Melanchthon's thought are: P. Joachimsen, 'Loci Communes: Eine Untersuchung zur Geistesgeschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation,' *Luther-Jahrbuch* 8 (1926): 27–97; Wilhelm Maurer, 'Melanchthons *Loci communes* von 1521 als wissenschaftliche Programmschrift: Ein Beitrag zur Hermeneutik der Reformationszeit,' *Luther-Jahrbuch* 27 (1960), 1–50; and Siegfried Widenhofer, *Formalstrukturen humanistischer und reformatorischer Theologie bei Philipp Melanchthon*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1976). Also important are Timothy J. Wengert, *Philipp Melanchthon's Annotations in Johannem in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries* (Geneva: L. Droz, 1987), and J.R. Schneider, *Philipp Melanchthon's Rhetorical Construal of Biblical Authority: Oratio Sacra* (Lewiston, NY: Edward Mellen Press, 1990), 205–262. A recent, helpful sketch is Lowell C. Green, 'Melanchthon's Relation to Scholasticism,' in Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark, eds., *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays in Reassessment* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1999), 273–288, especially 282–285.

³² John Schneider, 'The Hermeneutics of Commentary: Origins of Melanchthon's Integration of Dialectic into Rhetoric,' in *Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) and the Commentary*, ed. Timothy J. Wengert and M. Patrick Graham (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 29–30.

and Erasmus.³³ It has been pointed out that Melanchthon used the phrase *loci communes* in three ways: to mean storehouses for oratorical argument; to signify the general topics of a text; or as 'basic principles of content' in a text.³⁴ The latter two were especially important for his work in both exegesis and theology.³⁵ All three demonstrate that there was more than one model for the application of the concept, even in the case of Melanchthon.

In Melanchthon's use of the method with respect to theological compendium, key texts of Scripture either provide *loci*, or are themselves *loci*, thus becoming seats of argument. By means of the proper method, these *loci* were drawn from Scripture in the course of exegesis, after which they could then be arranged into a sequence of theological topics, and thus furnish (it has been argued) a theological system.³⁶ However, I would argue that Melanchthon extracted the texts from Scripture in the course of exegesis and then used them to put together the *Loci communes* treatise of 1521 primarily to provide a guide for the reading of Scripture, rather than to serve as a 'systematic' theology on its own.³⁷ What happened with subsequent editions of the treatise is beyond the scope of the present discussion.

When Melanchthon applied the *loci* method in his biblical commentaries, it was as a means of discerning the fundamental themes and concepts that are found in an author's work.³⁸ A practical result of this

³³ Schneider, 'Hermeneutics of Commentary,' 26. Schneider notes, correctly, that Melanchthon's relationship to Erasmus is a complicated and controversial issue. On this, see the recent work of Timothy J. Wengert, *Human Freedom, Christian Righteousness: Philipp Melanchthon's Exegetical Dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998). See also: Breen, 'The Terms "Loci communes" and "Loci",' 98–99; and Mack, *Renaissance Argument*, 320–333.

³⁴ Wengert, *Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johannem*, 183, following Wiedenhofer, *Formalstrukturen*, 1:373–379.

³⁵ Wengert, *Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johannem*, 183.

³⁶ Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, 110.

³⁷ As he wrote in the dedicatory letter to the 1521 edition of the *Loci communes*: '[T]he book is to function more as an index than a commentary. I am therefore merely stating a list of the topics to which a person roaming through Scripture should be directed. Further, I am setting forth in only a few words the elements on which the main points of Christian doctrine are based. I do this not to call students away from the Scriptures to obscure and complicated arguments but, rather, to summon them to the Scriptures if I can.' Melanchthon, 'Dedicatory Letter,' *Loci communes theologici*, printed in Wilhelm Pauck, ed., *Melanchthon and Bucer* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), 19.

³⁸ See Wengert, *Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johannem*, 182–191. See also Robert Kolb, 'Teaching the Text: The Commonplace Method in Sixteenth Century Lutheran

approach was that Melanchthon would expound only those verses that had direct relevance to what he took to be the *loci* of the author's argument; his commentaries thus became, as it were, indices to the doctrinal content of the books under examination rather than full expositions of the text.³⁹ In both instances of Melanchthon's use of the method, therefore, it was focused on the interpretation of Scripture.

Calvin employed a version of the *loci* method as well, but in a manner different from that of Melanchthon.⁴⁰ His thinking on this matter was most clearly and concisely expressed in the prefatory letters to his Romans commentary (letter dated 1539, commentary, 1540) and the 1539 edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. In the former, he reviewed the method of commentary employed by Melanchthon and Bucer.⁴¹ For all the praise he had for Melanchthon, he criticized the *Praeceptor Germaniae* for focusing on those verses that provided the *loci*, skipping over the many other details of the text—thus criticizing Melanchthon's application of the *loci communes* method to the task of biblical commentary.⁴² At the same time, Calvin also criticized Bucer's approach, which (in the case of the Romans commentary) sought to do too many things at once, in combining attention to the *loci* with exposition of the text and much else besides.⁴³ For his part,

Biblical Commentary,' *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 59 (1987): 571–585, at 571–572.

³⁹ For this characterization of Melanchthon's commentaries, see Wengert, *Melanchthon's Annotations in Johannem*, 167–212, especially at 212.

⁴⁰ The most recent treatment of Calvin's method is Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, especially chapters 2, 4, 6, and 8. Still very useful is T.H.L. Parker, *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), especially Chapters 3 and 4. Also important is Elsie Anne McKee, 'Some Reflections on Relating Calvin's Exegesis and Theology,' in Mark S. Burrows and Paul Rorem, eds., *Biblical Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Studies in Honor of Karlfried Froehlich on His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 215–226.

⁴¹ 'John Calvin to Simon Grynaeus,' in *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians*, tr. Ross MacKenzie, eds. David W. Torrance and Thomas F. Torrance (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1960), 1–4. He also mentioned Bullinger as another esteemed commentator on Romans, but passed over him when it came to his comments on method, and focused his critique on Melanchthon and Bucer.

⁴² 'Calvin to Grynaeus,' 2, 3: 'His only object, however, seems to have been to discuss the points which were especially worth noting. He therefore dwells at length on these, and deliberately passes over many matters...'; 'Melanchthon achieved what he intended by illustrating the principal points. While he was occupied in this primary task, he neglected many points which require attention.'

⁴³ 'Calvin to Grynaeus,' 3: 'Bucer is too verbose to be read quickly by those who have other matters to deal with.... Whatever the subject with which he is dealing, so many subjects are suggested to him by his incredible and vigorous fertility of mind,

Calvin indicated he would focus in his commentaries on a simple, clear exposition of the text, addressing the whole text and not attempting to put in too much detail.⁴⁴

It is important to note that Calvin did not criticize the *loci* method itself, but rather the applications of it made by his esteemed contemporaries in respect of biblical commentary. He used the method, but he chose to reserve his discussion of doctrinal *loci communes* for the *Institutes*, a point made clear in the 1539 edition:

If... I shall publish any interpretations of Scripture, I shall always condense them, because I shall have no need to undertake long doctrinal discussions, and to digress into commonplaces. In this way the godly reader will be spared great annoyance and boredom, provided he approach Scripture armed with a knowledge of the present work, as a necessary tool.⁴⁵

For reasons of clarity of teaching, he would keep the task of exegesis and that of theological formulation separate—though it needs to be stressed that there is an intimate relationship between the two, and it is an error to treat either of Calvin's accomplishments (his commentaries and the *Institutes*) in isolation from one another.⁴⁶ Indeed, in respect of the division of labor, the most famous works of Calvin and Melancthon were alike. Calvin's *Institutes* fulfilled a similar aim

that he does not know how to stop writing.' See Parker's discussion with respect to Calvin's comments on Melancthon and Bucer: *Calvin's New Testament Commentaries*, 85–90.

⁴⁴ 'Calvin to Grynaeus,' 3.

⁴⁵ 'John Calvin to the Reader,' *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, trans. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 4–5. Here I feel it appropriate to comment on the manner in which Richard Muller, in his *Unaccommodated Calvin*, translates this passage. He renders *dogmatibus longas disputationes instituere* as 'to undertake long doctrinal disputations' (104). Thus, he differs from the McNeill translation (with which he indicates that he has numerous other disagreements in several areas), for McNeill translates *disputationes* as 'discussions.' What is interesting is that Muller goes on at 105 to discuss Calvin's 1541 French edition of the *Institutes*, which includes a 'paraphrase' of the 1539 Latin preface quoted above. Muller translates the key sentence from the French thus: 'If our Lord gives me the means and opportunity to write a few (*quelques*) commentaries, I will use the greatest brevity of which I am capable... for it will not be necessary to make long digressions....' Note that here, Muller translates the key word as 'digressions', not 'disputations'. That the 1541 edition represents Calvin's own rendering into French of the original Latin would, I should have thought, suggest that perhaps 'disputations' is not the right term to use to translate *disputationes*, and that McNeill's translation is the correct one. It should be noted that Muller's insistence on 'disputations' is one of the keys to his argument in the entire book, which is to tie Calvin more closely to scholastic method.

⁴⁶ A point made most recently and emphatically by Muller, *Unaccommodated Calvin*, as well as McKee, 'Calvin's Exegesis and Theology.'

to that of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, namely to provide a guide to the reading of Scripture, rather than to stand on its own (as it has too often been treated).

III. A RHENISH SCHOOL?

It is clear that like Melanchthon and Calvin, Bucer and Vermigli used the *locus* method, yet it is clear that they did so in a manner that offers us a third pattern of usage. This approach employed the *loci* method in the context of biblical exposition, and their aim in so doing was to make the practice of commentary a comprehensive exercise in exegesis *and* theological formulation. In their lectures on Paul's epistles which they gave during their English sojourn, Bucer and Vermigli deliberately included extended discussion of doctrinal *loci* in their expositions—though for all the similarity, there were differences between them, as we shall see. Nevertheless, they follow a similar approach to exegesis, and to the treatment of theology in the context of exegesis, that can be associated with what has been termed a 'Rhenish' approach centered, among other places, in the city of Strasbourg, where both had been laboring prior to their arrival in England.

In some respects, it might be thought that Bucer's use of the *loci* method in commentary was similar to that of Melanchthon.⁴⁷ For instance, Bucer's identification of *loci* in the course of his exposition of Ephesians—substantive evidence of the influence of the *loci communes* method upon his approach to analyzing the text—was in a manner similar to Melanchthon. The resonance of his procedure with that of Melanchthon can be seen as well as in Bucer's evident belief that the *loci* he singled out for discussion were the major doctrinal themes that formed a wider argument. This was especially the case with the preliminary outline of the letter in Bucer's prefatory lectures, where the *loci* were explicitly identified as constituent elements of Paul's argument.⁴⁸ Bucer's practice demonstrated a further affinity with that of Melanchthon in the detailed attention he gave to the content of the *loci* upon which he expounded in the course of his exposition of the biblical text, sometimes at great length.

⁴⁷ What follows is based on Amos, 'The Exegete as Theologian', chapters 4 and 5.

⁴⁸ Bucer, *Prælectiones*, 5–7.

Yet Bucer's approach in the *Prælectiones* is to be distinguished from that of Melancthon in that Bucer sought to explain the whole of Ephesians, rather than concentrate on the *loci* alone. It was his intent to maintain a balance between exegesis of text and discussion of *loci*, rather than provide an index to the contents of the biblical text. As important as the understanding of the *loci* is to understanding of the letter, Bucer believed it was not sufficient simply to concentrate on the chief points of the text at the expense of the whole, which after all was in its entirety the Word of God. Every phrase was worthy of attention. At the same time, however, Bucer clearly felt (*contra* Calvin) that theology was appropriately developed in the immediate context of biblical exposition, however cumbersome the joint task might become.

With respect to Bucer's use of the *loci* method in the Ephesians lectures, another noteworthy feature is the way in which he applied it. He used one of two models, exemplified by the first two *loci* to which he gave extended attention—a treatment of the *locus* as an integral part of his exegesis of the text (as with election and Ephesians 1:3–6),⁴⁹ and a somewhat less exhaustive treatment of the *locus* in the course of exegesis, followed by a separate discussion (as with Ephesians 1:13–18 and faith).⁵⁰ In each instance, exegesis and theology were closely related in Bucer's practice. The majority of the *loci* were dealt with by Bucer in close conjunction with the exegesis of the texts that prompted them, according to the patterns described earlier: either the discussion of *locus* and exegesis were inseparably bound together, or there was limited discussion of the *locus* in the course of exegesis, with a more systematic treatment following immediately afterwards. In most instances of the systematic treatment, exegesis played a prominent role, and the link between pericope and the separate discussion is fairly clear in so far as the latter is intended to explain at greater length the *locus* found in the biblical text as it was seen as part of Paul's wider argument.

However, in the case of three extended discussions—on the Church, on the abrogation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, and on the sacred ministry—the relationship of *locus* and the pericope that prompted each is less clear.⁵¹ These instances thus come close to constituting a third

⁴⁹ Bucer, *Prælectiones*, 19–24.

⁵⁰ Bucer, *Prælectiones*, 26–32 (exegesis); 33–35 (*locus* on faith).

⁵¹ Bucer, *Prælectiones*, 36–50 (the Church); 72–91 (exegesis and exposition of *locus* on the Mosaic Law); 105–157 (exegesis and exposition of the *locus* on the ministry).

category of *locus*; they do, however, conform in essence to the second of the categories described above. Bucer made some attempt to link each with the flow of Paul's 'treatise,' but the connection can be less clear than it is with most supplemental treatments of *loci*.⁵² This lack of a consistent pattern of usage suggests that Bucer did not seek rigidly to apply a single approach to *loci*, but instead employed different models as he saw fit. Unfortunately, it is not clear what led him to vary his approach—was it a matter of his own preferences, did he see something in the text or in the *locus* that demanded separate treatment in a more general way, or were there external factors (such as the traditionalist opposition he faced in Cambridge) that came into play?

When we turn to Vermigli on Romans, the common features between his exposition and that of Bucer are clear.⁵³ It is worth noting, again, that both expositions were given under the auspices of their positions as Regius Professor of Divinity, and thus bear witness to their commitment to exposition of Scripture as the central task of theology.⁵⁴ Hence, like Bucer, Vermigli sought to expound the entirety of the text under consideration, and his commentary on Romans is thus comprehensive and warrants the high regard with which it was held by his contemporaries and successors. There is little, if any, obvious influence of Melancthon's model to be found here. Furthermore, the exposition itself is clearly in the mold of biblical humanism, with close attention

⁵² The disjunctive character of the '*locus*' on sacred ministry could be attributed in part to the possibility that it was an independent work pressed into service for the lectures.

⁵³ On Vermigli's exegetical practice, see F.A. James III, 'Vermigli, Peter Martyr, 1499–1562,' in Donald K. McKim, ed., *Handbook of Major Biblical Interpreters* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 239–245, especially 242; and John L. Thompson, 'Allegorical Argumentation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis,' Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson, eds., *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation: Essays Presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of His Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 255–271, especially 256–257. A recent discussion of Vermigli and Calvin on *loci communes* is Christoph Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes* und Calvins *Institutio Christianae Religionis*,' in *PMV* 77–104.

⁵⁴ On the lectures on Romans and the *loci* on predestination and justification in particular, see Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Predestination and Justification: Two Theological Loci*, trans. and ed. by Frank A. James III (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 2003), xv–xliv. On Martyr's sojourn more generally, see Philip M.J. McNair, 'Peter Martyr in England,' in Joseph C. McLelland, ed., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, ON: Sir Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980), 85–105; Jennifer Loach, 'Reformation Controversies,' in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. III, *The Collegiate University*, ed. James McConica (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), esp. 368–375; and, most recently, Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Peter Martyr and Thomas Cranmer,' in *PMV* 173–201.

to exegetical detail (including recourse to the Hebrew that lay behind Paul's expression in a number of places), attention to theological detail, and a recourse to the exegetical tradition of the Church—one heavily weighted towards that of the Patristic tradition, giving evidence of his deep and wide knowledge of it.

Vermigli also demonstrated a willingness to engage in extended theological discussion in the context of his exposition, as prompted by the text of Paul's letter. Vermigli singled out what he took to be the principal *loci* of Romans, and thus the chief points of the letter as a whole: the doctrines of predestination and justification.⁵⁵ In this respect, Vermigli's treatment of these *loci* was similar to that of Bucer's treatment of the doctrines of the Church, the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, and the sacred ministry. And while I commented earlier that the influence of Melancthon's *Loci communes* is not in evidence, it has been noted that the greater emphasis on justification and predestination may well reflect the similar pronounced emphasis in Melancthon's 1520 treatment of Romans.⁵⁶ In any case, Vermigli, like Bucer, was unlike Calvin, who as we noted above chose to refer theological discussion as prompted by the text under examination to his *Institutes*, and thus not lose his focus on the straightforward exposition of the Bible.

Yet for all the similarities between Vermigli and Bucer, there are some differences. Vermigli has a greater focus in his work on Romans in expositing the text, and this in part accounts for the greater clarity of his work as a commentary (leaving aside the fact that Bucer seemingly could never use ten words when a hundred would do).⁵⁷ The intent of Vermigli to focus on the exegesis of Romans as a letter is clear from his preface, especially when compared with Bucer's preface to the Ephesians lectures. Where Bucer took time to highlight the structure of Paul's argument in terms that presented the letter as a kind of summary statement of essential Christian doctrine, noting along the way the many *loci* to be found, Vermigli gives a sparer outline of Romans without seeking to draw attention to the various *loci* the letter contains in the manner in which Bucer did for Ephesians.⁵⁸ In this way, Vermigli's emphasis

⁵⁵ ROM 418–456 (predestination); 543–613 (justification); CER 287 [not 285] recto-312 verso (predestination); 367 verso-410 verso (justification).

⁵⁶ James, 'Introduction,' *Predestination and Justification*, xxii.

⁵⁷ That being said, Vermigli could nonetheless be quite lengthy in his exposition of a verse.

⁵⁸ CER Bii recto-Bii verso; ROM '2 recto-'2 verso. However, it is worth noting that he began each chapter in the body of the commentary with brief attention to the *methodus* of Paul in what follows.

on straightforward exposition of Paul's letter is if anything heightened. In respect of their common recourse to biblical humanist methods of exposition, Vermigli's employment of the exegetical tradition is clearer than that of Bucer, with less allusion and more explicit citation.

Perhaps the most noticeable difference is how Vermigli employs the *loci* method for theological discussion. In Vermigli's Romans lectures, it is much more limited (anticipated, as we can see, by the differences between his preface and that of Bucer). Whereas Bucer, following his prefatory outline, identifies and treats of many *loci*, sometimes embedded within his exposition, sometimes at length in a separate treatment, Vermigli highlights only two and addresses them in a separate treatment (though it must be said that his Romans commentary later provided the substance for some twenty-two *loci* in the *Loci communes*).⁵⁹ In this respect, we should note an additional similarity between the two men in that the extended discussion has something of the appearance of an arbitrary placement in the course of the wider exposition. As in Bucer, it is not entirely clear why Vermigli chose to treat the two *loci* where he did—it could be argued that predestination might have been as logically dealt with in the context of Romans 8, and justification in the context of Romans 3 or 4, rather than (respectively) Romans 9, and Romans 11.

Yet the contrast in approach *within* the extended discussions of Vermigli and Bucer is also striking. Vermigli is much more clearly 'scholastic' in the way he structures the discussion, which makes for a contrast as well with his wider biblical exposition.⁶⁰ However one wishes to understand the term 'scholastic', it is clear that Vermigli's discussion

⁵⁹ See the analysis of Martyr's *Loci Communes* in McLelland, *Peter Martyr's Loci Communes: A Literary History*, ed. Torrance Kirby (Montreal: McGill, 2007), 58–61. James does note that in other of his commentaries, Vermigli did supply a larger number of shorter *loci*: James, 'Introduction,' *Predestination and Justification*, xxi.

⁶⁰ It has been argued that this more scholastic form is an implicit departure from biblical exegesis as the primary context for theology: John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 64. To this, Frank James—correctly, I think—responds that what Vermigli does is *not* a move beyond the text, but instead provides an effort to summarize and thus clarify the argument put forth by the biblical writer. James, 'Introduction,' *Predestination and Justification*, xxii, fn. 39 (where he also cites Donnelly's contention). See also McLelland, *Peter Martyr's Loci*, 9–10.

of each of these *loci* is well-ordered in a way that, alas, Bucer's is not.⁶¹ In respect of predestination, Vermigli at the outset of the *locus* indicates his discussion will be divided into four articles (nature and definition, cause, effects, and necessity), and treats of each in a comprehensive and orderly fashion, addressing the arguments of his opponents and then refuting them while making a positive statement of the correct doctrine.⁶² In respect of justification, Vermigli organizes the matter under three propositions (it is not by works, it is by faith, and it is by faith alone), dealing again with objections to his position, and having recourse to biblical and patristic sources that undergird his position.⁶³

The shape of these discussions, and their contrast with Vermigli's wider exposition, does raise the question of their origin, and whether they were inserted into the text of the lectures when they were later published, and thus suggesting the possibility they did not constitute part of the lectures as given. However, Professor James has plausibly suggested that they do fit as given within the academic context of Oxford, with its requirement of regular disputations, and may reflect disputations held on these topics during Vermigli's lectures.⁶⁴ This may, incidentally, shed light on Bucer's own disjunctive *loci*, though I think there are other factors that came into play in his case. And to flip the analogy around, it could be that Vermigli, like Bucer, did expound on these *loci* in the course of his lectures, but was using material he had to hand which had been previously composed for another use, and which seemed especially pertinent to the moment.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Where does this survey leave us? A number of tentative conclusions can be offered, but I wish to stress that more work remains to be done.

⁶¹ In reference to the shape of the *loci*, Frank James notes, 'One might suggest that Martyr had a systematic bent or even 'tidy-mindedness,' which is evident in his use of *loci*, but these do not make him a scholastic....' See *Predestination and Justification*, xxii, fn. 39.

⁶² CER 287 recto-312 verso; ROM 418-456. See also the presentation in *Predestination and Justification*, 3-84, and Vermigli's summary of the argument on 3.

⁶³ CER 367 verso-410 verso; ROM 543-613. See also the presentation in *Predestination and Justification*, 87-230, and Vermigli's summary of the argument on 96.

⁶⁴ James, 'Introduction,' Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Predestination and Justification*, xxii-xxiii.

First, it is relatively clear that the *loci* method as employed by the early Reformers had a distinctively humanist or, more precisely, biblical humanist character. In one respect in particular, the biblical humanist influence is pronounced: the use of the method as an aid in biblical interpretation. As developed by Valla and Agricola, the focus on *loci* was intended to aid in the interpretation of texts, seeking to determine the argument of the author in order best to understand the whole of the text. With Erasmus, the method was turned to the interpretation of Scripture, and the early Reformers followed suit.

Secondly, although they were influenced by humanist methods, the early Reformers clearly made their own use of the *loci* method, in ways that distinguished them from such as Erasmus, but also from each other. There was common ground, however, in respect of the use of the method as an aid to the interpretation of Scripture. Despite the fact that Melanchthon and Calvin both composed compendia of *loci* that took on a life of their own (certainly in the scholarly literature on each Reformer), both works were intended to serve as handbooks or aids in the interpretation of Scripture, not as free-standing treatises in their own right—at least, as originally composed. The works of Vermigli and Bucer are representative of an approach that securely rooted the use of *loci* within the framework of biblical exegesis, one that is characteristic of, if not exclusive to, the ‘Rhenish School.’ Their *loci* remained embedded within biblical commentary. The character of the *loci* as aids to the interpretation of Scripture is relatively clear (though at times the connection of exegesis and commonplace can be a bit ‘loose’). At the same time, it is also clear that both Reformers intended to offer doctrinal discussion, but within the context of the source of all doctrine—the interpretation of Scripture. There is no indication that they intended their commonplaces, their doctrinal discussions, to be separated from their source and organized in a more systematic fashion.

This brings me to my final suggested conclusion. In respect of these compendia, Melanchthon and Calvin serve as exceptions that prove the rule that early Reformation theology was almost exclusively non-systematic and ‘done’ in an exegetical context, for few others followed in their path at the time in creating such compendia. Although additional compendia were subsequently produced, such as Vermigli’s *Loci Communes* or Wolfgang Musculus’s work of the same name, the circumstances of their publication are different, and these works were published at the very beginning of the period of Protestant Orthodoxy. Vermigli’s compendium was put together after his death, and Musculus’s

was also a relatively later work. The composition of both reflects a shift in theological method more characteristic of the third generation of Reformers. With respect to the first and second generations, however, the emphasis was overwhelmingly on the exegesis of Scripture as *the* context for theological formulation, an emphasis that was made possible in part through the use of the *loci communes* method as originally formulated by Renaissance biblical humanists.

TRACTATIO

DE SACRAMENTO EV-

charistiæ, habita in celeberrima vni-

uersitate OXONIENSI in Anglia, per

D. PETRUM MARTYREM

VERMILIVM FLOREN-

tinum, Regium ibidem

Theologiæ professorem, cum

iam absoluisset interpreta-

tionem .ii. capi-

tis prioris

epistolæ D. Pauli Apostoli

ad Corinthios.

AD HEC.

Disputatio de eodē

EVCHARISTIAE SA-

cramento, in eadem Vniuersitate

habita per eundem D. P. MAR.

ANNO DOMINI

M. D. XLIX.

Londini, ad æneum serpentem.

- 3 *Tractatio de sacramento Eucharistiæ: habita in celeberrima vniuersitate Oxoniensi in Anglia, per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, Regium ibidem Theologiæ professorem, cum iam absoluisset interpretationem. II capitis prioris epistolæ D. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthios. Ad hec. Disputatio de eode[m] Eucharistiæ Sacramento, in eadem Vniuersitate habita per eundem D. P. Mar. Anno Domini MDXLIX. London: ad æneum serpentem [R. Wolfe], 1549.*

CHAPTER NINE

EX PARTE VIDENTIUM: HERMENEUTICS OF THE EUCHARIST

Maurice Boutin

The title '*ex parte videntium*' draws attention to something different from one of the two things Peter Martyr Vermigli 'heartily affirm[s]' in order to 'cover', as he writes in his 'Dedication to Thomas Cranmer',¹ 'the whole matter in a few words', namely 'all the present controversy regarding the presence of Christ in the Eucharist':² apart from the statement 'that this sacrament of the holy Supper is nothing without use', 'the other point is that when we make use of it we grasp Christ's body and blood by faith alone'.³ No doubt, 'by faith alone' is a central concern in Vermigli's argumentation. Yet '*ex parte videntium*' focuses rather on the overall structure of argumentation.

I

In Vermigli's *Oxford Treatise and Disputation on the Eucharist* (1549) there can't be enough pejorative qualifications for transubstantiation, the core issue of the controversy. Apart from being just an 'opinion'⁴—and a 'recent' one at that,⁵ 'the notion of transubstantiation'⁶ is but a 'fiction',⁷ the product of an 'absurd device',⁸ of 'fancied devices'⁹ and

¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *The Oxford Treatise and Disputation on the Eucharist, 1549* [series 'Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies', vol. 56], translated & edited with Introduction and Notes by Joseph C. McLelland (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000), [cited OTD].—Hereafter, xv–xlvi refer to *Preface and Introduction* (xvi–xlvi); T 1–125 refer to *Treatise on the Sacrament of the Eucharist*; D 127–292 refer to *A Disputation on the Sacrament of the Eucharist*. I thank Dr. Jim D. Kanaris for his insightful suggestions. For the Dedication see OTD, T 5–21.

² OTD, T 16–17.

³ OTD, T 17.

⁴ OTD, T 23.24.98.100.106.

⁵ OTD, T 23.97.

⁶ OTD, T 20.

⁷ OTD, T 44.76.

⁸ OTD, T 75.

⁹ OTD, T 15.

'delusions';¹⁰ it is a 'permanent illusion'¹¹ filled with arguments that are not seldom 'frivolous'¹² and at times even 'absurd'.¹³ It is an 'error',¹⁴ the expression of 'superstitions'¹⁵ and 'idolatries'.¹⁶ '[T]he dogma of transubstantiation'¹⁷ gives rise to the 'false and senseless dogma [...] that after the sacrament is received another sacrament remains',¹⁸ which runs counter to the fact that there is no sacrament apart from the use of the sacrament—*nullum sacramentum nisi usum*.¹⁹ As Vermigli writes at the end of the *Treatise*:

I have observed so far that the Eucharist (with which we are dealing) has been so overwhelmed, buried, and deformed by lies, devices, and superstitions that it could be reckoned anything besides what the Lord instituted in the Supper. To prevent its being easily purged, the devil (the greatest enemy of all peace and truth) has sown so many opinions, controversies, disagreements, heresies, and battles, although without blood, that scarcely any consent worthy of Christians can be hoped for by human reason. Alas! we have not endured these things without harm, for we have dealt double injury to this sacrament: in part because we have erected an accursed idol instead of the excellent and special gift of Christ; in part because we have abused these holy mysteries, without sincere faith, with conscience defiled by grave sins, scorning a proper examination of our own hearts.

I pray that God will pity such a great calamity, and will deign to restore to his church at last a Eucharist renewed and enjoying its proper use; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen*.²⁰

In the record of the discussions during the four days of the *Disputation* (May 28, 29, 31, and June 1, 1549), pejorative qualifications like those in the *Treatise* are used less often regarding aspects of transubstantiation, although Vermigli still alludes to 'absurdity',²¹ 'superstition',²²

¹⁰ OTD, T 15.

¹¹ OTD, T 39.105.

¹² OTD, T 75.

¹³ OTD, T 37.39.91.96.118.

¹⁴ OTD, T 20.100.

¹⁵ OTD, T 16.20.92.101.106.125.

¹⁶ OTD, T 16.86.101.125.

¹⁷ OTD, T 91.

¹⁸ OTD, T 44.

¹⁹ OTD, T 44.87.

²⁰ OTD, T 125.

²¹ OTD, D 151.221.

²² OTD, D 209.

‘idolatry’,²³ or ‘delusion’,²⁴ and talks of a perversion of ‘the nature of things’²⁵ and of ‘insolence’²⁶ in the readiness—as the Royal Legates to the disputation put it—‘to lie about anything’ out of ‘ignorance through overconfidence’.²⁷

However, what might be typical in a disputation like this one on the Eucharist should not be generalized and applied to Vermigli’s commentaries on the Bible, as does the founder of biblical criticism, Richard Simon (1638–1722), in *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament*:²⁸ ‘[...] Peter Martyr’s commentaries on the Bible are full of long digressions, and everywhere he is wary of being viewed as an erudite man’.²⁹

The many references to the Fathers and to Councils during the disputation are explained as follows by Vermigli at the beginning of the third day:

I have cited them as you have heard, and perhaps lingered too much in that line, not that I depend on them, but because I see many addicted to them in a superstitious way, who are forever crying: the Fathers, the Fathers! Thinking they are always against us. I wished to show such people that they make most of all for us. What I have said regarding the Fathers you may consider as the answer about Councils.³⁰

²³ OTD, D 136.

²⁴ OTD, D 250.

²⁵ OTD, D 251.

²⁶ OTD, D 251.

²⁷ OTD, D 130.

²⁸ (Paris: 1678.—Reprint in Amsterdam: Elzevir, 1680), 3 vol., 612—vol. 1: ‘Du Texte Hebreu de la Bible depuis Moïse jusqu’à nostre temps’ (31 chapters, 1–200); vol. 2: ‘Où il est traité des principales Versions de la Bible’ (25 chapters, 201–393); vol. 3: ‘Où il est traité de la maniere de bien Traduire la Bible et où l’on montre en mesme temps combien l’Ecriture est obscure; l’on y a aussi joint la Critique des meilleurs Auteurs, tant Juifs que Chrestiens qui ont escrit sur la Bible’ (24 chapters, 394–572).

²⁹ ‘Pierre Martyr Florentin qui fut appelé en Angleterre au commencement de la reforme sous Edouard VI. et qui enseigna l’Ecriture Sainte dans les Ecoles de Zurich, a aussi fait plusieurs Commentaires sur les Livres Historiques de la Bible, lesquels ne peuvent pas estre d’une grande utilité pour entendre le sens litteral, parce qu’ils sont remplis de lieux communs, et de Questions qu’il forme souvent à l’occasion des paroles de son Texte. Il y a de l’apparence que comme il estoit éloquent il suivit cette methode pour faire paroître davantage son éloquence et mesme son érudition; au-lieu que s’il se fût attaché tout-à-fait à son Texte, il n’eût pas eu la liberté de tant parler, ni de resoudre tant de Questions curieuses qu’il a formées dans ses Commentaires, ausquelles il ajoute aussi des invectives. [Here Simon refers to Vermigli’s commentary on the Book of Judges 1:17] [...] En un mot les Commentaires de Pierre Martyr sur la Bible sont pleins de longues digressions, et il affecte partout de paroître homme d’érudition.’ (Vol. 3, chapter 14 on ‘Critique des Principaux Auteurs Protestans qui ont fait des Commentaires ou des Remarques sur l’Ecriture Sainte’, 485–95; here 491–92)

³⁰ OTD, D 209.

As to the many repetitions in the *Treatise*, in which, as Vermigli says, 'it often happens [...] that the same thing is repeated two or three times', he adds:

This upsets those who are wise and learned, who without prodding see many things for themselves, and consider it superfluous to have everything set forth for them, unwillingly suffering the repetition of the same matter. Yet we should remember that although this is a bore to the learned, at times repetition and double treatment are not without profit. For in this unhappy time, the notion of transubstantiation and the bodily presence of Christ in the Eucharist has lodged so deeply in men's minds, and is taken so seriously by them and held so dear, that they are greatly disturbed, and their minds distracted from hearing our arguments and truth to believe otherwise. Just as one or two calls are not enough to awaken those who are fast asleep, so to state the fact once is not sufficient to recall these men from their former error. Therefore I shall think a great deal is accomplished if I do much with this superstitious sort of folk by repeating the same thing.³¹

The repetitions in the *Disputation* document less Vermigli's alleged propensity for digressions and erudite pedantry (Simon's words) than the stubbornness³² of 'his three opponents, who kept returning to their arguments for transubstantiation and were reluctant to let Martyr proceed to the matter of real presence.'³³

II

It is not a question for us here to set up as 'arbiters' and decide whether 'victory in a most just cause [is] to be assigned to Peter or to Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan'.³⁴ Instead, we should inquire what Vermigli means exactly when he says: 'We hold to the holy Scriptures, and defer to all who speak and will speak according to them'.³⁵ As he says,

[...] the *criterion* or principle of theological subjects, by which we judge sacred letters, is twofold, namely by the Holy Spirit and by the Scriptures; one is inward and the other outward. Because we deal at present with the outward, I say that nothing other than Scripture should be used. I lay the foundation in it, and in it I chiefly rest. Truly I will not reject the

³¹ OTD, T 20.

³² E.g. OTD, D 151–2.159.220–1.281–84.

³³ Introduction, xxxiv.

³⁴ OTD, D 130; see OTD, D 289, and xli.

³⁵ OTD, D 209.

Fathers; on the contrary, I attribute a great deal to them *when they speak according to the Scriptures*.³⁶

Right at the beginning of the *Disputation* Vermigli recalls the similarity in the structure of his argument against transubstantiation with the structure of Chalcedonian Christology. After quoting from Augustine cited in Gratian's decree *De consecratione*, he says: 'Here you see the same comparison between the Eucharist and Christ: it follows that just as the two natures remain whole in Christ, so the substance of the bread must not be removed in the Eucharist'.³⁷ 'For the Fathers [...] on both sides, in Christ as in the sacrament [the Eucharist], the two natures remain whole and perfect'.³⁸ And 'because of the correlation the sacrament has with Christ, in whom both humanity and divinity remain whole, the substance of bread in the sacrament does not go away',³⁹ but 'two "substances" exist in the Eucharist' (xxiv); '[...] as bread remains whole in the sacrament and does not depart from its nature, so in Christ the body remained, and was not changed into the divine nature, as heretics claim'.⁴⁰ '[I]n Christ the human and divine natures truly remain, in such a way that one does not pass into the other'.⁴¹

Oftentimes Vermigli refers to the fact that Scripture does not provide any basis for the notion of transubstantiation based on the distinction between substance and accidents.⁴² For him, this is not the way one has to understand the '*mutatio*' taking place in the Eucharist.⁴³ Yet curiously enough, he seems to accept and rely on the understanding of Christ put forward by the council of Chalcedon in 451 in terms of the two-natures doctrine, that is, Christ as human and divine, united but not confused, unchanging, inseparable and yet distinct.⁴⁴ At least in the *Treatise* and in the *Disputation* Vermigli does not raise the question to what extent these distinctions are, as it were, 'according to the Scriptures'; he raises that question only with regard to transubstantiation

³⁶ OTD, D 209, last emphasis mine.—See also OTD, D 142–3 & 156 to 158.

³⁷ OTD, D 144.

³⁸ OTD, D 145.

³⁹ OTD, D 145.

⁴⁰ OTD, D 146.

⁴¹ OTD, T 39.—See also OTD, T 62.77.89.91.95.96.109.117.118; OTD, D 142.143.250.257.

⁴² OTD, T 30.31.32.36.41.44.72.74; OTD, D 142.154.158.250–1.

⁴³ OTD, T 39.56.57.77.94.99.104; OTD, D 149–50.154.

⁴⁴ Ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως—inconfuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter.

and the Eucharist, not with reference to Chalcedonian Christology he shares with his 'opponents'. It seems that Vermigli—contrary to the proverb he quotes—does not 'turn every stone' in order 'to get at the truth, especially in establishing sacred doctrine'.⁴⁵

Why does Vermigli treat transubstantiation and Chalcedonian Christology differently with regard to Scripture? Why is it not 'convenient' to argue with reference to 'substance' and 'accidents', since they are 'foreign words, entirely alien to the phraseology of holy Scripture',⁴⁶ whereas it seems quite in order to argue with reference to 'natures' and 'person' and still be, as it were, 'scripturally correct'? How is it that the latter is adequate to Scripture, while the former can't be 'understood from Scripture' (T 74)? Why does the 'correlation' (D 145) or 'convenientia' (xxiv n. 25) work perfectly between the Eucharist and Christ, whereas *both* the notion of transubstantiation *and also* Chalcedonian Christology are not provided by the 'phraseology of Scripture'?

An answer to the last question is not given by Vermigli's following remark about union with Christ and the fact that 'his flesh is both given and received to be eaten and drunk': '[...] proper speech cannot easily be found for these things—words signify this or that as they are appointed to serve human ends. Therefore when it comes to heavenly and divine things, the natural man who does not understand such great secrets cannot as much as name them.'⁴⁷

The correlation of Chalcedonian Christology and Scripture is not discussed by Vermigli at least in the *Treatise* and the *Disputation*. Is it because it is older than transubstantiation defined by the fourth Lateran Council in 1215? This decision from 1215 was meant to resolve the debate on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist since the ninth century in Corbie⁴⁸ and revived in the eleventh century by Berengar of Tours (c. 1000–1088) and his condemnation (1050). Vermigli alludes to his evaluation of Berengar's time when he refers to Theophylact of Ochryda (ca 1050–1108) 'who happened to live in that time when many questions about transubstantiation began to be raised, under Nicholas, bishop of Rome, in the time of Lanfranc and Berengar':⁴⁹ 'not a man of

⁴⁵ OTD, T 59.

⁴⁶ OTD, T 18.

⁴⁷ OTD, T 15. On 'naming' see also OTD, T 56 to 59.73.77.94; OTD, D 145.159.218.

⁴⁸ OTD, T 28 n. 32.

⁴⁹ OTD, T 90.

much judgment',⁵⁰ Vermigli says, Theophylact 'seems to have lived in an unfortunate age'.⁵¹ For Vermigli, 'Augustine lived in "purer" times, while from Theophylact onwards it is evident that "Later Fathers speak less prudently"'.⁵² This is also Calvin's opinion at least with regard to transubstantiation, which 'was unknown to those better ages when the purer doctrine of religion still flourished'⁵³ and even in the time of Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153).⁵⁴ Moreover, Vermigli does not hesitate to 'oppose' Origen, 'a most ancient Father and of great renown', to John of Damascus, 'a recent and not illustrious writer'⁵⁵ who 'lived under Leo Isauricus, emperor of Greece,' hence 'almost one hundred and twenty years' after Gregory the Great,⁵⁶ and was 'inclined toward many half-truths and superstitions'.⁵⁷

Does that mean that Vermigli idealizes not only the earliest times of Christian faith as documented in Scripture, but also the early centuries of Christianity—for instance the time of Chalcedon—over against more recent times—for instance the eleventh century and the time of the fourth Lateran council? Although he knows that in the fifth century things were not always completely harmonious,⁵⁸ yet at the time of pope Gelasius (492–96), he says, 'the Roman pontificate was not so defiled and corrupt, nor had it become such a tyranny as fell on it later, that the authority of Gelasius is to be faulted'.⁵⁹ For people 'of later time'⁶⁰ and 'more recent'⁶¹ like Anselm, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, 'since the dogma of transubstantiation had been forced on their age, these men served the time by their writings, and their new invention should not prejudice the opinion of the most ancient church and the teaching of the oldest Fathers',⁶² 'as if we should heed what the pope with his cardinals decreed at Constance⁶³ or in the synod where

⁵⁰ *OTD*, T 90.

⁵¹ *OTD*, D 215.

⁵² *OTD*, T 76 n. 232.

⁵³ Quoted in *OTD*, T 76 n. 232.

⁵⁴ *OTD*, T 98 n. 297.

⁵⁵ *OTD*, T 96.

⁵⁶ *OTD*, T 91.

⁵⁷ *OTD*, T 92.

⁵⁸ *OTD*, T 55; *OTD*, D 146–7.

⁵⁹ *OTD*, D 143.

⁶⁰ *OTD*, T 27.

⁶¹ *OTD*, T 91.

⁶² *OTD*, T 91.

⁶³ See *OTD*, T 97.

Berengar was condemned, instead of what the ancient church preached and believed'.⁶⁴

All these considerations about 'ancient' and 'recent', 'old' and 'new' should not be viewed as the proper explanation for Vermigli's position against transubstantiation. Rather, the following has to be recalled: the human nature of Christ—this is not just 'accidents'! Human nature does not need to be understood that way in order to secure the real presence of God in Jesus Christ. Likewise, the 'nature and substance'⁶⁵ of bread⁶⁶ does not need to 'go away'⁶⁷ or be 'cast away'⁶⁸ in order to make room for the substance of Christ and thus ensure the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Otherwise, transubstantiation could only be viewed as a continuation—or a revival—of docetism; for to contend that through transubstantiation 'it seems to be bread, but is not' amounts to saying that 'Christ's flesh and body [...] was not true flesh, but only an appearance'.⁶⁹ Apart from the fact that transubstantiation is nowhere to be found in Scripture, it does show that—as Vermigli calls his 'adversaries'⁷⁰—the 'transubstantiators'⁷¹ are not consequent,⁷² and that they even jeopardize Chalcedonian Christology.

This is why Chalcedonian Christology is so badly needed by Vermigli—so much so that he does not question its adequacy when the time comes to 'proceed from the Scriptures'.⁷³ Actually, such questioning could only have weakened his argument against transubstantiation.

III

Vermigli's rejection of transubstantiation in the Eucharist has not only a Christological basis, it also has an anthropological one. Union with Christ in the 'reception by faith'⁷⁴ of the Eucharist does not imply that we lose our nature as humans and that 'any transubstantiation

⁶⁴ *OTD*, T 55.

⁶⁵ *OTD*, T 39; *OTD*, D 218.

⁶⁶ See also *OTD*, T 72.94; *OTD*, D 146.151.257.259.

⁶⁷ *OTD*, D 143.

⁶⁸ *OTD*, D 284.

⁶⁹ *OTD*, T 35; see also *OTD*, D 257–8.

⁷⁰ *OTD*, T 16.18.19.44.100.104.

⁷¹ *OTD*, T 94.95.99.111.112.118.

⁷² E.g. *OTD*, T 91.

⁷³ *OTD*, D 209.

⁷⁴ *OTD*, T 82; *OTD*, D 229.

of our bodies' takes place.⁷⁵ '[S]ince transubstantiation is not required in our case, much less is it for symbols'.⁷⁶ 'If it is true that we are not transubstantiated, although still so closely joined to Christ, what need is there for bread to be transubstantiated in order to be made Christ's body?'⁷⁷

For Vermigli, if senses witness⁷⁸ and reason confirms,⁷⁹ faith grasps⁸⁰ and confesses.⁸¹ For him, 'more firmly do we adhere to what we believe than do the senses or reason to what they comprehend by its natural power';⁸² and 'What we comprehend by faith must not be considered false or feigned, counterfeit or a phantom',⁸³ for 'faith cannot grasp things that are false or spurious'.⁸⁴ The close connection between senses and faith is the proper structure of a sacrament like the Eucharist,⁸⁵ and Vermigli likes the idea that grace does not destroy nature,⁸⁶ but is 'added' or 'joined' to nature.⁸⁷

The complex relation between senses and faith has been examined by Thomas Aquinas. In questions 73 to 83 of the third part of *Summa Theologiae*, 84 articles pertain to various aspects of the Eucharist. Article 7 from question 76 on 'How the body of Christ exists in that sacrament' deals with the question 'Whether the body of Christ as it is in this sacrament can be seen by some eye at least glorified'.⁸⁸ As usual in the *Summa*, the structure of the article reflects the organization of a disputation regarding a commonly agreed issue whose discussion is consummated by the president of the debate. Objections are referred to at the beginning of the article, and the answers to the objections follow the 'corpus' beginning with the words 'Respondeo dicendum quod' and correspond to the concluding remarks by the president of the debate.

⁷⁵ OTD, T 84.

⁷⁶ OTD, T 90; also OTD, D 149–50.250.

⁷⁷ OTD, T 82; also OTD, T 89; OTD, D 230–1.

⁷⁸ OTD, T 10.17.19.

⁷⁹ OTD, T 12.19.

⁸⁰ OTD, T 10.17.

⁸¹ OTD, T 109; OTD, D 281.

⁸² OTD, T 17.

⁸³ OTD, T 18.

⁸⁴ OTD, T 19.

⁸⁵ OTD, T 70.80.83.84.93.104; OTD, D 218.219.228.

⁸⁶ E.g. OTD, T 94.

⁸⁷ OTD, T 56.57.59.93; OTD, D 145.

⁸⁸ *Utrum corpus Christi prout est in hoc sacramento possit videri ab aliquo oculo saltem glorificato.*

Quite seldom in the *Summa* an article might reflect first only various sides of affirmative positions and yet keep the structure of disputation; then the 'sed contra' might bring to the fore the negative side. Article 7 referred to here is a case in point: the 'sed contra' stipulates that nothing which exists in the same way can be seen simultaneously in various ways. Since the glorified eye always sees Christ as he is in his proper way, therefore it does not see Christ as he is in this sacrament.

The 'corpus' of article 7 and the sections following it bring about a threefold way of seeing:

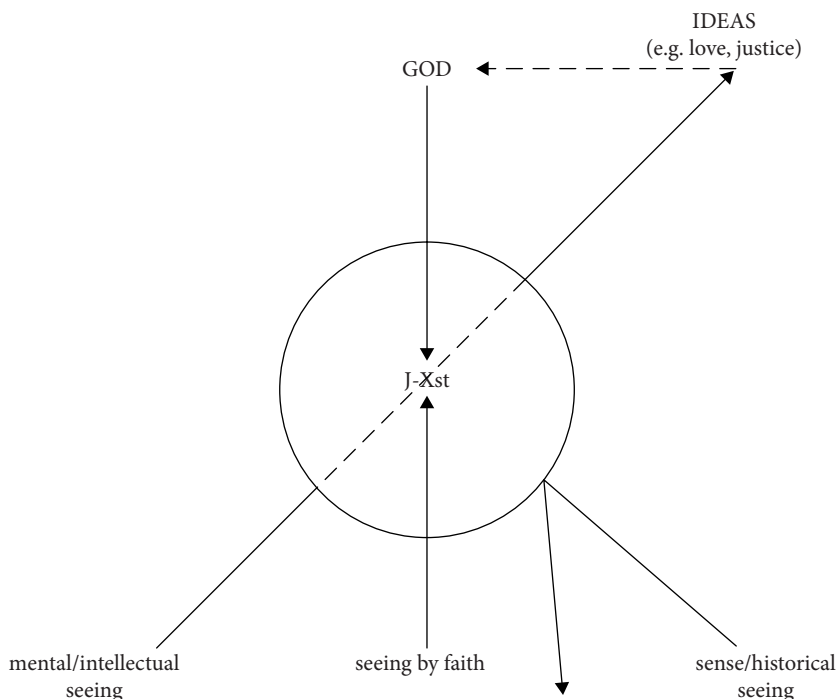
1. *corporeal seeing*—'oculus corporeus' (ad primum & ad 3um) also called 'oculus corporalis' (ad 2um—& corpus, with the addition: 'proprie dictus');
2. *intellectual/spiritual seeing*—'oculus intellectualis' (corpus & ad 3um) also called 'oculus spiritualis' (corpus) with reference to 'intellect' (corpus & ad 2um);
3. *seeing by faith*—'oculus fidei' (see corpus).

For Thomas Aquinas seeing by faith has to be privileged as long as the 'condition' of 'homo viator' prevails (corpus). Vermigli's preference also goes to seeing by faith. He says for instance: '[...] when we make use of [the holy Supper] we grasp Christ's body and blood by faith alone.'⁸⁹

Although the New Testament does not provide any information on a Christology based—like Chalcedonian Christology—on the two-natures notion, some indications concerning possible approaches to Christology are given at the beginning of the first letter of John and are also alluded to in the passages referring to Peter's confession in Mk 8:27–30, Mt 16:13–20, and Lk 9:18–21. These passages—at least Mk 8:27–30—signify a turning point neither in the whole activity of Jesus—let alone in his consciousness, nor in the development of his understanding by the disciples; they are rather indications that from now on various teachings pertaining to a new concept of the Messiah are beginning to emerge.

Not so much Christ 'per se' but rather Christ 'pro nobis' is expressed, and the question 'Who is Jesus?' calls for various answers based on particular perceptions: for mental/intellectual perception, Jesus is John the Baptist, Eliah, or any other prophet, or he is the representative of most noble ideas like love and justice; for faith perception, Jesus is the revelation of God in a real although paradoxical identity, whereas for

⁸⁹ OTD, T 17; see also xxiv.



sense/historical perception, Jesus is a man from Nazareth, one man among many others, nothing more and nothing less. The same faith perception is also expressed in 1 Cor 8:6: 'But for us there is only one God and one Lord'; the background for that confession of faith is mentioned in verse 5, in which Paul states as a matter of fact: 'There are many gods and many lords'.

The beginning of the first letter of John refers to those who have heard, seen with their own eyes, and touched with their own hands the Word of life. Who are they? The verbs used do characterize sense perception, not mental/intellectual perception, and they give the impression that they refer to the eyewitnesses of the historical Jesus. And yet, in this particular case, sense perception as such is not meant, since sense perception was possible even for the contemporaries of Jesus who did not believe in him and consequently did not proclaim him as the Word of life. Seeing by faith is meant, which—related to sense perception—perceives in Jesus the manifestation of God's life. Johannine Christology is based on a seeing that is neither just sense perception nor just mental or intellectual perception; it is seeing by faith.

Neither Vermigli's *Treatise* nor the *Disputation* on the Eucharist do refer to Johannine Christology or to Peter's confession, for instance in Mk 8:27–30, which indicates that various teachings with regard to a new concept of the Messiah are beginning to emerge. Both the *Treatise* and the *Disputation* focus rather—for instance—on John 6:35 quite particularly and discuss at length and repeatedly the meaning of the statement: 'I am the bread of life.'

IV

On the first day of the disputation Peter Martyr Vermigli sets the stage for the discussion by saying: 'So mindless and foolish are the people that if someone teaches differently about the sacrament than has been received in the past, they think Christ is taken away from them. When we teach something else about the Eucharist than is manufactured and believed in the Papacy, they run together in a mob and cry with the silversmiths [a reference to Acts 19:28 & 34]: "Great is Diana of the Ephesians".'⁹⁰

Both Vermigli's *Treatise* and the *Disputation on the Sacrament of the Eucharist* of 1549 show that Scripture alone is never just Scripture, *Scriptura sola solum Scriptura numquam est*. This statement was not manufactured in the Papacy; it is rather a product of the *development* of the *formgeschichtliche Methode*.

⁹⁰ OTD, D 136.

PART THREE

BIBLICAL COMMENTARIES

CHAPTER TEN

GENESIS COMMENTARY: INTERPRETING CREATION

Emidio Campi

By far the greatest part of Peter Martyr Vermigli's ministry was occupied with the exposition of Scripture, whether in sermons, lectures, or commentaries. Although the Florentine Reformer considered himself to be primarily an interpreter of the Bible, and although his commentaries outnumber in length and quantity his systematic and polemical writings, far more is known about Martyr as a systematic or polemical theologian than as an interpreter of the Bible.¹ What makes the situation particularly ironic is that Martyr's most famous work, the *Loci communes*—as is well known—is a posthumous collection of excerpts and *scholia* taken mainly from his voluminous biblical commentaries.

More recently, following the jubilee year 1999, a number of articles have shed light on Vermigli's exegetical method.² Neither these studies

¹ Since 1957, when Joseph McLelland's doctoral study of Vermigli's thought was published and played an important role in the modern revival of interest in the Florentine Reformer, only very few studies have focused attention on Vermigli's biblical interpretation as found in his commentaries. See Marvin W. Anderson, 'Word and Spirit in Exile (1542–61): the Biblical Writings of Peter Martyr Vermigli', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970), 193–201; Id., 'Peter Martyr on Romans', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 26 (1973): 401–420; Id., 'Pietro Martire Vermigli on the Scope and Clarity of the Scripture', in *Theologische Zeitschrift* 30 (1974), 86–94; John L. Thompson, 'The survival of Allegorical Interpretation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis', in Richard Muller and John L. Thompson (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation. Essays presented to David C. Steinmetz in Honor of his Sixtieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1996), 255–271. Moreover Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542–1547. Ein Reformkatholik untern den Vätern der reformierten Kirche* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1971) and John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), devote large sections of their works to Vermigli's exegetical writings, although they are mainly concerned with systematic issues.

² See e.g. Thomas Krüger, 'Peter Martyr Vermiglis Hermeneutik des Alten Testaments am Beispiel seines Kommentars über die Königsbücher', in Emidio Campi (ed.) *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 225–240; Douglas H. Shantz, 'Vermigli on Tradition and the Fathers: Patristic Perspectives from his Commentary on I Corinthians', in Frank A. James III. (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004),

nor earlier scholarship has focused, however, on his *Genesis* commentary.³ The purpose of this chapter is therefore to examine this most erudite and sophisticated work which was held in especially high esteem by Vermigli's contemporaries. In view of the length of the commentary (fols. 373), the task of examining it as a whole would seem a little daunting. Therefore in a first part I shall deal with Vermigli's treatment of *Genesis*, taking up historical issues, textual, literary and rhetorical matters. In a second part I shall examine the cosmogony and the anthropology, the hamartiology, and the soteriology in the account of creation (Gen 1–3), seeking throughout to unfold the hermeneutical principles of these themes as understood by Peter Martyr.

THE COMMENTARY ON *GENESIS*

Vermigli's *Genesis* commentary goes back to his academic lectures held during his first stay at Strasbourg between October 1542 and November 1547. While it is absolutely clear that they were addressed to the scholars and other auditors of the Gymnasium, it is difficult to settle with

115–138; Dan Shute, 'And All Israel Shall Be Saved: Peter Martyr and John Calvin on the Jews according to Romans, Chapters 9, 10 and 11', in *ibid.*, 159–176; Norman Klassen, 'Nature, Virtue, and Humanism: Cross-Disciplinary Reflections on Vermigli's Romans Commentary (10–16)', in *ibid.*, 197–212; Dan Shute, 'Translators Introduction', in Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on the Lamentations of the Prophet Jeremiah*, transl. and ed. by Daniel Shute (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002), XV–LXVIII (The Peter Martyr Library, 6).

³ *IN PRIMUM LIBRUM / MOSIS, QUI VULGO GE- / NESIS DICITUR COMMEN- TARI / doctissimi D. Petri Martyris Vermilii Floren- / tini, professoris divinarum literarum in / Schola Tigurina, nunc primum / in lucem editi / Addita est initio operis vita eiusdem a Iosia Sim- / lero Tigurino descripta. / Praeterea accesserunt duo Indices locupletissimi Rerum / et verborum unus, alter locorum communium qui / in his Commentariis explicantur. / Absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi / per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo / Tiguri / Excudebat Christophorus / Froschoverus M.D.LXIX. f. 12r–v / 170r–v/9 S. ZB Zürich, Z 5. 77₁, Z III B, 38₂ (hereafter cited and abbreviated GEN). The text stops with chapter 42, 25. Posthumously published by Josias Simler in 1569, the commentary was completed and reissued in Zurich 1579 by Ludwig Lavater: *IN PRIMUM LIBRUM / MOSIS, [...] descripta. / Accesserunt praeterea in hac editione, octo postrema ca- / pita huius libri, Ludovico Lavatero inter- / prete: Item duo indices [...] Froschoverus M.D.LXXIX (ZB Zürich, ZIII B 42₁, Z Zw 329₁) and in Heidelberg: e typogr. Iohannis Lancellotti, impensis Andreae Cambieri, 1606 (BNF, Paris, 31561688). Charles Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1858), 294 and Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 261 both refer to a 1572 edition. Despite intensive researches in Swiss and other European libraries I could not find this edition. Presumably they**

certainty when they were delivered, and thus to determine exactly the date of composition of the work. Although the conjectures differ, for our purpose it may be safely assumed that at least since summer 1543 Vermigli did a significant amount of work on Genesis, and that he must have reached chapter 42 in the summer of 1545.⁴

Martyr never got around to publishing his early lectures. Although he was not averse to doing so, as is plain from his correspondence with Bullinger,⁵ he was held up by other commitments. In the end the 'hasty annotations'—as Vermigli called his manuscripts—were published posthumously or lost altogether. The commentary on Genesis was to appear in 1569 edited for publication by Josias Simler with a dedication

both draw the information from Jean Pierre Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres: avec un catalogue raisonné de leurs ouvrages*, vols. 1–43 (Paris: Briasson, 1729–1745), who erroneously refers to a 1572, and even a 1592 edition, here vol. 23, 232.

⁴ Josias Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri et praestantissimi theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii divinarum literarum professoris in schola Tigurina* (Tiguri: C. Froschauer, 1563) (reprinted in *GEN*) [= English: *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Life, letters, and sermons*, transl. and ed. by John Patrick Donnelly, PML 5 (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 1999), 28] mentions that Martyr began lecturing on Lamentations and the Minor Prophets, and then exposed Genesis, Exodus and part of Leviticus. McLelland, *Visible Words*, 12 follows Simler's indication. Schmidt, *Leben*, 57 simply states that Martyr began his teaching career with Genesis. Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli's*, 20, n. 54; 30–33, 272–273 rejects Simler's, McLelland's and Schmidt's conjectures and suggests to arrange the lectures in the following order: Minor Prophets 1542/1543; Lamentations 1543/1544; Genesis 1544/1545; Exodus and part of Leviticus 1545/1547. Dan Shute, 'Translators Introduction', XLVI, comes to the same conclusion. However, it is known that 1543 Vermigli wrote theses for disputations taken from the first three books of the Pentateuch and Judges (published posthumously 1582 by Pietro Perna in Basel and then inserted in the London edition of the *Loci communes* (1583), 999–1034: *D. Petri Martyris proposita ad disputandum publice in Schola Argentinensi, Anno Domini MDXLIII*). Even if they were ahead of the commentary, as Sturm suggests, this would imply that he began working on Genesis before 1544.

⁵ Vermigli to Bullinger, letter CCXXXIV dated at Oxford, 26 October 1551, in Hastings Robinson (ed.), *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation* (Cambridge: University Press, 1847), 499: 'As to those other commentaries of mine which you inquire after, I do not see how they can possibly be published in so short a time: for what I have written upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and the minor prophets are brief and hasty annotations; so that there needs leisure for revising, and copying over again, what I at first wrote out for my own sole use, and not for that of others. But if it please God to spare my life, and I should obtain a little leisure, I shall not object to publishing them, See also the other letter Martyr wrote to Bullinger on 8 March 1552, in *LLS* 121–22: 'As regards the other commentaries on Genesis and Exodus, I promise you that when I have some free time to revise them I will forward them to you for printing. Now I am weighed down by so many tasks that I am almost overwhelmed.'

to Bishop John Jewel.⁶ In the dedicatory letter Simler mentions that he was originally hesitant to undertake this task, since to him the material seemed insufficiently polished for publication. Urged by numerous friends, however, he finally gave in for several reasons, first and foremost because of the usefulness of the work (*publica utilitas*) for the welfare of the church. Secondly, it was evident that the quite unfinished character of the manuscript (*opus inchoatum et imperfectum*) could not even remotely cast a blemish on Martyr's theology as such, since its many superb passages put it in a class by itself. Thirdly, the unfinished character of the manuscript, fashioned as it was for hearers and not for readers, sheds further light on Vermigli's hermeneutics. Like his fellow Reformers, namely Zwingli, Pellikan, Luther, Calvin, Borrhaus (also known as Cellarius), and Musculus, who had all written excellent expositions of Genesis, Vermigli had also concentrated on the meaning of the Hebrew text for the sake of establishing true doctrine and confuting error. Martyr's commentary stands out among the others for its extensive use of the medieval rabbinical interpreters and of Jewish scholarship.⁷

Simler's arguments provide a good clue to describe the interpretative method which Vermigli consistently brings to bear in his lectures on *Genesis*. It is an explanation of the text verse by verse, pericope by pericope, interrupted with more or less extensive *loci communes* or *scholia*, thematic digressions on various subjects of practical interest or of vital doctrinal importance. In *Genesis* there are 28 *loci* ranging in subject matter from *bellum* to *justificatio*, from *sepultura* to *prædestinatio*, some of them remarkable for the clarity of the argumentation, others somewhat pedantic.⁸ This desire for systematic exposition is, of

⁶ See Gary W. Jenkins, *John Jewel and the English National Church: the dilemmas of an Erastian reformer* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006).

⁷ GEN A2r–v. Among the sixteenth century commentaries on Genesis, see: Huldrych Zwingli, *Farrago annotationum in Genesim* (1527), in Z 13, 1–288; Konrad Pellikan, *Commentaria Bibliorum* [...], *Tomus Primus in quo continentur V libri Mosis* (Tiguri: Chr. Froschouer, mense augusto, 1532); Johannes Oecolampadius, *In Genesim enarratio* (Basel: Johann Bebel, 1536); Martin Luther, *Genesis-Vorlesung* (1535–1545) in WA 42–44; Wolfgang Musculus, *In Mosis Genesim plenissimi commentarii, in quibus veterum & recentiorum sententiae diligenter expenduntur* (Basel: Johannes Herwagen, mense augusto 1554); John Calvin, *In Primum Mosis Librum, qui Genesis vulgo dicitur, Commentarius* (1554), in CO 23; Id., *Commentaire sur le premier livre de Moysè dit Genèse* (Genève: Jean Gérard, 1554). Martin Borrhaus, *In Mosem, divinum legislatorem, paedagogum ad Messiam servatorem mundi, commentarii, in librum de origine mundi, quem Genesim vocant, Exodum, ... Deuteronomium* (Basileae: ex off. Ioannis Oporini, 1555).

⁸ Baptismus (68r), Bellum (56r), Circumcisio (69r), Divitiarum possessio (52r), Fuga

course, typical of almost all 16th-century Protestant commentaries. In this respect Martyr's *Genesis* commentary is no exception and stood, so to speak, in the middle between the extremes of Zwingli's short hand notes, Calvin's lucid brevity, and Musculus' pious prolixity.⁹ Luther cannot be placed in these categories. In every respect—in length, scope, and exposition—his commentary is in a category all by itself. Yet Simler still makes his point about Vermigli's method by citing the *publica utilitas*. Then seeking the meaning of the text as well as relating it to the current theological or practical questions in the form of advice for individual or corporate piety, of guidance for pastoral ministry, church reform and defense of reformed faith are indeed striking features of Vermigli's lectures on *Genesis*—and they are well worth reading for these reasons alone.

Equally pertinent is the admiration for Martyr's treatment of Jewish biblical scholarship. In preparing his lecture series apparently Vermigli wanted to look afresh at the Hebrew text on which he would comment. It is probable that he worked from Sebastian Münster's *Hebraica Biblia Latina*¹⁰ and even more certainly from the *Bomberg Bible*.¹¹ Unquestionably, he used for his own Latin translation and exposition, besides the usual lexical repertoires of Johannes Reuchlin and Sante Pagnini, as well as the *Targum Onkelos Chaldeus* and the *Targum Hierosolymitanum*, to which he regularly refers for the clarification of difficult passages in the Hebrew text.¹² At the same time, the Septuagint seems to have played a relatively important role in his textual considerations, which are, to be sure, not intended as textual criticism in the modern sense. In any case, the broad extent of Vermigli's knowledge, and the command with which he is able to discuss ancient and Medieval Jewish authors—from

(128r), Funerum luctus (144r), Gigantes (27v), Insomnia (79v), Iris (41r), Iureiurandum (85r), Iustificatio (92r), Luctus mortuorum (92r), Paradisus (10v), Peccatum originis (36r–v), Prædestinatio (99v), Prophetia (80v), Providentia (115v), Sacramenta (69r), Sacrificia (35v–36r), Scriptura sacra (1r), Sepultura (92v), Servitus (43v), Tentatio (90r), testamenti utriusque similitudo et differentia (64r), Theraphim (128r), Tyrannis (141v), Vocatio divina (48r), Vota (116v).

⁹ Musculus follows another form of exposition: *Lectio, Explanatio, Quæstiones aliquot, Obeservatio*.

¹⁰ *Hebraica Biblia Latina Planeque Nova* (Basel: J. Bebel, 1534/35).

¹¹ Daniel Bomberg (ca. 1458–ca. 1553) of Venice issued two successive Rabbinic Bibles (1517, 1524–25) as well as the Hebrew concordances that would render accessible the medieval Jewish commentators to Christian readers.

¹² For a telling example see *GEN* 30r, where he explains the meaning of the word 'gopher' in Gen. 6, 14.

Philo and Josephus to Rashi (Solomon ben Isaac, 1040–1105), Ibn Ezra (1089–1164), Radak (David Kimchi, 1160–1230)—is remarkable,¹³ although some of these sources had presumably been drawn from the margins of the *Rabbinic Bible*. Vermigli seems to prefer citing from those Jewish authors who were interested primarily in the *peshat*, the ‘simple’ meaning of the text, authors such as David Kimchi, whom he quotes at length. The Jewish commentators are referred to for the clarification of matters ranging from the philological to the archæological, from architectural detail and topography to customs and ritual practices.¹⁴ He can agree with them; but he can also maintain a different opinion or even be scathing in his criticism of ‘rabbinic fables’. For theological questions, by contrast, he barely touches upon them.

There is another dimension to Martyr’s exegetical method, which is not explicitly mentioned by Simler, but nevertheless constitutes a significant aspect of his work as an interpreter of the Bible. Throughout the commentary, he devotes a great deal of attention to literary and rhetorical analysis of the Biblical text—using, obviously, the tools available in his day.¹⁵ This includes not only philological work to establish the semantics of individual words,¹⁶ but also the use of rhetorical devices and figures of speech such as allegory,¹⁷ hyperbole,¹⁸ metaphor,¹⁹ synecdoche,²⁰ and metonymy²¹ in order to determine the literal sense of the text. The last two are the most important for his interpretation. Synecdoche enables him to draw general lessons from specific facts.²² Martyr identifies synecdoche both as the part mentioned for the whole,²³

¹³ Carl Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Leben und ausgewählte Schriften* (Elberfeld: R.L. Friderichs, 1858), 58: there was, ‘with the exception of Fagius,’ nobody ‘who knew the Medieval rabbis better at that time.’

¹⁴ See, for example, the description of the rivers of the Paradise in *GEN* 10v–11.

¹⁵ This is an extensive and complex field of research that has thus far lain fallow, and into which few until now have dared to tread. Cf. Cesare Vasoli, ‘*Loci Communes* and the rhetorical and dialectical traditions,’ in Joseph C. McLelland (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, Ont.: Sir Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1980), 17–28.

¹⁶ *GEN* 10r (anima), 16r (ipsam), 17r (propter te), 27v–28r (gigantes), 81v (ecce est tibi in velamen oculorum).

¹⁷ *GEN* 1v, 5v, 9r, 10v, 11r, 13v, 18r, 62v, 74v, 84r, 105r–v, 106v, 118v, 121v, 151v, 158r.

¹⁸ *GEN* 29r, 46r, 53v, 121v, 130v, 166r, 188v.

¹⁹ *GEN* 10v, 12r, 28v, 36r, 59v, 82r, 96v, 114v, 122v, 137r, 158v.

²⁰ *GEN* 5r, 6r, 9v, 17v, 18v, 75r, 88r, 99v, 125r, 131r, 191v.

²¹ *GEN* 36r, 39v, 77v, 127r, 133r, 153v, 170r.

²² *GEN* 5r, 18v, 99v.

²³ *GEN* 75r.

and as the whole mentioned for the part.²⁴ Metonymy, understood as contiguity of the sign with the being or substance (*signum pro signato sumere*), is useful for an understanding of the Eucharist, which is not purely symbolic.²⁵

In addition to his extensive use of Jewish interpreters and of rhetorical tools, Vermigli also drew on classical Greek and Roman authors. Of these he had equally full command, and they served him as sources for what was termed the 'historical' explanation of the text. Vermigli makes repeated reference to Aristotle, Plato, Ovid, Homer, as well as to Cicero, Lactantius, Terence, Virgil, Pliny the Elder, Livy, Strabo, Plutarch, and Galen.

To these classical authors can be added the Patristic sources.²⁶ Martyr refers frequently to Jerome (24) and Ambrose (9), less often to Eusebius (4), Josephus (4), Tertullian (3). The church father that he cites nearly every other page is Augustine (109). It is scarcely surprising that Augustine is the chief Patristic source for the former Augustinian canon, who possessed in his library a magnificent personal copy of the ten volume Erasmus edition of Augustine's *Opera Omnia*,²⁷ and two intermediary sources: the *Collectanea Sententiarum divi Aurelii Augustini de cœna domini*²⁸ by Joachim Westphal and the *Coacervatio Sententiarum aliquot [...] contra Pelagianos haereticos tum ueteres tum recentes ex libris Divi Aurelii Augustini* by Johannes Timann.²⁹ In examining Martyr's citations of Augustine it appears that he does not draw on all writings to the same extent. Some works he cites repeatedly, others seldom or never. Most of Martyr's Augustine citations are from the *De civitate Dei*, *De Trinitate*, *Epistulae*, *De doctrina Christiana*, *Enchiridion*, and especially from the anti-Pelagian and anti-Manichean writings. Martyr refers to Augustine's *Confessiones*, and his scripture commentaries less than might be expected considering their importance, usually with brief and loose quotations from *De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*, *Quaestiones*

²⁴ GEN 17v.

²⁵ Cf. GEN 36r, 39v.

²⁶ Cf. Alfred Schindler, 'Vermigli und die Kirchenväter,' in Campi (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation*, 37–43; Douglas H. Shantz, 'Vermigli on Tradition and the Fathers. Patristic Perspectives from his Commentary on I Corinthians,' in James (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations* (*supra*, footnote 2), 115–138.

²⁷ (Basel: Froben, 1543).

²⁸ (Ratisbon: J. Carbo, 1555).

²⁹ (s.l.: Brubachius, 1555). See Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 213.

in *Heptateuchum*, *In Iohannis Evangelium tractatus*. He never refers to the early, more neo-Platonic treatises. On the whole, Vermigli cites Augustine as doctrinal authority particularly for the sacramental theology, and the doctrine of grace, justification and predestination, but in the exegetical work he is more likely to engage with him as a dialogue partner. The quotations are generally accurate, but it is hard to assess whether they are derived from the Erasmian edition or from the two collections of Augustinian citations.

The references to the Greek fathers cover such major figures as Origen (7), Basil (3), Theodoret (3), Diodorus (2), Athanasius (2), Gregory Nazianzen (2) as well as minor ones like Serapio Græcus (1), Cassian (1). Martyr's favourite patristic exegete is Chrysostom (24).³⁰ It seems clear that he worked with Chrysostom's homilies on Genesis throughout the commentary. Although he does not always agree with him and is not afraid to contradict his exegetical conclusions, he certainly does take a large amount of insights from his biblical interpretation.

In contrast, the references to scholastic authors are strikingly meagre: beside mere mention of the *scholastici*, *sophistæ* and *sententiarii*, there is only one explicit reference in the commentary to Thomas Aquinas³¹ and Nicholas of Lyra,³² whereas Lombard's *Sentences* are named twice.³³ Like his fellow Reformers, Vermigli is typically silent about contemporary authors, although it is certain that he would have consulted their writings as he prepared his own lectures. Oddly enough, given their tempestuous relationship in Zurich, the only contemporary protestant theologian mentioned is Theodore Bibliander.³⁴ Noteworthy is finally the paucity of references to the ecumenical Church councils, which in other writings he cites extensively; here there are only a few references to the regional councils of Meaux (140r), Braga, and Vaison (93v).

One last subject to be mentioned is the significance of Genesis for Christians. Like his other fellow Reformers, Martyr thought that Moses wrote the book of Genesis in Hebrew for his own people, along with the other four books of the Pentateuch. In the introduction to his commentary Martyr deals with this issue focussing attention on

³⁰ See GEN 20r: '... inter Patres Ioannes Chrysostomus in sacris literis interpretandis nunquam satis laudatus.'

³¹ GEN 100v.

³² GEN 180v.

³³ GEN 23r, 69r.

³⁴ GEN 187v.

the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. Although maintaining the distinction between old and new Covenant, Law and Gospel, he emphasizes the unity of the Scripture, its sole and entire content being Christ. This is in part because in the Old Testament Christ is present as promise, namely as the Gospel of the free mercy of God in Christ. On the other hand, the New Testament echoes the Law and leads to penitence which the Law demands from the believers.³⁵ In effect, this hermeneutical principle applies also to the book of Genesis, which 'entails instructions about the Law, the Gospel and the promise of Christ.'³⁶ What appears plainly imaginary to a historically conscious contemporary interpreter has for Vermigli quite axiomatic value. Following this interpretative method, he sees the community of the patriarchs in Genesis as parallel to the church and their faith as the same faith which the church has today. In this sense, the teaching of Moses, as stated in Genesis, is not bound to the Jews of his time, but may be properly extended to believers of all ages as they all worship the same God. Thus Vermigli can assert that the whole scope or intention of Genesis is to teach '*mente digna concipere de Deo & de Ecclesia*.'³⁷ But whoever wants to learn from this book 'to think worthily about God and the church', should know that this is not just like reading in Livy's and Plutarch's history. Vermigli makes the point very explicitly. By contrast, it requires a firm assent to the divine promises inspired by the Holy Spirit.³⁸ The proper task of the interpreter is to reveal this salvific subject matter of the book.

³⁵ GEN 1r: 'Partitur haec facultas in Vetus & Novum instrumentum: Vetus est Lex, Novum est Evangelium. Sed utriusque membri exponamus definitionem: Lex est doctrina mandatorum à Deo tradita ad homines impellendos ad Christum. Evangelium vis Dei in salutem: explicatio annuntiatio remissionis peccatorum per Christum. Sed non certis locis sanctae scripturae, & libris haec distincta sunt, cum tam in Novo instrumento quam in veteri quaedam reperiantur quae ad utrumque pertinent. Hoc tamen habetur discrimen, ut quae Evangelica sunt in libris veteribus, describuntur uti futura, repromissionum titulo: quae in Novo Legem sonant, faciunt ad illium proceum: nam cum tibi paenitentia praedicetur, credituris lex prius inculcatur.'

³⁶ GEN 1v: 'Si in universo veteri instrumento agitur de lege & promissione Evangelij, nunc quid aliud poterimus statuere scribi in libris Mosi. Et ex lege ibi traditur, & Evangelij, Christique promissio.'

³⁷ GEN 1v.

³⁸ GEN 1v: '...Hoc non est simpliciter legere, observare, ita opinari fuisse factum: nam hac ratione & Livij & Plutarchi leguntur historia: sed necessarius nobis ille assensus allatus spiritus sancti suasionem, qui nunquam frigidus est, verum non tantum cognitionem affert, sed quandam sensum...'

Here we can trace a significant hermeneutical difference between Vermigli and other Reformers. While Luther also maintained that Law and Gospel were found throughout the Bible, he tended to see some ineradicable differences between the Old Testament and the New.³⁹ Like Vermigli, Calvin was convinced that there was one covenant and one people of God in both testaments, and he thought that Luther's distinction did not do justice to the economy of divine self-manifestation. Yet there was a different development of this common theme by the two 'reformed' Reformers. Whereas Vermigli sought to grasp, not always successfully, the deeply hidden Gospel underneath the implacable Law, Calvin offered a gentler dialectic to resolve the apparent conflict between the two. He argued that the Old Testament differed from the New in its administration but not in substance. That being the case, he anchored the text more firmly in the particular context by viewing the relationship of Old and New Testament from the perspective of God's gracious accommodation of himself to the straightened epistemic capacities of the people of Israel.⁴⁰ For example, whereas Calvin appealed to God's accommodation to the uncultivated Israelites in order to reconcile the apparent conflict between the description of the world in Genesis and that found in the writings of the learned philosophers, Vermigli was less worried about contradictions between the biblical text and scientific theories. Like Augustine, he believed that Scripture had been given to the church in order to edify it and not as source of scientific information. When the text as letter failed to edify, the interpreter was authorized to look underneath or beyond the letter for the spiritual meaning. A perusal of Vermigli's interpretation of Gen. 1–3 will illustrate this point.

Summing up, how might we characterize Vermigli's exegesis of Genesis? There remains much unexplored territory among the pages of this voluminous commentary, but at least this should be stated: he completely abandoned the medieval exegetical method of interpreting the Scripture according to the four senses (*sensus literalis, allegoricus, tropologicus, anagogicus*). Although occasionally he indulged in some

³⁹ See Gerhard Ebeling, 'Das rechte Unterscheiden. Luthers Anleitung zu theologischer Urteilskraft', in idem, *Theologie in den Gegensätzen des Lebens* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995), 420–459, esp. 443–450.

⁴⁰ See David F. Wright, 'Calvin's Pentateuchal Criticism: Equity, Hardness of Heart, and Divine Accommodation in the Mosaic Harmony Commentary', in *Calvin Theological Journal* 21 (1986), 33–50.

allegorical interpretations,⁴¹ most of the time his exegesis was both literal and historical. In so far as it was literal, he used his amazing knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic to parse carefully the words of the Hebrew text, basing his explanation on sound philological work. His exegesis was historical not only in the sense that he attempted a scholarly reconstruction of the world in which the text was originally written, but also because it sought to bring together ancient text and modern hearers, so that the former might become relevant to the latter.

THE ACCOUNT OF CREATION

1. *Cosmogony*

In 1543, when Vermigli began working on his explanation of Genesis, Nicolaus Copernicus published his *De revolutionibus orbium cœlestium*. It took a while before the heliocentric hypothesis and modern anthropology would emerge as a disturbing presence in late sixteenth-century thought. Indeed it is unlikely that Vermigli ever heard of Copernicus, although both had studied at the University of Padua. What is plain, however, is that if he did know of Copernicus, he failed to mention him either in his lectures on Genesis or, to my knowledge, in the rest of his writings. The cosmological model by which Vermigli conceptualized his world, as did most educated men of the Renaissance and the Reformation, both Catholic and Protestant, remained that of Aristotle and Ptolemy, of Aquinas and his thirteenth-century contemporaries. Nevertheless, there are distinctions to be noted between the exegesis of the Florentine Reformer and that of medieval thinkers like Aquinas. Vermigli returned the language of the creation story to its biblical roots, and so his exposition differed in expression and emphasis from Aquinas's philosophical explanation.⁴²

Rather surprising if compared with Luther or Calvin, is the scant attention Vermigli gives in his treatment of the manner of creation

⁴¹ E.g. GEN 5v, 10r, 11r, 13v, 18v.

⁴² Thomas asserted that God is pure Being, and only by God is being conferred upon everything else that exists. As God is the Primary Cause of all that is and comes to be, so also is God the Final Cause, the end toward which all of creation tends. Aquinas also saw in the creation a fundamental likeness (*similitudo*) to the Creator. There is in the effects we see in the creature a presence that can lead one to identify its Cause: God's 'fingerprints' (to speak analogically) can be seen in the creation. See *Summa Theologica*, Ia q. 2, art. 3; q. 44, art. 3.

to the contribution of philosophy (including what we call the natural sciences). The comment on the first verse of Genesis begins with the lapidary sentence: *'Non oportet hic philosophari de natura principii, hoc dimittamus Aristoteli in Metaphysicis.'* The usage of the word 'Elohim' to designate God inspires Vermigli to make pertinent remarks. He refers to the 'pious' interpretation of those who regard the apparent plurality as allusion to the three persons of the Trinity, and to Jewish commentators, who explain the noun as an expression of majesty or greatness. Even though he praises them, he clearly places himself in the Christian camp.⁴³ It is particularly striking that he chooses not to explain the meaning of the Hebrew verb 'bara', to create, which was so important for Luther and Calvin in their argument in favour of *creatio ex nihilo*.⁴⁴ He takes note of the allegorical interpretations of the words 'in principio' provided by the *Targum Hierosolymitanum* and Origen, but has a definite preference for the simple meaning of the text: *simpliciter exposimus, principio, ante omnia, imprimis*, following in this his mentor Virgil. He accepts the Aristotelian notion of intelligences governing the celestial spheres, but like most Christian theologians he makes these intelligences angels.⁴⁵ However, it is beyond any doubt, that Vermigli asserted the biblical doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*, emphasizing not only the goodness and wisdom of God, but also the immensity of God's power.⁴⁶ Moreover, he sided unequivocally with Augustine, Luther and Calvin in highlighting God's continual presence in creation (*creatio continua*). He did not take the statement that 'God finished his creation the seventh day' (Gen. 2:3) to mean that God no longer creates. It would be more accurate to say, and Vermigli is explicit about this,

⁴³ GEN 2v: 'Lingua plurali, nostri pie dicunt ad Trinitatis mysterium insinuandum: Hebraei autumant hoc fieri honoris gratia [...] Sessit Aben ezra nomen hoc esse angelorum: ideo inductum: ut Deus significetur hic egisse per angelos [...] Cuius opinioni equidem non subscribo, quamvis inventum, ut ingeniosum laudo.'

⁴⁴ See Johannes Schwanke, *Creatio ex nihilo. Luthers Lehre von der Schöpfung aus dem Nichts in der Grossen Genesisvorlesung 1535–1545* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2004); Ulrich Asendorf, *Lectura in Biblia: Luther Genesisvorlesung (1535–1545)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); Richard Stauffer, 'L'exégèse de Genèse 1:1–3 chez Luther et Calvin', in *In principio: interprétations des premiers versets de la Genèse* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1973), 245–266, here 260. Jean Calvin, *Sermons sur la Genèse, Chapitres 1:1–11,4*, ed. by Max Engammare (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 7–8.

⁴⁵ GEN 2r.

⁴⁶ See GEN 13v.

that God is at every moment creating, for the creation would cease to exist altogether if God were to withdraw his sustaining power.⁴⁷

Does Martyr's relative silence about physical cosmogony⁴⁸ infer that he distinguished between the scientific and the theological sphere? Or was he simply less informed than Calvin, who in his commentary took pains to engage in a dispute with the Italian humanist Agostino Steuco, author of a book called *Cosmopoeia* (1535), in which he had developed a philosophical argument for the eternity of the world?⁴⁹ More importantly, what were Vermigli's hermeneutical criteria for his interpretation of the story of creation? He ought, in principle, to have refrained from the practice of using the Scripture as a source of scientific information, since he affirmed at the outset of the commentary that the function of the Bible was to furnish 'instructions about the Law, the Gospel and the promise of Christ.'⁵⁰ To be sure, for Vermigli the historicity of the biblical account is axiomatic, but simultaneously he asserts the hermeneutical principle that Moses' narrative about the 'fabric of the world' reveals the invisible God; in the works that God does in the created world his power, wisdom, and goodness appear to us.⁵¹ This means that we must distinguish between the world that we see and the God representing himself therein. In other words, he maintains the distinction between philosophy and theology, the autonomy of natural science and the truth of biblical science. Admittedly, this reflection is not developed in the commentary, but the intention is plain. Readers are invited to seek in the account what they would see by faith, were it not for the dullness of their vision, namely the image of the invisible

⁴⁷ GEN 8v. See also GEN, 116r: 'Ordo rerum declarat, quae condita sunt non temere aut casu facta esse; ergo Deus est agens ex proposito, eiusque providentiae ut generali et supremae cuidam arti omnia sunt subjecta...'

⁴⁸ Martyr is well aware of the various theories, however, even if he does not discuss them at length. See GEN 2v.

⁴⁹ See Stauffer, 'L'exégèse de Genèse,' 257. Anthony N.S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 212 proposes instead that Calvin employed not the *Cosmopoeia* but the *Recognitio veteris testamenti ad hebraicam veritatem* (Venice: Aldus and Socerus, 1529). Wolfgang Capito, EXEMERON DEI OPUS EXPLICATUM. Cum Indice locupletissimo (Argentorati: Per Wendelinum Rihelium, Mense Septembri, ANNO M.D.XXXIX), 17 quotes the work as well but he attributes it erroneously to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.

⁵⁰ See footnote 30.

⁵¹ GEN 1r: 'Dum verò hic nobis exponit Moses mundi fabricam, res ostendit, unde elicere possumus invisibilium Dei notitiam [...] Quae Dei invisibilia hic percipimus, innumera, sed omnia ad tria coguntur capita: Potentiam, Sapientiam, Bonitatem.'

Creator and all the articles of faith.⁵² The crucial importance Vermigli placed on such an approach is also evident from the three impressive theological assertions with which he sums up the content of Genesis 1–2: the creation accounts teach, first, the comforting faith that the world is not created by fate or any other power but by the Word of God; secondly, the hope that God upholds and cares for those whom he made in His image; and thirdly, that if God shows such care for the world and all that is in it, humans should do the same.⁵³

On the other hand, this hermeneutical principle did not imply a swing in the direction of obscurantist positions. On the contrary, as we have seen, one of the features of Martyr's exegetical method lies precisely in his prodigious erudition that was able to integrate several diverse intellectual traditions into a single exegetical perspective. For instance, commenting on the important passage of Gen. 1, 6–8, which allowed a comparison of biblical cosmology with the model of the cosmos developed by Greek philosophers, he was more approving of Rashi's interpretation; nonetheless he did not permit his disagreement to detract from his respect for Homer or Aristotle. Then in any case, the main point was not the world view itself, but to discern God's powers that shine forth in the creation.⁵⁴ At other times, Martyr will endorse the interpretation of the *philosophia naturalis* without qualification,⁵⁵ or he can refer to astronomy (*nautica astrologia*) as God's useful gift (*donum Dei*), in marked contrast to astrology which Martyr openly disdains.⁵⁶

⁵² GEN 1v–2r: 'Tanti est momenti ut fide hanc mundi fabricam complectamur, ut hinc fidei Symbolam habeat sua exordia: hoc siquidem ablato, nec primum extabit peccatum, promissiones de Christo corruent; omnis religionis vis pessundatur, cumque omnes fidei articuli quaedam sint nostrae pietatis theses sive principia, inter omnia hic ordine censetur primus.'

⁵³ GEN 8v: 'In hac itaque rerum creatione docemur fidem, cum omnia credimus condita *Fides*. non casu vel quavis alia potentia, sed verbo Dei, & hominem creatum ad Dei imaginem cui omnia sint subiecta ad Christum referimus, ut habetur in epistola ad Hebraeos cap. 2. Erudimur & de spe, nam cum Deum audimus ita rebus omnibus prospexisse, & nobis non defuturum confidimus: quique nos voluerit esse suas imagines, nos tandem audacter sperantes non contemnet, cum nullus sibi similia, suas statuas aut imagines perditas velit. Doctrina quoque dilectionis hic habetur: Si Deus res omnes voluit esse utiles, illasque alicui usui destinavit: similiter nos ita debemus exhibere fratribus.'

⁵⁴ GEN 4r. In contrast to the Semitic cosmology with waters above the heavens and a flat, circular earth, the Greeks depicted a cosmos consisting of a spherical earth fixed at its centre and surrounded by a number of transparent spheres of planets and fixed stars, all moving in a circular motion.

⁵⁵ GEN 6r.

⁵⁶ GEN 5v.

The distinction between the various disciplines and their autonomy within their own proper limits also applies to biblical affirmations about the planets which seem to be doubtful. For example, Martyr notes that the expression 'great lights' (*magna luminaria*) of Gen. 1:16 does not refer to the actual size of the moon; it simply looks bigger than other planets because it is closer.⁵⁷

2. Anthropology: the *imago Dei*

His treatment of the *imago Dei* in Genesis 1:27 follows basically the same pattern of the story of creation, namely, he avoids delving into philosophical anthropology,⁵⁸ although it accounts for a reasonable correlation of the philosophical and theological understanding of human nature.⁵⁹ According to Vermigli, God first participates in human existence through the creation and government of the world as a house prepared for human beings. He finds great spiritual comfort in the conviction that human beings are God's creatures. This, he says, is the true definition of the first human: God's creature created by his Creator in His own image (*Habes itaque hic hominis veram notitiam: homo est creatura Dei ad suo conditoris imaginem condita*). In Vermigli's view, humans have received much more of God's favour than the rest of creation. God gave dignity to the human race by adorning them with the gift of the *imago Dei*. This was determined by God in his inner-trinitarian counsel.⁶⁰ The process of the creation of the human race is reinforced in the exposition of Gen. 2:7, namely, that God created human beings from the earth, that he breathed into this human-shaped clay, and then imprinted the *imago Dei* upon its soul.⁶¹ Vermigli gives several explanations of why humans are the image of God, but the main emphasis is that they resemble God's power and that they rule over the creation as God's vicars or stewards.⁶²

⁵⁷ GEN 5v.

⁵⁸ Neither the Aristotelian nor the Neoplatonic view of man, as had been renewed and developed by Lorenzo Valla, Marsilio Ficino, and Pico della Mirandola, are discussed in the Genesis commentary.

⁵⁹ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 110.

⁶⁰ GEN 6v.

⁶¹ GEN 9v–10r.

⁶² GEN 7r: '...Quam simus imago Dei patet ex nostra felicitate, quam habemus eandem cum Deo nostro, inquam, amando & cognoscendo. Merito quia talis est creatus, illi traditur imperium rerum, ut sit Dei vicarius.'

Martyr sees no urgent exegetical reasons to distinguish *imago* from *similitudo*, and he correctly points out that *similitudo* in the Genesis text is simply an addition '*ad maiorem expressionem*'.⁶³ Nor does he follow Augustine's speculations about the psychological, trinitarian constitution of human beings (*memoria, intellectus, voluntas*). He prefers a simpler account of the soul and affirms the tradition that sees the soul being given certain pre-eminent intellectual and moral endowments such as righteousness, wisdom, mercy, temperance, and love. Christ is the perfect image of God according to his divine nature.⁶⁴ However, the fall and the consequent post-lapsarian state has changed the psychophysical condition of human beings. Although Martyr grants that God's image was not totally annihilated and destroyed, yet it was so corrupted that whatever remains—including the understanding (*ratio*)—is in a weakened and damaged state.

A theme not to be omitted in this context is what Peter Martyr has to say about women and the relationship between women and men.⁶⁵ Like his fellow Reformers he attempted to modify the view central to traditional Christian theology that woman was created as man's inferior, but his theories were affected by the very bias he was trying to deny.⁶⁶ Despite the emphasis on common origin, Vermigli did not perceive woman as man's equal. The fact that Eve was created out of Adam's rib serves to reinforce the sacred character of marriage. Martyr, however, does not stress the institution of marriage. He concentrates instead on the social interaction of male and female. Using the notion of woman as 'helper' (*auxilium, adiutorium*) who is fit for man, he argues both for the perfection of woman and for her subordinate role. The basic tenet of the interpretation is the claim that, owing to common origin, men should not exercise 'robust, but political and gentle power' over women. Interestingly, the former Augustinian canon, who had just married Catherine Dammartin upon the insistence of Martin Bucer, waxes

⁶³ GEN 7v.

⁶⁴ GEN 7r; Theses, LC 1001.

⁶⁵ On Vermigli's view of women and men in Creation and the Fall see John L. Thompson, 'Patriarchy and Prophetesses: Tradition and Innovation in Vermigli's Doctrine of Woman,' in Frank James III (ed.), *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations*, 139–158, here 140–146.

⁶⁶ See Kari Elisabeth Børresen, *Subordination and equivalence: the nature and role of woman in Augustine and Thomas Aquinas* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981); Tarsicius J. van Bavel, 'Augustine's View on Women', in *Augustiniana* 39 (1989): 5–53; Joseph Francis Hartel, *Femina ut imago Dei in the Integral Feminism of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1993).

quite lyrical and sentimental about the living together of husband and wife: 'husbands should be neither violent nor too soft and effeminate with their wives.'⁶⁷

3. *The hamartiology and soteriology*

The account of the fall in the third chapter of Genesis provides Vermigli with the opportunity to write at considerable length on sin, especially on original sin and its consequences for human beings. From the outset, it becomes clear that his concern is to reject the idea that the sin described in this story is some particular act that can be isolated and identified. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil was set before man as the test of his obedience and of his submission to the will of God. Hence, disobedience, as Martyr maintains following Augustine, was at the heart of primal sin. The root of the defection from obedience was *infidelitas*, a failure to give credit to God's word.⁶⁸

The late scholastics—Anselm, Scotus and Ockham—had variously described original sin as a 'loss of original righteousness,' as a 'void' to be filled, or alternatively as a positive blot (*macula*), a 'vice in the soul' (*vitium*). For Luther, primal sin consisted basically in lack of trust in God, in relying on human reasoning instead of God's word.⁶⁹ Calvin defined the original sin as a 'hereditary crookedness (*pravitas*) and corruption of our nature, which is spread into all parts of the soul.'⁷⁰

⁶⁷ GEN 12r: 'Ex costa est mulier ficta, ut inde videas humani adiutorii fortitudinem si aliis auxiliis conferatur: sed si virum spectemus unde sumpta est, illo eò est minor quò pars toti debet cedere. Os aufertur ab Adamo in creatione uxoris & caro repletur, eo quod robustum imperium in eam non sit exercendum, sed politicum & mite: nec viri debent erga uxores esse asperi, non ita tamen ut prorsus molles & effœminati fiant, siquidem è multis costis una duntaxat est evulsa.'

⁶⁸ GEN 14r: 'Si hoc peccatum excutimus, ibi superbiam videmus, nam mulier dum persuasionem diaboli audiret, & fortè antea cœpit cogitare cùm tam nobili esset natura praedita, sibi multo plura deberi quàm à Deo data sint: & mentem cœpit cupiditas titillare maioris excellentiae, quae cupiditas deceptioni viam aperuit, subsequuta est infidelitas, ut minus fidei haberet divinis verbis quàm par erat: atque ita inobedientia est sequuta.'

⁶⁹ Luther, *Comm. Gen.* 2:17, WA 42, 86,17–23: 'Sophistae cum de peccato originis loquuntur, tantum de misera et foeda libidine seu concupiscentia loquuntur. Sed peccatum originale est vere totus lapsus naturae humanae, quod est intellectus obscuratus, ut non agnoscamus [amplius Deum et voluntatem eius, ut non animadvertamus opera Dei; Deinde quod etiam voluntas mire est depravata, ut non fidamus misericordiae Dei, ut non metuamus Deum, sed securi, omisso verbo et voluntate Dei, sequimur concupiscentiam et impetus carnis...'

⁷⁰ Calvin, *Inst.* II.1.8, OS III, 236,34–36: 'Videtur ergo peccatum originale haereditaria naturae nostrae pravitas et corruptio in omnes animae partes diffusa.'

Vermigli in his *locus* 'de peccato originale' emphasizes total depravity (*depravatio*), which affects all of Adam's powers, those of the soul as well as those of the body.⁷¹ He realizes that his interpretation of sin is open to several objections, so he attempts to anticipate them. Hence he argues (following Augustine) that the doctrine of depravity does not mean that after the fall man's natural gifts—reason, desire for truth, social instincts—were spoiled, but remained albeit in a debased form; only his supernatural gift, that is, any powers relating to understanding or obedience of God, were utterly destroyed. To the objection that everything God created was good, Peter Martyr responds that human nature was good as originally created, but has been corrupted by Adam's fall. He scorns those who philosophize that if human beings only develop virtue to moderate their passions, everything would change for the better and they would be perfect. To Vermigli these critics grasp neither the grandeur of man's first creation, nor the misery of his present situation, nor the glorious destiny of human beings.

Martyr devotes some attention to the classic problem of how original sin is transmitted. He repudiated Augustine's view (the issue is debated among scholars) that sexuality is a privileged medium for transference of original sin, and asserts that sexual pleasure is not sinful *per se*.⁷² Whereas Luther favoured traducianism, the theory that somehow the child receives his soul as well as his body from his parents and that original sin is passed along as part of the soul,⁷³ Martyr did not see any Scriptural arguments that can be raised in favour of traducianism. He still tended, like Calvin, to favour the hypothesis of the direct creation of each soul by God, which teaches that the soul is created sinless but becomes contaminated by original sin as soon as joined to a body which descends from Adam.⁷⁴

⁷¹ See for the following the *locus* 'De peccato originis', GEN 36r–39r. The opening sentence of the *locus* sounds: 'Iam de peccato originis ut in summa agamus, res ipsa flagitat. Quinque propositiones excussas oportet in huius rei tractatione. Prima sit, omnes homines quotquot ex Adam nascuntur, hoc vitio teneri obnoxios. Secunda, illud non modo reatum, sed vitium culpam & peccatum dicere. Tertia, hoc peccatum esse totius hominis naturae depravationem. Quarta, non remittitur, nisi fide in Christum. Quinta, plurima esse eius mala atque damnosa effecta.' Total human corruption seems especially clear to Martyr in the realm of political ethics, see Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 136–137.

⁷² See Vermigli's exposition of Gen. 29:15–30, GEN 120v–121r.

⁷³ Luther, *Disp.* 3 Juli 1545, WA 39, II, 350B.

⁷⁴ GEN 144r–v; Calvin, *Comm. Gen.* 3, 6, CO 23, 62.

One last theme to be considered in the apparently tragic turn of events in Genesis 3 is the grace and mercy of God. The Reformer finds divine benevolence in several features of the account. For example, despite the warning that had accompanied the prohibition, Eve does not immediately experience death after succumbing to temptation. God condemns the serpent out of hand, but is more patient in questioning Adam and Eve.⁷⁵ Eve is not repudiated by God, separated from Adam, or deprived of motherhood. Above all, there are the words of Gen. 3:14–15. The exposition of this text is full of delightful details, among which is how God could talk to the serpent that was an irrational animal. In his view, Satan is the one being addressed in v. 14. More importantly, he is well aware of the *Vulgata* translation of Gen. 3:15—*ipsa conteret caput tuum*. There can be no question that the Hebrew text has the masculine pronoun *hu*. Whereas Luther and Calvin were concerned about this traditional mistranslation,⁷⁶ because it had been falsely explained as referring to the Virgin Mary, Vermigli avoids controversy, and focuses on the philological question. He nevertheless affirms serenely ‘*Hic nobis promittitur Euangelium, i.e. de diabolo victoria per Christum*.’⁷⁷ This comforting word applies, not only to Christ, but is also the promise that all believers receive.⁷⁸

The important consequence that Vermigli, together with all Protestant Reformers, draws from God’s benevolence for humans is that salvation depends only on God’s justification. However, besides the imputed justice that the Christian has through faith in Christ independent of works, there is, according to Vermigli, regeneration to life, which allows

⁷⁵ GEN 3:8–15, 15v–16r.

⁷⁶ Luther, *Comm. Gen.* 3:15, WA 42, 143; Calvin, *Comm. Gen.* 3:15, CO 23, 70

⁷⁷ GEN 16r: ‘Advertendum Hebraicè haberi Ipsum, ita ut semen mulieris, id est, Christus demonstretur, qui verè diaboli vires contrivit: non Ipsa genere femineo est dicendum ut habet vulgata aeditio. Maneat suo loco gloriosae virginis honos, at illi non tribuatur Christi triumphus de diabolo. Sed facilis fuit lapsus, nam si dicas חַיִּי femineo genere significat ipsam, at cum scribis הוּא est ipsum: elementa verò י & ך magnam habent affinitatem. Hic nobis promittitur Evangelium, id est, de diabolo victoria per Christum.’

⁷⁸ GEN 16r: ‘Illamque vim diabolum atterendi Christus non soli sibi retinuit, sed sanctis suis illam quoque communicavit, Luc. 10. Dedit illis potestatem calcandi super serpentes & scorpiones, additque, & super omnem inimici virtutem. Ad Romanos, Conteret citò Satanam sub pèdibus vestris. Nunc istam habemus vim inchoatam nec plenam victoriam, illam Christi beneficio postremis temporibus habituri, cùm ad nos secundò venerit: tunc illius omnia subiecta erunt pedibus.’

the recovery of the original endowments of the pardoned creature.⁷⁹ Martyr uses typically the word *regeneratio*, but also frequently *nova generatio*,⁸⁰ or *vivificatio*.⁸¹ They are synonymous and stand for this work of restoration of the *imago Dei*. His teaching on regeneration, which is close to Calvin's doctrine on sanctification, can be summed up in the splendid sentence: *vivere ex imagine*.⁸² Martyr admits that in this life humans are never wholly regenerate. The whole creature is corrupted, the whole creature is reborn, but not completely reborn; the carnal dynamic, the propensity toward sin and thus to run away from God, is never totally eradicated in this life. Consequently the old creature and the new creature live on together within the regenerate soul. Hence *vivere ex imagine* is a difficult but not a utopian ideal. It is indeed the realistic fulfilment of God's providence towards humans as they freely respond to the ethical mandate imposed upon them by the Word of God. But this broad subject deserves a fuller investigation and lies outside the scope of the present study.

CONCLUSION

Two main points become very clear as we approach Vermigli's hermeneutics within the context of his *Genesis* commentary. First, in spite of the scholastic legacy and all the humanist terminology which characterize him as a child of this time, Vermigli restored the language of the creation story to its biblical roots. Reformation scholars tend to underestimate or to ignore Vermigli's Hebraic and rabbinical proficiency,

⁷⁹ GEN 59r: '...iustitia nobis collata a Deo, tres habet partes. Primam, remissionem peccatorum, regenerationem sive adoptionem filiorum, & cooptionem ad vitam aeternam. Secundam, benefacere, rectè vivere, ex quibus frequentibus sanctis actionibus acquiruntur varii nobilissimi habitus, & demum iustitia quaedam nobis inhaerens quae Deo placet. Tertiam, Mercedem, remunerationes cum in praesenti vitam in futura, quae ideo iustitia nostra dicuntur quòd sint illius indicia, commendatio & comprobatio, cùm dicuntur nobis dari propter benefacta.' See also GEN 30v, 61v. See Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli*, 203–216; Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 157–161.

⁸⁰ GEN 12r.

⁸¹ GEN 10v, 17v, 68v.

⁸² GEN 7v: 'Est ne hoc vivere ex imagine? Habemus & ex hoc quam congrua sit nostra per Christum liberatio: nam cum nostra perfectio sita sit ut imaginem Dei retineamus, quae vitio primorum parentum fuit obfusa, valde fuit congruum ut per Christum, i[d est] illius spiritum, qui vere est imago Dei, rursus illa in hominibus imprimeretur. Et possumus Ecclesiae dignitatem hinc agnoscere, quales habeat & requirat cives nempe qui Deo sint conformes.'

mostly because they are not familiar with Martyr's work. Although in this paper I have confined myself almost entirely to passages taken from the first three chapters of the Genesis commentary, I believe that there is sufficient material to prove that Vermigli was not only an outstanding theologian, but that his ability in Hebrew and rabbinical studies renders him one of the greatest Hebraists of the sixteenth century.⁸³ This fact, in addition to his stupendous knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquity, of the Patristic sources, and not least, the beauty of his language, offer further reason for the study of his commentary.

Secondly, it is clear that no one today could expound the first three chapters of Genesis just the way that Vermigli did—or at least no one should. There can be no question of attempting to make his interpretation normative, and this not only because some of his statements are in conflict with modern scholarship or sensibility, but for the simple reason that the principle of *sola scriptura* applies to the Florentine Reformer too. Nevertheless, if we come close to them, we can learn more than just general theological insights of the utmost importance. Indeed, we are taught that the highest goal of the interpreter of Scripture is to bring together modern readers and ancient texts in such a way that through them the only voice which is impossible to silence may speak.

⁸³ See footnote 13.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

COMMENTARY ON JUDGES: PATRISTIC AND MEDIEVAL SOURCES

Gary Jenkins

Peter Martyr Vermigli's seemingly ambiguous approach to and use of allegorical interpretation in his commentaries, specifically in his *In Librum Iudicum*,¹ a use far from extensive and grudgingly rare at best, nonetheless sounded both dissonant and ironic notes in the history of hermeneutics, as it provided a platform for Martyr's mature Reformed theology, but as well shows his dependence, perhaps unwittingly, on currents of thought that divorced his treatment of texts from the past's use of allegory. These currents led him away from much of what animated the patristic writers he so much wished to claim as his own, and bound him instead to the scholastics he so often derided. Martyr gives us no pure hermeneutical model to follow when treating meanings and interpretations beyond the literal, grammatical sense of a text, and indeed, it is not as though he were following in the footsteps of a developed rule, per se, though models were followed. What direction Martyr does take is garnered from his mature Reformed theology, and as well an understanding and apprehension of texts and their referents at odds with that of the ancients, whether pagan or Christian.

Beyond the subject as left to us by Martyr, this essay builds on the insights of two scholars. The first is the late F. Edward Cranz, and his 'year AD 1100 thesis', that beginning with St. Anselm, and carried on more fulsomely by Abelard, the epistemology of the West took a turn toward a notion of epistemic meanings arising from the intellect as opposed to the ancients' notion of the unity of the intellect with the intellected, wherein the mind directly apprehended the forms or

¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In librum Iudicum commentarii doctissimi* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1561). English translation published under the title *Most fruitful [and] learned co[m]mentaries... etc.* (London: John Day, 1564) [with running title] *A commentarie upon the book of Judges*.

universals, since they were at once one with the intellect.² The second scholar is Joseph McLelland, whose important study, *The Visible Words of God*, was published fifty years ago. The title of McLelland's text says much, as we shall see. Professor McLelland's own thoughts on Martyr's use of allegory demonstrates the close link between the Reformer's hermeneutics and his sacramental theology. '[Martyr's] "typology" is really his sacramental analogy in action. Thus his terms are significant: not only *type*, but *shadow*, *image*, *form*, *sign* and *sacrament*. In all cases, Christ is the signification, the mystery of revelation. He joins himself to these signs, uniquely to the humanity he took at the Incarnation, but analogical to that union, he "fills" these derivative and lesser signs by the power of his Spirit. Signs "stir up" and "confirm" faith; they are instruments by which men are led to believe, by which faith is "illuminated and inflamed".'³ Professor McLelland cites Martyr's commentary on Samuel: 'Signa enim instrumenta sunt, quibus homines ad credendum facilius inducuntur.'⁴ This essay will revisit the insights of both scholars—between which there may lie some tension—as they touch upon the question of allegory in Martyr. A treatment of allegory in Martyr's *In Librum Iudicum*, however, is first required.

Martyr sets out his approach to allegory both in this text, and as well in his commentary on Samuel. There are two things to be noted. First, Martyr sees all Scripture revolving around a unity of the covenants, a unity that exists because of, and is centered on, the person and work of Christ:

This is chiefly to be attended to, that the Son of God, Jesus Christ, is not removed from this sacred history. Indeed, as he is the goal of the law, and the sum of the divine scriptures, and as this book [Judges] pertains to the law, and is part of the divine Scriptures, it presents and most clearly proclaims Christ himself to the reader. Certainly the acts of the saints

² F. Edward Cranz, *Reorientations in Western Thought from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, ed. Nancy Struever, Part II: The Fundamental Reorientation of Western Thought, c. 1100 AD (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Cranz is best remembered for his work on both Luther and Nicholas of Cusa. But beyond his research on these two, Cranz would often write papers largely for his circle of friends, and probably often simply for the working out of his own ideas, and would then file them, never either publishing nor presenting them in forums. The Struever edition, along with some previously published articles, includes a number of previously unpublished essays.

³ Joseph McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: A study in the Theology of Peter Martyr, 1500–1562* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 93–94. The Latin of the terms McLelland cites is *typus*, *umbra*, *imago*, *forma*, *signum*, and *sacramentum*.

⁴ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 94 fn. 17.

are applied to their Leader, who through faith (as is written in Hebrews) conquered kingdoms, worked righteousness, and obtained the promise. Which faith, however, true and solid, lays hold of Christ himself, whom it envisions [respicit] especially and singularly; for through him are rendered efficacious the promises of God... Lastly, when we hear that the Hebrews, who are members of the very same Christ, at various times were oppressed and killed by their enemies, let us acknowledge in these the death and torments of our Head. In their victories and triumphs, moreover, let us contemplate His very resurrection, reign and glory.⁵

He further elaborates this in the preface to the commentary:

Since Christ is called the goal and perfection of all holy Scripture, there remains for us to assert how these acts of the judges also may and ought to be referred to Him, and how they prophesy about Him to us... [and] so these private deliverances of the Jews that happened under the judges, since they are contained within the principle of redemption, which is given unto mankind by Christ, these necessarily relate the same redemption to us, as they were certain assured parts and figurative shadows, and because they had the very same author, namely Christ.⁶

This interpretative structure whereby figures and shadows found themselves fulfilled within the Protestant interpretation of the work of Christ limited both how and the extent to which Martyr used allegory, finding its limit most notably in Christ's redemptive work as the head of the Church in both the Old and the New Testaments. Martyr expands on this in a passage, which though long, is worth citing in full:

⁵ *IUD Epistola*, 3–4. Est praeterea cum primis id attendendum, Filium dei Iesum Christum ab hac sacra Historia non esse remotum. Cum enim sit finis legis, & summa divinae scripturae, quam hic liber ad legem pertinet, & pars est divinae scripturae, tam Christum ipsum lectoribus ostendit, ac evidentissime praedicat. Et enim sanctorum Ducum gesta referuntur, qui per fidem (ut scribitur ad Hebraeos) regna vicerunt, operati sunt iustitiam, & adepti sunt promissionem. Fides autem quae genuina & solida est, Christum ipsum complectitur, in quem singulariter, & propemodum unice respicit: nam per illum dei promissiones efficaces redduntur. (...) Postrem cum Hebraeos, qui membra ipsius Christi erant, audimus interdum ab inimicis pressos, & caesos, mortem & tormenta capitis nostri in eis agnoscimus. In eorum autem victoriis ac triumphis eiusdem resurrectionem, regnum, & gloriam contemplemur.

⁶ *IUD* fol. 2r. Restat ut hoc quoque declaremus, cum Christus finis dicatur et summa omnium sacrorum librorum, quomodo haec Iudicum gesta possint et debeant ad illum referri, nobisque illum ut caeteri libri sacri praedicent... ita privatae istae liberatione populi quae sub iudicibus contigerunt, cum sine in ea summa redemptione comprehensae, quae humano generi est per Christum data; nobis ut eam referant necesse est, cum eius certae quaedam partes et umbrae typicae fuerint ac eundem authorem, nempe Christum ipsam habuerint.

This certainly, which we hear to be answered to the Israelites [NB that the tribe of Judah should lead them into battle now that Joshua was dead], we must also think an answer to us, that if we wish a sure victory against the enemies of human salvation, we should hold him the captain of our fight, who is named the lion from the tribe of Judah by the sacred prediction of Jacob. If under His auspices and by His name we wrestle with the devil, the flesh, the world, death, and hell, the victory shall not in any way be doubtful, but most certain. But I would not have the reader to think, because I have put this allegory in, that therefore I will use many allegories in this history, for I will use them rarely and very seldom, though not that I would have their charm and eloquence disdained. (Certainly the ancient fathers often, nor should I say rarely, delighted themselves with them. Certainly even in these divine books we see them now and again employed. And indeed Christ compared himself allegorically in the Gospels to Solomon and Jonah; and also to the serpent, which Moses suspended by the command of God in the desert. I will not disregard Paul, who made Isaac and Ishmael, the sons of Abraham, two peoples; Sarah and Hagar he declared the two testaments of promise, applying mount Sinai to the Hebrews, and the city of Jerusalem to the Christian Church.) But as Allegories are not altogether to be despised, so rashly should they not be indulged. For although it is licet for everyone to construe whatever in this type of interpretation, so long as he does not stray from the rules of Faith and from the Holy Scriptures, nonetheless these interpretations do not give us any strong or certain arguments for the establishing of the doctrine of faith. So there is little profit for the exertion. Nevertheless I allow those which are in the holy Scripture, for I consider them the words of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, they have great authority as proofs and assertions. But other allegories, wherein men's imaginations are at work... because they are their inventions, their conclusions and arguments are weak... But my allegory, viz. that God's appointing of the tribe of Judah to be the leader in war belongs both to us and to the Hebrews, is certain, and hardly an allegory. For whatever they were who defended the people of God in the past, Christ was their head and leader; thus whatever they did defending His members, they did it as His ministers and vicars.⁷

Martyr then adds that,

Those things read in the Holy Scriptures concerning Solomon and David and that seem to be spoken about them in regard to history, are not allegorically applied to Christ by the Apostle in the New Testament, seeing the works presented were spoken by the divine Spirit concerning Him.⁸

⁷ *IUD* fol. 6r. For concerns with regard to length, I have omitted the Latin.

⁸ *IUD* fol. 6r–6v. Ad hunc sane modum, quae in sacris literis commemorari leguntur, tum de Salomone, tum de Davide & de illis quoad historiam dici videntur, ab

Consequently Martyr's use of Allegory, as noted by McLelland, is more typological than allegorical,⁹ and focused on the human aspect of the covenant: namely the incarnate Christ as the leader of the covenant who operates through the vicars of his covenant, here, the judges, or as Martyr would at times call them, the God-appointed magistrates. Yet it is more than this, for Christ stands as the primary referent of the texts, and not Joshua or David, just as he is the primary referent of the Eucharist, and not the bread and wine. The literal histories are histories of Christ working through his vicars, and not allegories.

Secondly, Martyr had linked the actions of the history as examples both for and of faith. Thus when he animadverts on why the Israelites were victorious in the mountains but not on the planes, and whether the chariots of the Canaanites were hindrances to the divine power, Martyr attributes all failures to the Israelites' lack of faith and prayer, and calls upon another 'history' to illustrate his point:

It is evident that in that war which the Hebrews waged in the desert against the Amalekites, the enemy obviously conquered where Moses diminished his zeal in praying; and the people of God in turn revived the victory, when Moses was more vehement and energetic in faith and prayer. And thus sin is not only a cause of death, but also brings all sickness, weakness and calamity. Faith, on the other hand, is the cause of all

Apostolis non sunt Allegorice in Novo Testamento ad Christum accommodata, cum a divino spiritu de illo data opera enunciata fuerint.

⁹ The standard work on this is Henri de Lubac's *Medieval Exegesis*, trans. Mark Sebanc, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998; copyright, *Éditions Montaigne*, 1959). In their work on the patristic interpretations of Scripture, John O'Keefe and Rusty Reno try to define the difference between typology and allegory as typology being far more transparent with the referents having some readily apprehended link or analogy, whereas allegory demanded far more intense thought and a far greater investment in creating links. To put it another way, typology was easily explainable, allegory was only for the initiates. O'Keefe and Reno, *Sanctified Vision: An introduction to early Christian interpretation of the Bible* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 69ff. In her *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), Frances M. Young notes that 'Typology' is a modern construct, and that the ancients made no distinction between typology and allegory. Nonetheless, the distinction becomes pronounced in the Reformation period, and Young notes that 'What the patristic texts describe as a "type" is a mimetic "impress" or figure in the narrative or action described: Moses' uplifted arms at the battle against Amalek represent the cross.' 153. Later in the text Young cites Johann Gerhard: 'typos est, cum factum aliquod Vet. Test. ostenditur, praesignificasse seu adumbrasse aliquid gestum vel gerendum in Nov. Test. Allegoria est, cum aliquid ex Vet. vel Nov. Test. exponitur sensu novo atque accommodatur ad spiritalem collationem. Allegoria accipitur non tam in factis, quam in istis concionibus, e quibus doctrinam utilem et reconditam depromit.' *Biblical Exegesis*, 193, n. 20.

strength, tenacity, and victory. On account of this it is most sweetly written in the 11th chapter of Hebrews that the saints through faith conquered kingdoms. This may and should be transferred to the spiritual victory; whence John faithfully admonishes us, writing, 'This is the victory which conquers the world, our faith.'¹⁰

In this regard, Martyr's comments on Samson are instructive, for in that he was God's magistrate, and thus God's vicar, he could take vengeance on his enemies in the name of God, both for the wounds the Philistines had inflicted on him, and on God. Moreover Martyr asserts that Samson was a type of Christ, in that he made his death with the wicked, for while in his life he harmed the Philistines, by his death he crushed them. This directly parallels, says Martyr, Christ's confrontation with the Devil.¹¹

Generally Martyr took pains to distance himself from allegory as it had been employed in the patristic and medieval period, and at places draws attention to its lack of validity. In commenting on Samson's tying two foxes together to burn the grain fields of the Philistines, he critically notes Origen's interpretation of the passage: 'Origen in his fourth homily on the *Cantica Cantorum*, just as he is everywhere else allegorical, so here he refers this incident totally to allegory, yet he confesses ingeniously that it is difficult to accommodate allegory to this history. And as I often have in whatever other places, so as well in this place, I am omitting allegories.'¹² In a similar matter he dismisses an allegorical interpretation of the length of Nazarite hair, that it was commensurate with a growth in virtue. Instead, writes Martyr, 'It seems to me, certainly, that another cause should be assigned, that doubtless men should abstain from a too excessive primping and beautifying of the body. For the cutting of the hair makes for the vanity of appearances.'¹³ Martyr's most unambiguous rejection of allegory comes in his commonplace on whether a son shall bear the sin of his father (ff. 129a–131b). He sights St. Jerome's allegorical interpretation of 'third and fourth generation,'

¹⁰ *IUD* fol. 23v.

¹¹ *IUD* fol. 169r–169v.

¹² *IUD* fol. 160v. Origenes in *Cantica Cantic*. Homil. 4. ut est ubique allegoricus, hanc totam rem ad allegoriam refert, etsi ingenue fatetur, esse difficile, ad hanc Historiam allegoriam accommodare. Ego vero, quemadmodum et saepe alias, ita et hoc loco allegorias missas faciam.

¹³ *IUD* fol. 145r. Mihi vero alia etiam causa videtur posse reddi, nempe ut homines a nimio cultu et ornatu corporis abstinerent; Nam tonsura nonnihil facit ad cultus nitorem.

in which Jerome postulates that these generations are actually the stages of sin within the individual soul. Martyr retorts, 'I will not allow this interpretation because first it is allegorical, yet God speaks in the law especially simply and openly; next because the words of God if they are called back to allegory, they will be rendered utterly uncertain; and finally, because this [interpretation] is certainly not true.'¹⁴

It should be again emphasized that Martyr does not wish to disregard typology, and on the odd occasion will use it, as when he takes Augustine's interpretation of the prodigal son, whose persona Augustine had applied to the gentiles, whereas the elder son adumbrated or foreshadowed (*adumbratur*) the Hebrews, who now wished to stay outside of the Father's house (i.e., the Church), even while the gentiles were now reconciled to the Father. Martyr then refers to St. Augustine's reading of Psalm 58, 'Do not ruin them, lest they forget Thy law, but in thy strength disperse them.'¹⁵ Martyr likens the Jews to Cain, who was forced to wander the earth, preserved by God, but cursed for his fratricide. The tacit typological link between Cain and Israel need hardly be stressed. Martyr gives explicit treatment of other types: e.g., Othniel: 'Concerning Othniel we have previously spoken of him enough. Now he was called savior, since he brought the Israelites health, along with the other judges, who are also called saviors, foreshadowing Christ.'¹⁶

Whatever use Martyr made of typology, it was always measured and tempered. When Deborah praises Jael, the Kenite woman who drove the stake through the head of Sisera, with the words 'Benedicatur prae mulieribus',¹⁷ he notes that these words are the same as the angel addressed to the Blessed Virgin Mary, but then proceeds to say that all they denote is Jael's faith, and not that she had wrought salvation in Israel, and not that she was a savior redolent of the judges. As a result, there is no application to Jael as savior, and thus no need to extend the text's meaning by an analogy to the Virgin.¹⁸ Martyr's meager and

¹⁴ *IUD* fol. 129v. Haec interpretatio mihi non probatur: primum, quia est Allegorica, cum deus praesertim in lege simpliciter ac aperte loquatur; dein, quia sermones dei si revocatur ad Allegorias, prorsus reddentur incerti; postremo, quia ne verum quidem.

¹⁵ *IUD* fol. 41r. Ne occidas eos, ne obliviscantur legis tuae, sed in virtute tua disperse illos.

¹⁶ *IUD* fol. 55v. De Othoniele superim dictum est satis. Nunc servator appellatur, quoniam sautem Israelites attulit, et una cum caeteris Iudicibus, qui servatores item vocantur, Christum adumbravit.

¹⁷ *IUD* fol. 78v-79r.

¹⁸ *IUD* fol. 69r. Et si nomine eius Etymologia spectare velimus, rationes eius dulcissimas fuisse credemus. Deborah quippe apud Hebraeos est apis quam animantem scimus

guarded use of allegory is seen in but two other places in the text. The first is a brief aside about the process Gideon used to thin the ranks of his army, in order that Israel might know that the victory was not due to strength of arms but to God. After sending the fearful home, Gideon led the remaining 10,000 to water, and those who got down on their knees and drank as did dogs were summarily dismissed (some 9,700 of them). The remainder had drawn water with their hands. The allegory pertains to the water, that it represented alternately the pleasures and sorrows of the world, and that the faithful should neither go greedily after the former, nor like the gentiles who have no hope, succumb to the latter.¹⁹ Martyr's allusion to the episode as allegory appears without citation of a source, and oddly, though he knew of it, he never cited St. Ambrose's allegorical interpretation of Gideon as a type of Christ, with the specifics of his life as part of the extended metaphor. He does note that Gideon's fleece represented the children of Israel, bedewed with God's grace in the Old Testament, but now in the new economy, they are bereft of the dew, as it is now poured out on the gentiles.²⁰

The other place Martyr explicitly refers to allegory in the *In Iudicum* is at the end of his commentary on Chapter 7, summarizing Gideon's victory over the two Midianite kings, Oreb and Zeeb.²¹ Martyr cites Isaiah 9:4, in which the prophet likened the coming salvation of Israel wrought by the Messiah to be 'as in the day of Midian.' Based on this reference, Martyr then says that the whole of the Gideon story has a redemptive-historical significance. All of this is fairly tame, but Martyr does not leave it there. He then asserts that the trumpets of Gideon's little band were the preaching of the word, and their torches emerging from the broken pitchers were the light of Christ, for 'by the death of Christ upon the cross the light of the Holy Ghost shines in the hearts of men, and the cries of prayers are united, from which salvation comes to the true Israel.'²² While this flight of allegorizing seems more quixotic

industriam esse mellis artificem. With regard to Deborah Martyr asserts that should one think about the etymology of her name, it would be evident that Barak should have listened to her, as her words undoubtedly were sweet, since Deborah means bee, and bees are diligent in the making of honey.

¹⁹ *IUD* fol. 95v.

²⁰ *IUD* fol. 90r–90v.

²¹ In Judges 7:25 it was actually the Ephraimites who overtook the two kings, and they brought their heads to Gideon.

²² *IUD* fol. 101v. Neque aliud portendunt hae tubae, quam Evangelii praedicationem iam sparsam per orbem. Nam per Ecclesiae ministerium atque doctrinam, deus mundo salutem elargitur, non quasi hoc sufficiat, sed lagenis diffractis faces ardentes exeruntur,

than his norm, it is nonetheless constrained by making redemption the focus of the text, and even its extension still falls within the Protestant commonplace of an emphasis on the preached word.

For Martyr all types, shadows, and symbols had to be subsumed to the historical account within the text. More importantly, text stands above the visual, whether monuments or symbols, a means whereby truth exists in a seeming non-visual memory. Whatever monuments the Hebrews had were not illicit, in that they possessed a non-literary world: 'Nor did the Israelites act absurdly or impiously when they beautified with ornaments the tomb of Joshua. It was fitting indeed, since certain trophies and particular monuments signified the munificence of God. In that time they did not have the abundance and use of books, which we do. They used certain external symbols for the aid and improvement of their memory.'²³ What may have been licit in the time of the Judges is now superseded by the presence of the Scriptures: 'Gideon sought a sign since it pertains to the pious man to test spirits, nor are all spirits to be blindly believed.... But when accepted doctrine or required works, confirmed by the Holy Scriptures, are set forth and commanded by them, then we ought not to look for signs, as we are bound to believe (without them).'²⁴

The form and content of Martyr's hermeneutic differs little from his Protestant contemporaries, either Lutheran or, especially, the Reformed, who saw Christ as the head of the Church, a Church substantially the same in both the Old and the New Testaments, the entrance into which comes by way of uniting oneself to Christ through faith. Types, consequently, should all point to Christ; allegories, which emphasize arcane and ancillary matters, and that were in fact nothing but the inventions of the commentator, remove the focus from Christ. While more than half of the commentary is given to Commonplaces on

quia Christo in cruce mortuo spiritus sancti lux hominum cordibus affulget, et clamores precum adduntur, unde salus vero Israelis comparatur.

²³ *IUD* fol. 47r. Nec vero ab Israelites vel absurd, vel impie factum est, quod tumulum Iehosuae sic ornarint. Convenit enim, ut quibusdam trophaeis et certis monumentis beneficia dei consignentur. Non habuerunt eo tempora librorum copiam et facultatem, qua nos sinimur.... Symbolis externis ad inuandum et renovandam memoriam, passim utebantur.

²⁴ *IUD* fol. 85r-85v. Signum petit, quoniam pii hominis est probare spiritus, neque moni spiritui remerem credere.... Verum, cum doctrina iam recepta, literisque divinis consignata proponitur, aut opera exiguntur qua in illis praecepta sunt, non est committendum ut signa petamus; quandoquidem ad credendum et obediendum illis obstricti sumus.

subjects ranging from tears to miracles to treason,²⁵ and even within the commentaries on the text, he often makes digressions on such things as what makes people left-handed, nonetheless, the fundamental element within Martyr's framework was how all actions revealed the underlying faith of the actors, even when faith was not mentioned, and even when a lack of virtue was the more pronounced characteristic, e.g., Gideon and Samson. Martyr insisted on this because the literal meaning presents the historical examples of faith, even when the actors act rather unfaithfully. The interpretative key, as evinced by his repeated allusion and recourse to Hebrews 11, is faith. The historical and literal reading collapses all former readings into the category of faith, a vision or sight of things absent, whether the actors' virtue, or more essentially, the actions of the Head of the covenant.

Martyr is not, however, the first to have done this, for Luther had as well. In his Galatians commentary Luther had already taken the *locus classicus* of allegory (Gal. 4:22–31) and made the heavenly Jerusalem not the realm of the Church militant, but the present reality of the faithful, collapsing the anagogical and allegorical into the historical.²⁶ That Martyr followed Luther in this emphasis and privileging the historical over the allegorical should hardly be surprising, though not because they both had similar views on *sola fide* and *sola gratia*, or even *sola scriptura*, but because this had been the trajectory of reading and interpreting the Bible for over 400 years. With this the insights of Professor F. Edward Cranz should be noted.

Cranz had argued on a number of occasions what he called his 'year AD 1100 thesis,' that beginning with St. Anselm, but developed more fully by Peter Abelard, the Latin West went through an epistemic shift, and abandoned, or we could say altered, the classical and patristic inheritance when speaking about vision and knowledge. For the ancients that which was in the intellect was nothing other than the intellected. Whether one read Aristotle, Augustine, Boethius, Plotinus or Alexander of Aphrodisiensis, the essential agreement on this point was explicit. Words within this epistemic realm were signals of ideas in the intellect

²⁵ In a letter to Arthur Hildersham, Thomas Cartwright commends Martyr's commentaries, though with a caveat 'that his Commentaries are rather Commonplaces then [sic] Commentaries.' Albert Peel and Leland H. Carlson, eds., *Cartwrightiana*, Elizabethan Nonconformist Texts, vol. I (London: Allen and Unwin, 1951) 113–114. The inscribed date on the Trinity College, Dublin MS 295 is 1583.

²⁶ Luther, WA, XL, 1.663.

or the passions of the soul, the form or universal of the object sensed or recalled.²⁷ This type of world necessarily gave itself to the Greek notion of the cosmos: the visible world represented the world beyond it, either Plato's forms, or (to an attenuated degree) Aristotle's universals, pseudo-Dionysius's hierarchies, or even Maximus the Confessor's middle things. Greek myths and mythology played into this, as the stories of the gods became metaphors and allegories for higher realities, or else cautionary tales of disordered passions.²⁸ Allegorical interpretations of the world were proffered by commentators and thinkers as diverse as Philo and Proclus, and of course were resident within the Church.

For the Biblical interpreters of the early Church, however, allegory assumed a different form: Moses and the Church in the wilderness became an allegory of Christ and the Church in this present age, which in turn is itself an allegory of the New Jerusalem. To see this in action one has but to read the commentaries of the Venerable Bede on the tabernacle, the temple, and then on Ezra and Nehemiah,²⁹ all grounded in the basic assumption that the historical was transitory, the reality behind it eternal: the tabernacle, the temple and the rebuilt temple of the returned exiles no longer existed, and as they were thus of ephemeral duration and purpose, the historical stood secondary to the spiritual, to the allegorical and the anagogical. These treatises hardly exhaust Bede's use of allegory. Were one to consult Bede on the Catholic Epistles, his first efforts at exegesis, one would find comparatively less use of allegory than in his commentaries on the tabernacle and temple. Dom David Hurst sees this lack of allegorical interpretation as Bede's immature and undeveloped skill as an interpreter, but it may be better to note that for Bede the subject matter of exegesis was different, for

²⁷ To call attention just to St. Augustine, *Confessions*, Book X.10.17; *De Genesi ad litteram*, Book XII; and especially *De Trinitate*, Books VIII–XV. Cranz surveys these, asserting that for Augustine, 'There is not distinction between what is known, and that by which it is known.' *Reorientations*, IV.21.

²⁸ For how the patristics could look at the pagans as allegories of the true faith, see Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 37–58. Aristotle, who brought the universals down to earth, fared poorly at the hands of the Hermeticists.

²⁹ E.g., Moses received the plans for the tabernacle while on the mountain, since only when one has ascended the heights of contemplation, and left the realm of the flesh (i.e., Egypt, the concupiscence of the Israelites), and entered into the darkness of unapproachable light, can one truly know how to worship God. That both rich and poor each give half a shekel denotes that to all without exception the law requires obedience.

since the Incarnation had now made the true tabernacle and temple present, the anagogical sense becomes dominant. Nonetheless, Bede still employs allegory as when commenting on I Peter 3:20–21, he notes that the baptism of the flood saved the eight souls in the ark, and so baptism now saves those in the ark of the Church. Moreover, baptism shall drown every heretic who having received the faith, like those who heard the preaching of Noah, nonetheless refuse to listen. They are plunged to hell by the very waters that raise the ark to heaven.³⁰ Bede, as his modern editor points out, was largely copying the work of his predecessors.³¹ Wherever one looks throughout the patristic period, whether with Clement of Alexandria, or in Irenaeus and his notion of recapitulation, or even earlier in Philo of Alexandria, allegory and the notion of the hierarchical cosmos (whether among the Christians or the pagans), was a given.

This *Weltanschauung* begins to shift beginning with St. Anselm and Peter Abelard. For both Anselm and Abelard, the world of things, *res*, is distinct from the world of intelligible images or meanings. Recall Anselm's ontological argument: God is a being greater than which cannot be thought. Anselm's problem was moving God from the intellect into reality. For St. Augustine, this problem was non-existent, and one needs only to think about the Trinitarian structure of the soul in *De Trinitate* to see why. Cranz elaborates on the matter in two unpublished papers that detail the difference between Augustine and Anselm in the one, Boethius and Abelard in the other.³² But what does this have to do with the reading of texts.³³

Two medieval authors, Hugh of St. Victor and St. Thomas Aquinas, in their respective comments on allegory adumbrate the ends toward which this reorientation portends.³⁴ Hugh, in his *Didascalicon*, addressed the question of the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures in his

³⁰ Bede, *Commentary on the Seven Catholic Epistles*, trans. with introduction by Dom David Hurst, O.S.B. (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985), 104–5.

³¹ Bede, *Commentary on Catholic Epistles*, xv.

³² Cranz, *Reorientations*, Part II. The Fundamental Reorientation of Western Thought, c. 1100 AD. Ch. IV 'Augustine and Anselm of Canterbury,' Ch. V 'Boethius and Abelard.'

³³ Cranz, *Reorientations*, Part III. The Elaboration of the 1100 AD Thesis, Ch. VIII 'Some historical structures of reading and allegory.'

³⁴ Cranz alludes to both authors in his essay 'Some historical structures of reading and allegory,' *Ibid.*, essay VIII, 15–18, but for Cranz, Hugh and Thomas are only illustrative of the shift, details in his larger discussion about reading, and are not themselves precursors of the reading of texts as practiced by the Protestant Reformers.

fifth and sixth books. In particular when discussing how divine wisdom is recognized through and in creatures, he writes that 'From this it necessarily should be deduced how profound the understanding to be sought in Holy Scripture is: where understanding through a word comes to an idea (*intellectum*), through an idea to a thing, through a thing to reason (*rationem*), through reason to the truth.'³⁵ This multi-step form of cogitation is far removed from the ancient understanding of reading, whether in Aristotle's *De interpretatione*, or in Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, in which words signified *res* or *pragmata* existing both in the soul and as ideal, or the passions of the soul. Hugh would add in Book VI:

If we use the larger meaning of this word (*historia*), it is not inappropriate that we know history to be quite truly not only a narrative of deeds, but also the first meaning of any narration which is expressed according to the peculiar character of words. According to this meaning I think all the [historical] books of both testaments...belong to this reading according to the literal sense.³⁶

Putatively all readings are narrative and literal, just as all thoughts first and foremost deal with *res* and apply immediate meanings to them.

St. Thomas expanded on this in the *Summa Theologica*:

This spiritual sense has a threefold division. For thus the Apostle says in Hebrews 7:19: the old law is a figure of the new law, and Dionysius says in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* that the new law itself is a figure of the future glory. In the new law, furthermore, these things which are done in our Head, are signs of those things which we ought to do. Therefore, according to how these things are signified which are of the old law, when they signify these things which are of the new law, it is the allegorical sense. However these things which are done in Christ, or in these things which signify Christ, they are signs of those things which we ought to do, this is the moral sense. As these things signify what is in eternal glory, it is the anagogical sense.³⁷

³⁵ Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, V. 3. Ex quo nimirum colligitur, quam profunda in sacris litteris requirenda sit intelligentia, ubi per vocem ad intellectum, per intellectum ad rem, per rem ad rationem, per rationem pervenitur ad veritatem.

³⁶ Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon*, VI. 3. Si tamen huius vocabuli significatione largius utimur, nullum est inconveniens, ut scilicet historiam esse dicamus, non tantum rerum gestarum narrationem, sed illam primam significationem cuiuslibet narrationis, quae secundum proprietatem verborum exprimitur. Secundum quam acceptionem omnes utriusque testamenti libros eo ordine quo supra enumerati sunt ad hanc lectionem secundum litteralem sensum pertinere puto. What had been indicated above were the historical books of the Old Testament, the gospels and book of Acts of the New Testament.

³⁷ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Ia q. 1 art. 10. Hic autem sensus spiritualis

Thus, while St. Thomas affirms Bede's threefold division, whatever sense one finds, and wherever within this division, each is subsumed under the literal, for 'since the literal sense is that which the author intends... it is not unwarranted... if according to the literal sense there should be several senses in one word of Scripture.'³⁸ Aquinas then concludes: 'The parabolic sense is contained in the literal sense, for through words everything both properly and figuratively are signified, nor is the literal sense a figure itself, but what is figured is the literal sense.'³⁹

The text itself has become the proper referent, for meaning within the text is the intention of the author, and history is the first and proper meaning of words. For Augustine, words are signals of the cosmos, or of the forms of the cosmos existing in the soul, something of a signal between the microcosm and the macrocosm. For St. Thomas, *res* and ideas are the property of God and meanings the property of minds. According to Paul of Burgos: 'In order for the sense of scripture to be called literal, it is required that it have been intended (*intentus*) by the author of scripture who is God. The literal meaning of any writing (*cuiuscumque scripturae*) is the one the author intended, since words are signs or symbols of the passions of the soul, according to *De interpretatione*.'⁴⁰ And so the passions of the soul, which according to the ancients had been formed by the intellect in relation to *pragmata* or *res*, have now been transformed into the author's intent. This is not to say that allegory was abandoned, but that allegory's foundation had been assaulted, and its vitality and significance now attenuated and compromised.⁴¹

trifariam dividitur. Sicut enim dicit Apostolus, ad Heb. 7,19: lex vetus figura est novae legis: et ipsa nova lex, ut dicit Dionysius in Ecclesiastica hierarchia, est figura futurae gloriae: in nova etiam lege, ea quae in capite sunt gesta, sunt signa eorum quae nos agere debemus. Secundum ergo quod ea quae sunt veteris legis, significant ea quae sunt novae legis, est sensus allegoricus: secundum vero quod ea quae in Christo sunt facta, vel in his quae Christum significant, sunt signa eorum quae nos agere debemus, est sensus moralis: prout vero significant ea quae sunt in aeterna gloria, est sensus anagogicus.

³⁸ *Summa Theologica*, Ia q. 1 art. 10, Quia vero sensus litteralis est, quem auctor intendit: auctor autem sacrae Scripturae Deus est, qui omnia simul suo intellectu comprehendit: non est inconueniens, ut dicit Augustinus XII Confessionum, si etiam secundum litteralem sensum in una littera Scripturae plures sint sensus.

³⁹ *Summa Theologica*, Ia q. 1 art. 10, reply iii. Ad tertium dicendum quod sensus parabolicus sub litterali continetur: nam per voces significatur aliquid proprie, et aliquid figurative, nec est litteralis sensus ipsa figura, sed id quod est figuratum.

⁴⁰ Cranz, *Reorientations*, VIII. 17. He is citing, according to the editor, Struvenner, 'an edition of the Bible which must contain both the *postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra and the replies of Paul of Burgos'. *Biblia*. F. 5ab.

⁴¹ Cranz himself pushes his insight a bit far in a reference to Nicholas of Cusa,

Upon his return to Strasbourg from England in 1553, Martyr expressed in his *Oratio* before the theological academy the contours and sources of theology. He stressed in particular that 'all people of every condition therefore [should be allowed] to rush to these fountains [i.e., the Scriptures] with great confidence and speed. I swear to God that nobody will regret having made use of this panacea.' Martyr then gave this charge to his theology students:

the true chain by which you can draw people to God is, I claim, the series of heavenly words linked through the steps of centuries for helping mortals and drawing them to a life that will never end. These things are clearly set down in the Old and New Testaments.... Who is so stupid as not to understand how in the divine letters the knowledge of God's infinite wisdom lowers itself from its majesty to the capacity of human beings, as if descending from Olympus to the flatlands of the world.

From there Martyr turns to the question of the perspicuity of the scriptures, noting that 'If people will be both alert and diligent in working through them, they will easily note that things which are in some places described with some obscurity are taught elsewhere in a clear and manifest way. The goodness of God... does not want the knowledge of saving events to be withdrawn by obscure expressions.'⁴² Here, the threads of this essay, Martyr, Cranz and now Professor McLelland and *Visible Words*, can be tied together.

It was no new thing when the Reformers asserted that Christ is the prism through which all Scripture should be read,⁴³ and further, it was no new thing for them to teach that Scripture abounds in metaphors

whose hierarchical universe as given in his *De concordantia catholica*, patterned after the pseudo-Dionysius, is obliterated, Cranz maintains, by his vision of *docta ignorantia* in 1438, and following it the ever increasing awareness of the otherness of God brought on by *docta ignorantia* and *nulla proportio inter finitum et infinitum est*. This assertion of Professor Cranz is not borne out when one looks at Cusanus's sermons. Cf. Nicholas of Cusa, *Early Sermons*, trans. Jasper Hopkins (Minneapolis: The Arthur Banning Press, 2003), especially in his sermon on the Magi, *Intrantes Domum*, 344ff. Nevertheless, Cranz is not asserting that allegory is no longer used, but that its place within the reading of texts has been altered. One has but to observe the justifications of early modern readers in their use of Hermes Trismegistus and the allegorizing of putative Egyptian wisdom as a comprehending forerunner of the Christian faith. Cf. Ebeling, *Secret History*, 59–90.

⁴² Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Strasbourg Oration*, in John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, Frank A. James III, and Joseph C. McLelland, eds., *The Peter Martyr Reader* (Kirkville: Truman State University Press, 1999), 62–63.

⁴³ Cf. Henri de Lubac, *History and Spirit: The understanding of Scripture according to Origen*, trans. Anne Englund Nash, Greek and Latin trans., Juvenal Merriell (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007); original ed., *Histoire et esprit: L'Intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris: Édition Montaigne, 1950).

and types; but for Martyr and the Reformed, Holy Scripture was not opaque, nor was it something which locked out those who wished to come to the waters of life, Martyr's above mentioned fountains. The literal, historical, grammatical text was an all-encompassing Word which clearly set forth the intent of its author. For Martyr, since the people of God, the church, were present in both Testaments, the history of the Judges was the history of the New Testament faithful as well. What is more, the symbols and tokens of the Old Testament served the same function as the sacraments of the New. The intention of the Author of these symbols, he who put meaning into them, was to lead the elect to faith, which for Martyr was itself an intellectual act.⁴⁴ Indeed, faith supercedes intellect in that it makes things (e.g., bread and wine), into signifiers of historical and redemptive truths. The words of the text of Holy Scripture are the intentions of God; so too are the bread and wine of the Eucharist, but here faith must make them to the faithful the body and blood of Christ, and it is by faith that one sees Christ where he is not. Visible words, then, are intellections of faith, and not icons or windows to heaven.

Wherefore in the one text when it is said that Raphael did not eat, it must not be understood as though he did not eat at all, but because he did not eat after the manner of men. But this should be chiefly noted, that when the angel answered that he uses spiritual meat and drink, that spiritual food was nothing else then *an open and manifest knowledge of the true God...* *The same also is our meat*, though not in exactly the same way. For the angels see God manifestly, but we see him by a mirror, and in a riddle. To this you may add that those who believe in Christ, and who have most certainly persuaded themselves that he died for their sake, I say that they both eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood, to which use the symbols or signs, since they stir up the senses, are very profitable. Not that the flesh and blood of Christ are poured into the bread and wine, or are by any means included in those elements, but because those things are by the believers received with a true faith. For these are invisible nourishment, and received only in the mind.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 85ff.

⁴⁵ *IUD* fol. 152v. Quare cum in altero textu dicitur, Raphaellem non comedisse, non ita est intelligendum, quasi prorsus non comederit, sed quod human more non comederit. Illud aut imprimis animadvertendum ibi est, cum angelus respondet, se invisibili cibo ac potu vesci, eam alimoniam spiritualem nihil aliud fuisse, quam apertam et perspicuam notitiam veri dei... Idem etiam noster cibus est, quamvis non eiusdem modi; illi enim aperte deum vident; nos autem per speculum, et in aenigmate. Quibus addas etiam eos qui credunt Christo, et certo sibi persuadent, eum sua causa

This passage ends Martyr's commonplace on the human vision of angels. At its beginning he brings forth the scholastics' notion of angelic knowledge, which through turns he ends up affirming, namely that 'in this act [of cognition] it happens that by their intelligences they surpass [human intellection], and this happens because in these celestial minds there is no need of images or even more of the senses; and because this is so, to them bodies are superfluous.'⁴⁶ So, is the open and manifest knowledge of God enjoyed by the angels then an imageless intellection only to them? In other words, do we need images of God? Martyr, of course would say no. What we do need are images of the incarnate Logos, or more aptly, to echo Professor McLelland's happy phrase, visible words, in which historical realities reside.

To the ancients, the intellect united itself to the universal form in the act of intellection; for the scholastics, the mind was united to an image of the universal or sign, given meaning by the agent of the intellection. The ramifications for allegory have been noted above. However, did Martyr follow this intellectual current? Clearly Martyr used Aristotle when it served to stick his theological finger in his opponents' eyes. And in truth, Martyr was very much a disciple of Aristotle, and one of the reasons why Aristotle fell out of repute in Edinburgh was because his name was linked with Martyr's and that unseemly vestment controversy and all that popish prayerbook nonsense. Martyr does make reference to Aristotle's possible intellect: 'The capacity in us for intellection, which the philosophers call *possibile*, as Aristotle says, is able to constitute everything.'⁴⁷ But does he use it as had Aristotle? We have already seen that Paul of Burgos had completely misread or reread *De interpretatione*, and I think this same is the case for Martyr, in that Aristotle, even St. Augustine, would never give the epistemological content to faith that Martyr did. This touches Martyr's eucharistic

esse mortuum, et comedere carnem Christi, et eius bibere sanguinem, ad quem usum symbola dum sensum excitant, plurimum conferunt; non quod caro Christi et sanguis in panem et vinum infundantur, aut elementis illis aliquo modo concludantur, sed quod res illae vera fide a credentibus percipiuntur. Sunt enim invisibilibus alimonia, quae mente solum capitur.

Martyr then adds, 'ut Augustinus fideliter monuit: Quid, inquit, paras denem et ventrem? Crede et manducasti.' Emphasis in the translated text added.

⁴⁶ *IUD* fol. 150r. [I]n hoc opere, illud opertet ab intelligentiis superari, atque id fieri, quod mentibus ipsis caelestibus non sit opus tum spectris tum etiam sensibus; quod cum ita sit, copora eis essent supervacanea.

⁴⁷ *DES* 630. Vis in nobis intelligendi, quam philosophi appellant possibilem, ut Aristoteles ait, potest fieri omnia.

theology, which in turn touches his views of allegory and typology, and also of intellected substances. The exercise of faith looks beyond symbols and shadows to the different substance, and like a mirror it makes distant things, absent things, present (*Speculum enim refert non ea quae in ipso sint praesentia, sed ea potius quae longius absint*).⁴⁸ But faith unites us mystically, but not substantially to Christ.⁴⁹ All humans are united substantially to Christ by virtue of the incarnation, but this is no help to the damned. Thus, just as the union of substance falls short of the benefits of faith, so too the use of allegory, which gives insubstantial meaning (according to Martyr) to mundane objects, falls short of the benefits of the union of faith.

Martyr's Protestant soteriology and his Reformed apprehension of the unity of the Old and New Testament, coupled with the epistemological divide of AD 1100, put him on the other side of the hermeneutical horizon from the fathers and the early medievals. What we have is a coincidence of Cranz and McLelland. Peter Martyr Vermigli's slighting of allegory arose from several factors: first, from his eschewing of what he saw as patristic and medieval hermeneutical excess; second, from his standing on the other side of the epistemic shift that slighted the allegorical hermeneutic of the patristic inheritance and valorized the historical reading of a text as primary; and finally, hand-in-glove with the second factor, from his assertion on the primacy of faith that saw the meaning of the historical actions of the patriarchs resolved in the Reformed interpretation of the work of Christ. Martyr, like all the Reformers, wanted to claim the Church Fathers as being 'on his side', and that the Romanists, not the Reformers, were the real innovators. But in this ironic twist, Martyr stands more with the scholastics he so frequently derided, and against the Fathers he so often cited.

⁴⁸ DES 630.

⁴⁹ Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 170–78.

CHAPTER TWELVE

EXPOUNDING PSALMS: *PRECES SACRÆ*

Herman Selderhuis

INTRODUCTION

As most other theologians of the Christian tradition, Vermigli also occupied himself with the book of Psalms. Among the reformers of the 16th century this was a favourite book of the Scriptures for exegesis, preaching and meditation. All major reformers wrote a commentary on this book and with that they stand in a long patristic and medieval tradition.¹ One receives the impression that anyone dealing intensely with Paul's letter to the Romans for systematic theology needs the balance of working on the Psalms for a healthy spirituality. Yet, there is also another reason for the popularity of the Psalms. As this book reflects the feelings of joy and misery of believers and the situation of the people of God as the church under siege and tribulation, many Protestants saw their situation as identical with that of David and the people of Israel. Therefore, commentaries and sermons on the Psalms—as for example of Luther, Bucer and Calvin—found a large audience among those longing for answers, comfort and strength. Also Vermigli's *Preces* fit in this situation as they were composed during the period in which Strasbourg was under pressure of reintroducing the German Mass, a demand expressed by the Emperor Charles V, underlining his demand with the threat to bomb the city.

Vermigli's *Preces* distinguish themselves from the existing tradition in the sense that he did not write a commentary, but expressed and wrote down prayers on the basis of the Psalms. It is most likely that these prayers were written during the end of his first stay in Strasbourg, where he lived from December 1542 until October 1547. The prayers were read at the closing of his Old Testament lectures at the Strasbourg Academy. In their published form they became quite successful with

¹ For an overview of this tradition see Wulfert de Greef, *Calvijn en zijn uitleg van de Psalmen* (Kampen: Kok ten Have, 2006), 53–104.

10 editions and translations into English, French, German and Czech. The total of 297 prayers based on 149 Psalms—the one on Psalm 87 is probably lost—were posthumously printed in 1564 and became together with the *Loci Communes*, Vermigli's most popular work.² Therefore I will here concentrate on just the theological content of this collection. Campi drew attention to the fact that the *Preces* contain a 'wealth of theological themes', but added that his article was 'not the time and place to discuss it'.³ Perhaps that time and place is now, and I would like to pick up those theological themes in the context of Vermigli's spirituality.

It may first be said that these prayers are a-historical in the sense that the time-frame of the Psalms play no role at all and Vermigli directly relates the Psalms in their totality to his own time. This approach goes even farther than seeing the Psalms as an analogy to one's own time. There is in fact no history between the time in which the Psalms were composed and the present time. The prayers have a certain pattern, which counts for the topics as well as for the order in which the topics are brought in each prayer. Overall these various topics can be categorized into five central themes as follows.

1. THE GLORY OF GOD

Vermigli's spirituality is above all characterised by a deep awareness of the majesty and the holiness of God. Each prayer starts with either 'Almighty God' or with 'o great and good God', opening words which are immediately followed by a statement on the unworthiness of man, to which we will come in a second paragraph. God is not only the highest good, He is goodness itself.⁴ Vermigli confesses that in all of creation

² For the historical context of the Sacred Prayers, see Emidio Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae* of Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformation: Semper Reformanda* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 251–266.

³ Campi, *Preces*, 262.

⁴ *Deus Opt. Maxime non tantum esse summum bonum, verum ipsam bonitatem* (Ps.10; 12v) *SP* 13. The numbers after the reference to the Psalm in brackets refer to the pages in the 1566 Froschauer edition given which serves as the base text for the 1996 English translation by John Patrick Donnelly (*SP*). These references are followed by page numbers from the English translation. For this article I used the 1564–edition: *Preces sacrae ex Psalmis Davidis desumptae per D. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium Florentinum, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professorem* (Zurich: Christophorus Froschouerus, 1564).

one can see God's power, wisdom and goodness.⁵ 'There is nothing in the world that does not bear witness that you God are good.'⁶ The earth, the heavens and the whole universe are 'shining examples of your justice and wisdom'.⁷ The whole structure, beauty, and order of creation can already give us a knowledge of God as its creator.⁸

Now Vermigli in his prayers praises God for the greatness and beauty of nature, but takes this as an occasion to ask God to in the same way make the church beautiful and that God's glory and dignity 'may be resplendent in her no less than in the universe'.⁹ Although in his prayers Vermigli demonstrates a way of speaking with God which Calvin calls '*familiaris*', his attitude stems from the conviction that there is an infinite distance between God and man and that it is a miracle of grace that man is able to come to God in prayer and speak with him. God is so good that he is willing to come down from the majestic heavens in which all his glory is demonstrated and is willing to take care of frail mortals.¹⁰ Another aspect is God's righteousness,¹¹ which for the believer is on the one hand a ground for fear, but on the other a ground for assurance.

This view of God is directly related to the viewpoint that the only goal of life can be to glorify God. Now, corresponding to this stressing of the glory of God is Vermigli's view that man and all of creation has no other goal than to glorify God. Man is placed as lord of the creatures in order to use them to the glory of the Lord.¹² And a believer can and wants to do no other than to daily find new reasons and blessings to glorify God's name.¹³

⁵ Admirabilis potentia, sapientia ac bonitas, quibus natura tua, omnipotens Deus, cumulatissime prædita est, nobis ubique se offert in rebus abs te conditis (Ps.19; 21r) SP 20.

⁶ Nihil est in orbe quod te bonum esse non attestetur (Ps.33; 34v) SP 32.

⁷ Iustitiæ ac sapientiæ tuæ sunt luculentissimi testes (Ps.97; 104v) SP 92.

⁸ Cælum sane cum omnibus ornamentis suis, temporum vicissitudines, stellarum & potentissimi solis iubar, voces meræ sunt, & doctrina omnibus populis communis, a qua maiestatis tuæ præconia amplissime celebrantur (Ps.19; 21v) SP 21.

⁹ Excolere, quo non minus in illa atque in universo vel dignitas tua effulgeat (Ps.104; 113v) SP 100.

¹⁰ Potuerunt quidem cæli opus videri dignum tuo artificio, sed quod te ad hominem caducum atque mortalem tam sollicitè curandum volueris adeo demittere, videtur maxima & admirabilis pietatis tuæ fignum (Ps.8; 10r) SP 11.

¹¹ O Deus, a quo est omnis nostra iustitia (Ps.4; 7v) SP 9.

¹² Quæ patribus nostris, etiam immeritis contulisti, accedimus te (...) quo laudes tuas indes ardentius valeat celebrare (Ps.9; 12r) SP 13.

¹³ Quicumque Deum timent, Christo sunt inaugurati, & studio tenentur pietatis, ad nomen eius celebrandum quotidie alliciuntur, & inuitantur novis rationibus ac infinitis beneficiis (Ps.118; 132v) SP 118.

2. THE DEPRAVITY OF MAN

Directly in opposition to the glory of God stands Vermigli's deep-rooted conviction of the sinfulness of man. It is as he says 'the simple truth: we are sinners.'¹⁴ In almost every prayer and in a multitude of various qualifications, Vermigli describes the fallen state of man. According to Vermigli it is clear 'how corrupt and vicious from birth we have emerged into the light'.¹⁵ It is not only the original sin from which we suffer, but also 'the infinite sins we have unhappily added to it'.¹⁶ Sins have us in their grip,¹⁷ and we are buried in sins and iniquities.¹⁸ Our guilt is infinite.¹⁹ Not only have we spurned 'the works of nature that draw us to you',²⁰ but it is only with cold hearts that we listened to the Scriptures and the Gospel of Christ. So we have merited that God turns his eyes away from us and our miserable situation.²¹ We deserve 'deadly hatred and the extreme punishment'.²² Our sins are even so horrible that 'because of them we have earned not just temporal but eternal death'.²³ Vermigli says that we must confess that 'we have been polluted and defiled by countless sorts of serious crimes' and that all we can hope for is 'that we may be exonerated by the expiation of Christ, the mediator and priest'.²⁴ Whereas God is loyal to his covenant, the believers are the ones who 'have fallen short of those most holy agreements and commitments'.²⁵

¹⁴ *Largiaturs nobis spiritus tuus, ut omni fastu & supercilio abiecto, id quod verum est, nos peccatores esse agnoscam* (Ps.131; 160r) *SP* 143.

¹⁵ *Vides ut corrupti & vitiiati a partu ædamur in lucem, qui antea in ipsis iniquitatibus concepti sumus* (Ps.51; 55v) *SP* 51.

¹⁶ *Ac infinitis ad illud peccatis adiectis infeliciter premamur* (Ps.43; 46r) *SP* 42.

¹⁷ *Non ignari, quod iniquitates oderis, & peccata mirum in modum detesteris: quibus etsi nos teneri non inficiamur* (Ps.5; 8r) *SP* 9.

¹⁸ *At nos tametsi peccatis & iniquitatibus obristissimus* (Ps.11; 14v) *SP* 15.

¹⁹ *Infinitis culpis* (Ps.8; 11r) *SP* 12.

²⁰ *Qui non modo naturæ opera, ad te nos pertrahentia, contempsimus* (Ps.19; 21r) *SP* 21.

²¹ *Nunc autem, etsi probe meriti sumus, ut a nostris calamitatibus oculos averteris* (Ps.10; 13r) *SP* 14.

²² *Nos quidem ob peccata nostra, capitali odio & extremis pœnis digni sumus* (Ps.30; 31v) *SP* 30.

²³ *Peccata nostra confitemur horrenda esse, propter quæ, non modo temporarium, sed æternum debetur nobis exitium* (Ps.22; 23v) *SP* 23.

²⁴ *Oramus ut mediatoris & sacerdotis Christi expiatione absoluamur* (Ps.110; 124v) *SP* 110.

²⁵ *Sed ipsos nos fatemur descivisse a sanctissimis pactis atque conuentis* (Ps.132; 162r) *SP* 144.

The fact that Vermigli says that we feel how sins pull us down,²⁶ shows that he speaks out of his own experience. This is also noticeable in the prayer from Psalm 7 where Vermigli mentions that we can feel in our troubled and wounded conscience how much we have offended God. This awareness causes the believer to be sad, full of fear and sorrow. Vermigli speaks about 'a stricken mind and a downcast heart'.²⁷ In the prayer from Psalm 102, Vermigli cries out that 'the holy sap of piety' which is in the believers is almost dried up; the situation moreover is such that one can hardly sing God's praise, and no one of the body of Christ is able to help the other.²⁸ All of these qualifications demonstrate an aspect of his spirituality that confirms that also in Vermigli his theology of grace does not make the awareness of sin superficial. There is according to him only one shelter left and that is the fountain of God's mercy that can blot out all our sins and guilt.²⁹

3. JUSTIFICATION AND SANCTIFICATION

The distance between the holy God and sinful man does not restrain Vermigli from constantly addressing God as Father. God is the gracious Father who draws his children near to Him, but who can also 'put an enormous distance' between Himself and His people.³⁰ Vermigli calls God 'the best of fathers'.³¹ This speaking about God as our Father does in no way conflict with Vermigli's doctrine of election. Considering later developments in Reformed theology, one could expect that his view of predestination would somehow restrict this approaching God as Father, since one might need first to be sure to be elected before one can address God in such a familiar way. In the first place, however, this is in no sense the case, which most likely can be explained from the fact that it is only children of God that pray to him; so prayer does

²⁶ Nam illis gravari supra modum sentimus (Ps.5; 8r) *SP* 9.

²⁷ Ad te vigilant oculi nostri, concussa mente ac deiecto corde tuam misericordiam imploramus (Ps.77; 80v) *SP* 72.

²⁸ In ea pene succus pietatis arescit, os ne tuas landes canat, est oppilatum, & nullum fere in corpore superest membrum, quod ad alterum iuuandum suo fungatur officio (Ps.102; 110v/111r) *SP* 98.

²⁹ Hoc unicum suffugium relictum est, ut te misericordiæ fontem accedamus, quo nostrum misertus culpas abstergas, iniquitates abluas, peccata deleas, & vitia repurges, quibus & a conceptu & a partu sumus obnoxii (Ps.51; 56r/56v) *SP* 51.

³⁰ Posses videri, clementissime pater, hoc afflictissimo tempore te quam longissime a tuis abduxisse (Ps.10; 13r) *SP* 14.

³¹ Optime pater (Ps.4; 8r) *SP* 9.

presuppose being elected. Secondly, which may also sound remarkable, election is hardly an issue in these prayers. It is mentioned once in a while,³² but never as a complicated, let alone dominating issue and Vermigli can even say that it is the believers who have chosen God to be their God.³³

More than election it is the covenant and its promises that are frequently mentioned in these prayers. Multiple are the prayers in which Vermigli reminds God that he has given His promises to his people and that he is under obligation to help them. God has promised to help his people, and he may be reminded to do so.³⁴ In his prayer from Psalm 103 Vermigli remembers that God is the Father of believers, and that he should not look at the sins of the people but 'to the covenant between you and us into which you have entered'.³⁵ And on Psalm 105 he calls on God 'to be mindful of your covenant by which you promised that we would be a connecting link for your inheritance'.³⁶ He reminds God that this pact, as he calls it, was an everlasting one. And at the same time, he is sure that God will be mindful of his covenant for He is not even 'able to forget the covenant'.³⁷ There is also the prayer that God would assist his Church in these difficult times, basing that prayer on God's words and promises.³⁸ This especially counts for the psalms in

³² Verum quemadmodum tibi delegisti quos velis seruatos (Ps.4; 8r) *SP* 9. See also Ps.90 (98r) *SP* 87: Si nobis gratulamur, omnipotens Deus, tam exuberantem favoris tui copiam, ut nos, quos amore summo prosequeris, ante iacta mundi fundamenta, delegeris, priusquam montes fierent, aut orbis formaretur, destinaris ad tua aeterna bona percipienda, congeminabitur sane gratulatio, si animum adverterimus, quam alioquin & naturæ infirmitate, & peccatorum maleficio simul nihili. And also Ps.117 (131v) *SP* 117: Condidisti humanum genus, omnipotens Deus, ut omnes gentes ad communes laudes tui nominis coiungeres, quod ut fieret, antiquitus Patriarchas, Prophetas, & Apostolos.

³³ Quamobrem fælices atque beati sunt hi populi, qui Deum te sibi delegerunt, atque te ut suam eximiam hæreditatem, castissime & unice colunt (Ps.33; 35v) *SP* 33.

³⁴ Et quanquam te non lateat, ut a recto & iustitiæ calle sæpe declinaverimus, qua de causa probe sumus comeriti, ut a sceleratis & furiosis hostibus pietatis, instar panis ac delicatissimi cibi, & deuoremur, & consumamur, te nihilemus, supplices, precamur, ut quemadmodum pollicitus es, generationi istorum, & tibi fidentibus velle adesse, nos ita miseros & afflictos ne deseras (Ps.14; 16v) *SP* 16.

³⁵ Idcirco ne respicias mala nostra merita, imo spectes foedus inter nos & te initum (Ps.103; 112v) *SP* 99. Also same Psalm: Foedus tuum inter nos & te renouari experiamur (112v) *SP* 99.

³⁶ (Ps.105; 114v) *SP* 101.

³⁷ Non enim suspicamur te unquam oblivisci posse foederis quod non semel cum tuis fidelibus inire dignatus es (Ps.111; 126v) *SP* 112.

³⁸ Nihilominus verbis & promissionibus tuis consisi te vehementer etiam atque etiam oramus, ut ecclesiæ tuæ his difficilimis temporibus velis adesse (Ps.82; 89r) *SP* 79.

which Vermigli deals with the struggle of faith and with the times of unbelief that can cause God's children so much sorrow. In words that reveal that Vermigli is not an outsider to these faith-related questions, he admonishes his fellow-believers to find re-assurance in God's promises, which are clearly stated in the Holy Scriptures.³⁹ Whereas one might expect that a predestinarian theologian such as Vermigli would direct people to finding trust in God's election, he chooses rather to point them to the more revealed promises as part of the covenant-relationship between God and man. God's promises are so certain that there is no one to be found who was ever deprived of God's favour.⁴⁰

The basis for this Father-child relationship lies in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ who paid for the sins of the people in order to make justification possible as the act through which the sinner comes in the right relation with God again. For forgiveness of sins we can only rely on the death and blood of Christ.⁴¹ Christ offered himself as 'a rich and pleasing holocaust' and from his triumph on the cross we receive salvation and joyous pleasure.⁴² By giving his life on the cross, Christ merited for us 'the remission of sins, God's friendship and life everlasting'.⁴³ It is through the communion between Him as the Head and the believers as his body that the fruits of his work come to us.⁴⁴ The reason for our happiness is that our sins are forgiven and covered over.⁴⁵ This aspect of the joy and happiness of faith also is a characteristic of Vermigli's

³⁹ Cum natura simus admodum imbecilla & undique circumfusi crassissimis tenebris, te accedimus, Omnipotens Deus, ac rogamus, ut in animo nostro accendatur lucerna tui spiritus, ita enim sermones tuos impollutos & castissima eloquia sanctarum scripturarum, percipiemus, quibus luculentissime promittitur, te forte protectorem omnium in te sperantium (Ps.18; 19r/19v) *SP* 19.

⁴⁰ Atque adeo tam firma fuerunt hactenus hæc tua promissa, ut iustus nunquam repertus sit qui tuo fauore destitutus, necessaria ad victum no habuerit (Ps.37; 39r) *SP* 36.

⁴¹ Sed modo nobis id ex animo dolet, ac Iesu Christi filii tui nostrique servatoris confisi morte & sanguine, omnium peccatorum nostrorum veniam abs te serio & ardentissimis votis imploramus (Ps.56; 60v) *SP* 55.

⁴² Memor itaque, o Deus, continenter esto, pinguis ac suauissimi eius holocausti, quod in ara crucis pro nobis obtulit, ac largire, ut ex triumpho plenæ ipsius victoriae nos & salutem, & iucundam voluptatem capiamus (Ps.20; 22r) *SP* 22.

⁴³ Remissionem peccatorum, tuam amicitiam, æternam vitam meruit (Ps.22; 24r/24v) *SP* 23.

⁴⁴ Isque cum iam obtinuerit, habeatque plenissime quicquid expeti aut desyderari possit ad summam felicitatem, non poterit in nos quoque membra eius non diffundi, & redundare multum de salute, donis & gloria ipsius (Ps.21; 22v) *SP* 22.

⁴⁵ Admonemur abs te, Deus Opt. Max. in eo sitam esse tuorum fœlicitatem, ut illorum peccata condonentur, tegantur, & in tua iudicio ipsis non imputentur (Ps.32; 33r/33v) *SP* 31.

spirituality. This joy about being liberated from guilt and eternal death brings believers to singing God's praise 'with new hymns in public and private'.⁴⁶ God may be glorified with 'exquisite melodies and hymns'.⁴⁷ All this has to do with Vermigli's view that faith is not a mind-thing but a heart-thing. Faith consists of love and trust,⁴⁸ and Vermigli calls upon the believers to focus their hearts on God's wondrous works.⁴⁹ Faith rests in the soul, and there it needs continually to be increased.⁵⁰

As mentioned, one of the main aspects of Vermigli's spirituality is the notion that faith is full of various '*tentationes*'. One of them is the doubt whether 'we are his nation, people and heritage'.⁵¹ Reasons for this doubt are that the hardships and animosity are such one might think God is not on your side. Another reason is that the awareness of one's unworthiness and sinfulness can lead to no other conclusion than that you are not a child of God. Thirdly there are the enemies that bring the believers to despair, trying to convince them that they will no longer find salvation in God.⁵² Satan is driven 'by an immense hatred to keep us from salvation'.⁵³ And then there is, resulting out of 'evil plans and foolish thoughts', the idea that God does not exist.⁵⁴ Our faith often wavers⁵⁵ and is weak, and God needs to convince us steadily that Christ is our King and that He has all the power.⁵⁶ Our weak human nature is 'daily tossed and turned about by infinite troubles'.⁵⁷

⁴⁶ *Nous carminibus publice & privatim (Ps.40; 42r) SP 39.*

⁴⁷ *Perpetuo modis & laudib. multo cultissimis efferaris (Ps.47; 50v) SP 46. Also Psalm 68: Quare tibi deberemus assidue gratias agere Psalmis, laudibus, piis cantionibus, & omni genere carminum (Ps.68; 72r) SP 65.*

⁴⁸ *Concedas, ut te adeo amemus, tibi que; eo usq; fidamus, ut præter te nullum aliud deligamus nobis refugium, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, Amen (Ps.91; 99v) SP 88.*

⁴⁹ *Tum celebrare nomen tuum, omnipotens Deus, intermittimus, quando animos nostros admiranda opera tua no subeunt (Ps.92; 99v) SP 88.*

⁵⁰ *Largiaris itaque cum ut fides hæc in animis nostris perpetuo augeatur (Ps.93; 100r/100v) SP 89.*

⁵¹ *Illius gentem populum ac hæreditatem esse minime dubitemus (Ps.2; 5r) SP 7.*

⁵² *Conantur in desperatione agere quasi nos amplius nulla salus in te maneat (Ps.3; 6v) SP 8.*

⁵³ *Incetatur quippe Satha immani odio ut salute nobis interuertat (Ps.35; 36r) SP 34. Ibidem: Haud te latet ut dolore, fradulenter, ac pessime diuexet fideles (36v) SP 34.*

⁵⁴ *Avertas a filiis tuis, Omnipotens Deus, nepharia illa consilia, & insipientes cogitationes, quibus nobis in animis suogamus te nullum esse (Ps.14; 16r) SP 16.*

⁵⁵ *Verum quod infirmiter credimus, ac sæpe nutat nostra in te fiducia, hinc fit, ut simus adeo trepidi atque meticulosi (Ps.27; 29r) SP 27.*

⁵⁶ *Filium tuum regem ac redemptorem nostrum, summam apud te omnium rerum habere potestatem (Ps.2; 5v) SP 7.*

⁵⁷ *Iactatur & agitur, omnipotens Deus, imbecilla hominum natura quotidie infinitis calamitatibus (Ps.69; 73v) SP 66.*

Faith survives in us only because of God's mercy.⁵⁸ In his prayer on Psalm 64 Vermigli lists the enemies of faith in just the same way as the Heidelberg Catechism does, saying that it is our flesh and the tempter that daily give us a hard time.⁵⁹

Vermigli's pneumatology comes into the picture here, and in his prayers Vermigli relates the Spirit not so much to bringing men into the faith-relationship as to keeping them in that relation. God must give us the Holy Spirit and constancy to fight off the doubts.⁶⁰ It is the Spirit that encourages us to hope and trust in God's help,⁶¹ and it is He who consoles the believers in the midst of their troubles.⁶²

Inseparably connected to justification is sanctification, which is the specific work of the Holy Spirit. God demands from believers that they are 'spotless in their deeds and clean of heart, not devoted to vain and passing goods nor given over to frauds or deceit.'⁶³ Vermigli asks for the Spirit to restore and reform the believers to a new kind of life.⁶⁴ The Holy Spirit refreshes 'exhausted strength of soul'⁶⁵ so that believers are able to live for God again. In order to live God's law He needs to assist us with his Spirit who will teach our hearts.⁶⁶ How close this relation is, becomes clear when Vermigli says that believers can only attain to God as the 'goal and summit of our happiness', when they have 'a pure

⁵⁸ Sed nihile minus pro fide quæ in nobis tua misericordia superest (Ps.3; 6r) *SP* 7.

⁵⁹ Sathan quippe et eius mali satellites nostram perniciem diu noctuq (Ps.64; 69v) *SP* 64. Verum duo præcipue videntur obstare quo id minus a nobis fiat. Primo grauius innumeris vitiis, & peccatis ita premimur, ut vix ausimus ad te oculos nostros attollere; circumdamur præterea, nostrorum scelerum merito, adeo Antichristi metu atq; anxietate, ut parum ab sit quo minus ab ea absorbeamur (Ps.100; 107v/108r) *SP* 95.

⁶⁰ Sed nihilominus pro fide quæ in nobis tua misericordia superest, audemus te accedere, & precamur quo in bis adversariorum exprobrationibus tantum Spiritus & constantiæ digneris nobis suppeditare, ut te unicum præfidium, decus & vindice fore populo tuo no dubitemus (Ps.3; 6r) *SP* 7.

⁶¹ Fac ut incitati sancto spiritu, nos ipsos perpetuo adhortemur ad sperandum & confidendum tuis auxiliis.(Ps.42; 44v/45r) *SP* 41.

⁶² Et summa vitissim donantur fiducia, cum in mediis angustiis eos recrees consolationum iucundissimis rivulis, fœcundo nimirum tuo spiritu, exerendo raras & admirabiles tui auxilii rationes (Ps.46; 49r) *SP* 45.

⁶³ Id sane ab illis requiris, ut cadidi sint operibus, mundo corde, non addicti vanis & fluxis bonis, neque fraudum sectatores (Ps.24; 26r) *SP* 25.

⁶⁴ Nos vero instaurati ac reformati spiritu tuo novo genere vitæ, experiamur in nobis, & annuntiemus eis iustitiam tuam, ita ut illam omnes gentes intelligant (Ps.97; 103v) *SP* 91, 92.

⁶⁵ Sancto spiritus irreges exhaustas animi vires: ut vinamur tibi (Ps.102; 110r/110v) *SP* 97.

⁶⁶ Sed omne humanum studium, prorsus, optime pater, inutile ac vanum esse agnoscimus, ni tu spiritu tuo adsis, & nostros animos doceas (Ps.119; 134v) *SP* 120.

heart, innocent hands, and an abiding fidelity toward their neighbour'.⁶⁷ Now sanctification is increased also through the teaching ministry of the church. It is her task to educate the children and be an example for them.⁶⁸ So the goal of reading the Scriptures and teaching its doctrine is the purity of life. For Vermigli justification and sanctification are two sides of one coin, but for both sides man is totally dependent on God. It is already in the prayer on Psalm 1 that this becomes visible as Vermigli does not write that God should help, but that He should 'keep our souls far from contemning piety and scorning virtues'.⁶⁹ Sanctification increases through reading and studying the Scriptures and it is through pondering Gods words day and night that the believers will bring forth fruit; it is also a means to stay in possession of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁰

4. SIN AND PUNISHMENT

A fourth theme in Vermigli's prayers is the relation between sin and punishment. The pattern is in fact quite uncomplicated since it is a matter of clear cause and effect. Suffering, troubles and hardships can in the end only come from God, since even the evil Satan and his angels direct against us depends on God's assent. God sends us these usually as a reaction to our ingratitude, lack of holiness or unbelief. In the prayer from Psalm 127 Vermigli states that 'because we have been ungrateful and have terribly abused such great and wonderful benefits, you have now rightly begun to try us with such enormous difficulties, from which human effort and ingenuity cannot free us in the least'.⁷¹ Vermigli regards the sins of the believers as an obstacle to

⁶⁷ Verum enim vero, ad te, qui ut dominus es omnium, ita etiam haberis, neque falso, extremum ac summum nostræ fælicitatis peruenire non datur, nisi quibus cor purum, innocentes manus, & constans fides in proximum suum fuerit (Ps.24; 26v) *SP* 25.

⁶⁸ Doctrina & exemplo (Ps.128; 157v) *SP* 141.

⁶⁹ Flagitiosam ne sinas nos incurrere: demumq; a contemptione pietatis, & risu virtutum procul animos nostros remoueas (Ps.1; 3r) *SP* 5.

⁷⁰ Sic enim tempestiuos & suaves fructus, fide verbis tuis adhibita proferemus, neque spiritus Sancti ornamentis expoliabimur, imo successus fælices perpetuo nostras actiones consequetur (Ps.1; 4r) *SP* 6.

⁷¹ Nunc autem quod ingrati fuimus, & beneficiis tantis ac talibus pessime sumus abusi, merito cœpisti nos exercere tantarum rerum difficultate, a qua hominum labores & industriæ minime valent nos explicare (Ps.127; 156r) *SP* 139.

God bringing help,⁷² so the prayer for forgiveness precedes the prayer for help against the enemies. In the prayer on Psalm 1 Vermigli confesses that the believers have not turned aside from the path of the sinners, that they have contemned ‘sound admonitions and healthy practices’, and that they have neglected the Word of God. Well, taking these sins into consideration, the conclusion is evident: ‘It is no wonder that now we have to undergo every heavy, irksome, and bitter experience instead of the happiness and tranquil peace that for so long we have, alas, misused.’⁷³ That combined with the original nature of man⁷⁴ mean that all we deserve is punishment.⁷⁵ According to Vermigli, the sins of God’s children are so much and so evil in God’s sight, ‘that there are no punishments, however heavy, that we do not deserve’.⁷⁶ This being the situation, all we can do is pray God to deal with us not according to our merits, but according to his grace. Vermigli confesses that the believers have forsaken God’s law, did not walk in God’s commandments, profaned God’s sacred rites and have not obeyed His will; and they do not object to being punished by God because of all that, but their only prayer is that God does not take his mercy away.⁷⁷ This prayer is needed because sometimes it seems as if God has rejected the church because of its iniquities.⁷⁸ We have been a burden and a sorrow to God and therefore God brings us in a crisis through stirring up enemies against us.⁷⁹ Yet, it is not only as a punishment from God that

⁷² *Auferas imprimis iniquitates nostras, quæ maxime videntur obstare, ne præsentī inopiæ atque calamitati auxilium feras, nos enim ipsæ, nec aliud quippiam, dirimunt ac distrahunt a tua misericordia (Ps.127; 155v) SP 139.*

⁷³ *Quare haud mirum si pro fœlicitate & tranquilla pace, qua hactenus diu satis pro dolor ab usi sumus, omnia modo gravia molesta & acerbissima cogimur experiri (Ps.1; 3v) SP 5.*

⁷⁴ *Ac summa omnium virium piorum hominum (Ps.18; 19r/19v) SP 19.*

⁷⁵ *Meremur procul dubio, Omnipotens Deus, pro nostris malis admissis, ac infinitis culpis (Ps.6; 8v) SP 10. Agnoscimus plane, agnoscimus, inquam, ob peccata & gravia facinora in te admissa, nos dignos esse qui in hæc inciderimus (Ps.123; 149r) SP 133. Quod profecto, si peccata nostra intueamur, non possumus inficiari commeritos esse (Ps.124; 149v) SP 134.*

⁷⁶ *Nobis vero clementissime pater, ne facias pro meritis iniquitatum nostraru, ita peccauimus, tam pravi in conspectu tuo fuimus, ut nulla supplicia quamvis gravia non mereamur (Ps.109; 122r) SP 108.*

⁷⁷ *Ut nunc quoque cum maxime opus est, fidelium necessitatibus, ut solitus es, consulas (Ps.89; 96r) SP 85.*

⁷⁸ *Memineris illam esse hæreditatem atque electam possessionem tuam, quam licet ob iniquitates nostras videaris interdu abiicere (Ps.108; 120v/121r) SP 107.*

⁷⁹ *Idcirco modo in nos excitastim superbos & crudeles hostes, per quos in magnum discrimen adducti summus (Ps.95; 101r/101v) SP 90.*

the enemies rage, for they also do so out of hatred for those who have 'partly reformed religion' and have restored the worship of God.⁸⁰

With Psalm 30 Vermigli also points to the fact that God's anger does not last long and is quickly changed 'to supreme and lasting kindness'.⁸¹ And there is a passage in the prayer from Psalm 90 where Vermigli prays God to be himself again,⁸² indicating that when God punishes this is not his real attitude. What is needed is a heartily repentance, for it is through repentance that we are delivered from these punishments.⁸³ There is in this causality between sin and punishment no trace in Vermigli's prayers that believers should be afraid of God other than the biblical fear of the Lord.⁸⁴ The sinful state of man does not shy him away from God, but rather invites him to call upon God's grace to let his warnings, as Vermigli calls them, be 'fatherly'.⁸⁵ And indeed, God chastises 'with a fatherly heart'.⁸⁶

In complete harmony with his fellow reformed theologians Vermigli leaves no room for the question 'why?' even in those psalms that clearly are full of this essential question. Even when the why-question is posed, Vermigli directly gives an explanation according to the pattern mentioned. Vermigli regularly refers to the final judgement which will take place upon the believer's death as well as at the return of Christ. Faith in Christ does not save for this judgement for also the believers have to account for their way of life. We must fear and honour Christ since we will have him as our most just judge.⁸⁷ Here also faith and sanctification

⁸⁰ Et ipse vides quam immerito: nam etsi ita graviter peccavimus, ut duriora, quam ista sint, nobis accersuerimus supplicia, tamen haud propter nostra peccata istas foueas nobis foderunt adversarii, sed ob religionem aliqua to expurgatam, & tuum cultum instauratum nos persequuntur, imo extinctos vellent (Ps.119; 138v) *SP* 123.

⁸¹ Quam statim mutas in diuturnam & summam benevolentiam (Ps.30; 31r) *SP* 29.

⁸² Ad te redeas, optime pater (Ps.90; 97v) *SP* 86.

⁸³ Admiranda tuæ seueritatis exempla, omnipotens Deus, qua regnum Isrælitarum euertisti, ac tibi rebellem populum cædibus, rapinis, prædæ, incendiis, captiuitati et omni ærumnarum genere inuoluisti, sint nobis precamur salutaris admonitio, ut pœnitentiam alacri animo capessamus, atque per illam a gravibus eripiamur pœnis, quas ob innumera peccata commeriti sumus (Ps.79; 85v) *SP* 76.

⁸⁴ Quare id nobis reliquum intelligimus, ut quicunq; tuo præditi sunt timore, & ad Isrælem spiritualem pertinent, regnoque & sacerdotio Christo inserti sunt, ut unum te sibi auxilium & defensorem constituent (Ps.115; 130v) *SP* 116.

⁸⁵ Paterna sit, ut erga tuos consueuisti, admonitio (Ps.38; 40r) *SP* 37.

⁸⁶ Non est sane contemnende pietatis, Omnipotens Deus, cum de ægrotantibus tum etiam de piis omnibus, quos interdum corripis adversis casibus, probe iudicare, quasi nimirum qui paterno castigaveris animo sis illos facile erepturus, viuisci caturus, atque demum tua præsentia beaturus (Ps.41; 43r/43v) *SP* 40.

⁸⁷ Quandoquide iustissimum sumus habituri iudice D. nostro Iesum Christum, par est ut illum perpetuo & timeamus & reuereamur (Ps.72; 76r) *SP* 68.

are so closely linked, that one good almost get the impression that it is works that are decisive more than grace and election. So Vermigli prays to God that the believers may 'be able to pass successfully our judgment in the other world before you'.⁸⁸ It is as if it is not certain whether a believer will pass that judgement. There is here a certain but biblical tension in Vermigli's spirituality, since on the one hand there is this certainty of eternal salvation based on God's election and on the fact that he will protect his children in such a way that they will pass. On the other hand, there is this constant appeal to bring forth fruit, to sanctify life in order to gain as much credits to enter. There is in his prayers a direct relation between staying on the right way and enjoying Christ's delights after 'our blessed resurrection'.⁸⁹

The overall line of thought in Vermigli's prayers is that the church is not in good shape because of the sins of the believers therein. There is a lack of godliness and a lack of praise to God, and therefore the church suffers God's punishments. Vermigli does not blame others, but rather speaks of us who have committed these crimes.

5. CHURCH

Now we will pay attention to a fifth major theme in Vermigli's prayers, i.e. that of the church. God has chosen a church for himself,⁹⁰ gathered from many nations and planted not 'by human powers, but by your own hand'.⁹¹ God has not established this church 'in stone buildings or marble temples but in living human hearts'.⁹² This gathering is a continuing process, since Vermigli prays for missions asking God to 'conquer new peoples for the faith and make nations, which so far have been without the faith, obey your word'.⁹³ The church should not only grow in faith,

⁸⁸ Verum etiam in altero seculo cora te, qui via iustorum optime nosti, possimus in iudicio subsistere (Ps.1; 4v) *SP* 6.

⁸⁹ Post beatam resurrectionem, delectationibus perfruamur solidis, quas duntaxat in manu tua profitas esse credimus (Ps.16; 17v) *SP* 17.

⁹⁰ Veræ ecclesiæ, qua tibi delegisti (Ps.4; 8r) *SP* 9.

⁹¹ Summa bonitate, Omnipotens Deus, Ecclesiam tibi ex multis gentibus collegisti, manu tua plantatam non humanis viribus (Ps.44; 46v) *SP* 43. Gratias tibi propterea imprimis agimus, quod sis dignatus ex hoc nostro numero tibi Ecclesia deligere (Ps.75; 78r/78v) *SP* 70.

⁹² Dignatus es, omnipotens Deus, Ecclesiam tibi cogere in terris, ac non in ædes lapideas aut marmorea templa inferre, sed in viva hominum pectora (Ps.47; 50r) *SP* 46.

⁹³ Perge subiicere fidei novos populos, & verbos tuo parere facias quæ hactenus fuerunt infideles nationes (Ps.47; 50v) *SP* 46.

but also in number,⁹⁴ and it is Vermigli's prayer that the number of those that call upon God increases day by day.⁹⁵ It is the task of all believers to gain people for Christ and thereby to advance the progress of Christ's kingdom. It is with 'sincere enthusiasm, joyful admiration and zealous support that believers take part in this for when people are brought to church they will there find salvation and praise God's goodness.'⁹⁶ One of the ways in which the church grows is when the believers live with one another, confer and worship together, but she is weakened when there are dissensions among the brothers and sisters.⁹⁷ For Vermigli this is almost like a chain of salvation (*catena salutis*) for when there is harmony in the church, people will gather in God's name, enjoy his presence, experience his blessing, 'and at last attain to life everlasting'.⁹⁸ If there is a unity in love, peace and charity in the Church, this will attract others who have alienated themselves from God.⁹⁹

Although all of creation is a demonstration of God's goodness, the church is God's special work in which He is praised and glorified because there the true doctrine is found and people are shown the way to heaven.¹⁰⁰ Vermigli prays for the restoration of the church, wanting that in each congregation, so that people can come together 'to celebrate your praises, to listen to sacred doctrine, and to receive the sacraments rightly'.¹⁰¹ For Vermigli there is no doubt that the Old Testament people of Israel is equivalent to the church, which does not mean that he adheres to a theory of substitution as if the church of the New Testament replaces Israel. Quite the opposite, Israel is the church,

⁹⁴ Cum numero tum etiam fide, atq (Ps.105; 115v) *SP* 102.

⁹⁵ Sic indies te vere inuocantium numerus amplior fiat (Ps.119; 137r) *SP* 122.

⁹⁶ Promotionem regni Christi, Deus Opt. Max. conuenis omnes fideles ingenti plausu, admiratione læta bunda, & studiosissimo fauore prosequi: nam ibi & declaratur tua bonitas & ipsi nostræ salutis compotes efficimur (Ps.47; 50v/51r) *SP* 46.

⁹⁷ Quando inter se quam coniunctissime viuunt & optimis rationibus conspirant ad te colendum, omnipotens Deus, illi qui tuo nomine sunt insigniti, clara et potens Ecclesia indies magis atque magis efficitur (Ps.133; 162r) *SP* 144, 145.

⁹⁸ Benedictionem tuam opulentissimam experiantur, & æternam vitam demum percipiant (Ps.133; 162v) *SP* 145.

⁹⁹ Cum omnes credentes, Deus Opt. Ma. tua benignitate in filios adoptaueris, davt qui sancta generatione sumus fratres amore, pace atque charitate perpetua simul iungamur, quo & dum hic viuimus ex huiusmodi pace voluptatem synceram capiamus, & omnibus aliis abs te alienis suauissimus odor simus ad æternam salutem (Ps.133; 163r/163v) *SP* 145.

¹⁰⁰ Omnes creaturæ, Deus Opt. Max. tuam luculenter bonitatem contestantur: sed Ecclesia præcipuum est opus quo unice prædicaris & celebraris (Ps.48; 52r) *SP* 48.

¹⁰¹ Laudes promovendas, doctrinam sacram audiendam & sacramenta rite percipienda (Ps.84; 90r/90v) *SP* 80.

and that church was extended with the non-jewish believers, so now Vermigli speaks of the spiritual Israel,¹⁰² 'the true Israel which is your Church'¹⁰³ and 'your Israel'.¹⁰⁴ Yet there is besides the line of history, the line of analogy. As God has delivered Israel from the enemies, so God should do the same today with the enemies of the church. According to this analogy, Vermigli sees the Reformation as the renewal of God's covenant with his church.¹⁰⁵

Remarkable in comparison to the Hebrew Psalms and to the exegetical approach of fellow theologians, Vermigli hardly pays attention to the Psalms as individual prayers but sees them as prayers of the church as the community of believers. Vermigli's sacred prayers are plural not singular, and his permanent speech of 'we', 'us' and 'each other' leaves no room whatever for the idea that Vermigli's spirituality is individualistic. It is sporadic that Vermigli speaks about the individual believer.¹⁰⁶ This means that the church as the body of Christ is essential for Vermigli's spirituality in such a way that first there is the church and then there is the believer. *Coram deo* is therefore always the believer before God seen in the fellowship of all other believers, which results in the admonishment to help each other on the road to God and to remember his holiness.¹⁰⁷ Vermigli therefore prays that all that belong to the Church and believe her holy teaching may become 'mutual friends and loyal brothers', so the basis for this communion and fellowship is the common adherence to doctrine. Therefore he speaks about the 'sweet perfume of our shared conviction',¹⁰⁸ which is like mutual love spread as far as possible.

In some prayers the link to the actual situation of the sixteenth century is clear, just as clear as on what side of both parties God stands, according to Vermigli. Whereas the Reformation is *coram Deo*, Rome

¹⁰² *Israëlem spiritualem* (Ps.115; 130v) *SP* 116.

¹⁰³ *Veri Israël, hoc est Ecclesiæ tuæ* (Ps.130; 159v) *SP* 143.

¹⁰⁴ *Tuo (...) Israël* (Ps.125; 152r) *SP* 136.

¹⁰⁵ *Fœdus tuum inter nos & te renouari experiamur* (Ps.103; 112v) *SP* 99.

¹⁰⁶ *Potuerunt quidem cæli opus videri dignum tuo artificio, sed quod te ad hominem caducum atque mortalem tam sollicitè curandum motueris adeo demittere, videtur maxima & admirabilis pietatis tuæ signum* (Ps.8; 10r) *SP* 11.

¹⁰⁷ *De commemoratione tuæ sanctitatis nos inuicem perpetuo commonefaciamus* (Ps.97; 105r) *SP* 93.

¹⁰⁸ *Nosque firmissima charitate inuicem copules in sanctum Ecclesiæ tuæ corpus, quo nostri consensus, ut mutuæ dilectionis odor suavis quam latissime spargatur, & rore tuæ bene dictionis indies magisq; feraces reddamur piarum actionum* (Ps.133; 163r) *SP* 145.

is *contra Deum*, which means that Vermigli easily can apply the prayers of revenge as prayers in which the church of the Reformation calls upon God to help in the struggle against the Church of Rome. In his prayer from Psalm 58 Vermigli reveals to God that the Antichrist is planning a council, 'to be held about piety and religion',¹⁰⁹ which in fact is only a way to hide that the actual plan is to hurt the Church of God, which is a clear reference to the preparations for the Council of Trent which were held simultaneously with those for the First Schmalkaldic War in May and June 1545. Vermigli prays that God may destroy their plans and to make all of them unable to do any harm. For Vermigli there is no doubt that the enemies mentioned in the Psalms are identical to those that the reformers face in their days.¹¹⁰ But these enemies are not only Rome, but are all 'those who think that the Gospel and the reformation of the Church are intolerable chains and a heavy yoke, so that they try by every device to break apart communities of believers and reject all discipline',¹¹¹ with which Vermigli refers also to libertines. However these are some of the relatively few occasions where Vermigli prays for the destruction of the enemies and for God's revenge against those that oppose those who are according to Vermigli the real church.¹¹² These are also the very few occasions where the Church of Rome is so clearly identified with Antichrist and his army, they are exceptions to the overall line in which the enemies are kept rather general. The stress in the prayers is not on the destruction of the enemies, but on the rescue of God's people. Besides, Vermigli prays for the enemies of the church,¹¹³ and specifically that God will open the eyes of the adversaries

¹⁰⁹ Antichristus & omnia eius membra, Deus Opt. Max. iam nihil aliud voluunt animo contra Ecclesiam tuam, quam iniquitates & iniustissima cogitata, cumque speciem sibi faciant & haberi velint Concilium pietatis atque religionis, re tamen ipsa nil moliuntur nisi mendacia (Ps.58; 64v) *SP* 58.

¹¹⁰ Rogamus præterea cælestis pater, ut hoc nostro difficillime tempore non deseras Ecclesiam tuam: vides quippe ut crudeles, malitiosi & impii. Antichristi eam inuaserint (Ps.101; 109r) *SP* 96.

¹¹¹ Hoc tempore sentimus Deus Opt. Max. non solum antichristum sed omnem vim & potentiam mundi adversum te conspirasse & Christum tuum: ut qui putent euangelium & ecclesiæ instaurationem esse vincula intollerabilia & iugum durissimum, idcirco annituntur omnibus rationibus, ut fidelium societates disrumpant & omnem abiiciant disciplinam (Ps.2; 4v) *SP* 6.

¹¹² Ac tandem in adversarios tuæ gloriæ, dolores & calamitates effundantur (Ps.32; 33v) *SP* 32.

¹¹³ Ab his potissimum pro quorum salute perpetuo te oravit Ecclesia (Ps.109; 122r/122v) *SP* 108.

so that they will see ‘the nature of the true Church’.¹¹⁴ For him namely the present reformation of the church is a reformation of religion and piety which has no other goal than a more sincere observance of God’s law.¹¹⁵ This prayer for the enemies—although they do not deserve it¹¹⁶—flows from the kindness of the church and more specific from her motherly care.¹¹⁷

CONCLUSION: LIFE AS PILGRIMAGE

The spirituality of Vermigli as reflected in the Psalms has also the strong notion that life is a pilgrimage¹¹⁸ and that we spend this life as pilgrims. We lead ‘a harsh and fleeting life, which flows like water.’¹¹⁹ Although God has come down to us in Christ, is with us through his Spirit yet the church is still ‘on pilgrimage far from you’.¹²⁰ God’s church is on the road to eternity, but during this journey it is constantly in danger and under attack. We are ‘in countless perils as long as we live here’.¹²¹ The way Vermigli describes the situation is one of permanent danger of ending up in hell. We are surrounded and attacked by temptations and there are many that can not resist them and ‘are hurled into eternal damnation’.¹²² Only those that are steadfast will be able to resist these temptations. The Church has sinned, that is the believers have sinned and that also causes the troubles that come to the church from without but also from within; but although all of this is deserved, the constant prayer is that God will keep the church safe on its journey. Apart from these enemies there is the problem of ‘our weakness and ignorance’,¹²³

¹¹⁴ *Formam veræ Ecclesiæ* (Ps.4; 7v) *SP* 9.

¹¹⁵ *Tantum enim contendimus, ut religionis ac pietatis instauratio provehatur, ad mandatorum tuorum observatione & synceriores legis observantia* (Ps.17; 17v) *SP* 18.

¹¹⁶ *Non merentur ut illis fœlices precemur successus, eum impia sint illorum incepta* (Ps.129; 158v) *SP* 141.

¹¹⁷ *Illa ut benigna est, eos materna charitate diligit, atque pro illorum salute precibus, cum inflammatis tum etiam frequentibus, te orat* (Ps.109; 123r) *SP* 109.

¹¹⁸ *Vitam hanc peregrini* (Ps.7; 9v) *SP* 10.

¹¹⁹ *Vitam plane degimus & miseram & fugacissimam, quæ instar aquarum diffluit* (Ps.90; 97r) *SP* 86.

¹²⁰ *Cum itaq; res ad hunc modum habeat dum hic abs te peregrinamur* (Ps.97; 105r) *SP* 93.

¹²¹ *Cum simus, cœlestis pater, dum hic vivimus in infinitis periculis* (Ps.18; 20v) *SP* 20.

¹²² *Et gravissimis, ut sit quotidie, tentationibus undique sævientibus, quibus infiniti mortales præcipitantur in æternam damnationem* (Ps.91; 99r) *SP* 88.

¹²³ *Nostræ infirmitati atque inscitiae* (Ps.7; 9v) *SP* 10.

and we need God's light to understand his commandments in order not to get lost. These five themes are brought together in one sentence, which Vermigli mentions in his prayer from Psalm 103:

Let us experience the renewal of your covenant between you and us, and after its reestablishment let us hasten by a supreme effort to give expression to your commandments and law by our holiness of life so that worthy thanks to your goodness may be given for our salvation not only by the Church on earth but also by the angels, who carry out your will with the greatest eagerness. Through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ *Fœdus tuum inter nos & te renouari experiamur, & eo restituto, summa studio contendamus vitæ sanctitate mandata et legem tuam exprimere, quo de nostra salute non modo terrena Ecclesia, verum angeli quoque, qui tuam voluntatem summa alacritate exequuntur, bonitati tuæ meritis gratias agant, per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, Amen (Ps.103; 112v) SP 99.*

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

INTERPRETING LAMENTATIONS: THEODICY AND THE TURKS

Daniel Shute

For sixteenth-century Western Europe the Ottoman Empire represented a larger than life threat in much the same way that the Soviet Union did in the second half of the twentieth century. This threat led Peter Martyr Vermigli to include in his lectures on Lamentations an analogy between the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem (the subject of the Book of Lamentations) and the apparent aim of the Ottoman Turks to conquer the rest of Europe. He included this analogy, which is in effect a theodicy, in spite of his express intention merely to make the prophet's message plain. This leads us first to investigate Peter Martyr's method of scripture interpretation in his Lamentations lectures and second to look closely at his applications of the ancient prophet's message to the Turkish conquests of his own time.

Peter Martyr began the Protestant period of his scripture teaching career by expositing first the Minor Prophets and then Lamentations, of which only the Lamentations exposition remains accessible.¹ After Lamentations, Peter Martyr most probably proceeded to the Pentateuch, Genesis first.² Genesis is typical of all the remainder of his scripture exposition: it is expansive, replete with allusions, garnished with extended excursus (also called '*loci*'), enriched with pastoral asides, and

¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commentary on the Lamentations*, ed. Shute, PML vol. 6 (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2002) [hereafter cited *CLJ*], xlvii n. 103–104, 8. Simler was not correct: Josiah Simler, *Life of Peter Martyr Vermigli*, ed. Donnelly, The Peter Martyr Library vol. 5 (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 1999), 28. Regarding the missing (never published) lectures on the Minor Prophets, there is a possibility that they may be among the unclassified manuscripts of the Zentral Bibliothek in Zurich (Emidio Campi, personal conversation, at the Third International Conference of the Peter Martyr Society, held at the Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 8–10 August 2007).

² Josiah Simler, *Life of Peter Martyr Vermigli*, in *LLS* 28, 33. Simler states incorrectly that Vermigli commenced his Protestant lectures with Lamentations.

even embellished with the occasional allegory.³ By comparison the Lamentations commentary is severely philological, although it does share with the later commentaries an intimidating knowledge of medieval Jewish philology and does include practical applications.⁴

Peter Martyr not only expounded scripture, he also gave detailed teaching on the nature of scripture and its proper interpretation.⁵ This does not mean that he presented his 'hermeneutic' in today's sense, that is, his theory of revelation, text, interpretation, and Bible. Peter Martyr's hermeneutic must be distilled from many places in his writings; this task Jason Zuidema has begun.⁶ Rather Peter Martyr presented his doctrine of scripture and its proper interpretation, a restricted sense of hermeneutic that will be respected here.

In his preface to his Lamentations lectures, Peter Martyr has a short introduction to method in interpretation. As brief as these comments on method are, they form, whether by design or chance, a sort of *précis* of his teaching on scripture and its interpretation. Peter Martyr begins this short discussion thus: 'It remains for me to explain to you exactly how I have decided to go about the interpretation of this book. Principally I shall take care to make plain in as open a manner as possible the meaning of the prophet's words.'⁷ Here we are reminded that pre-Enlightenment interpreters thought of the text as an objective truth to be investigated. The modern, and more particularly post-modern, notion of the inaccessibility of authorial intent of a text was yet to come. At the same time, historical-critical method was at best nascent; Peter Martyr

³ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In primum librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur, commentarii doctissimi* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1569) [cited hereafter *GEN*]: expansive, e.g. an aside on the creation of angels (2r); allusions, e.g. the first paragraph contains explicit allusions to Aristotle, Virgil, and Origen (2r); first typographically demarcated excursus (35v, *De Sacrificiis*); first allegory (5v).

⁴ *GEN* 2r, contains the first explicit allusion to Hebraica, viz., the Jerusalem Targum.

⁵ *GEN* 1r–1v; 'Encomium of the Scripture,' 'Exhortation for Youths to Study Sacred Letters,' and 'Inaugural Oration Delivered at Zurich When He Took the Place of Doctor Konrad Pellikan,' in *LLS* 227–286, 321–334. See also preface or dedicatory epistle in his commentaries: *In Selectissimam D. Pauli Apostoli Priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam* (Zurich: Froschauer, 1551), sig. A-B2 [cited hereafter *COR*]; *In Epistolam S. Pavli apostoli ad Romanos* (Basil: Petrus Perna, 1560), sig. α3 ff. [cited hereafter *ROM*], [ET: *Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Figure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes* (London: John Daye, 1568), sig. [Aii] ff. [cited hereafter *CER*]; *In Lamentationes sanctissimi Ieremie prophetæ* (Zurich: Joh. Jacob Bodmer, 1629), 3–4 [cited hereafter *LAM*].

⁶ Jason Zuidema, *Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) and the Outward Instruments of Divine Grace* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 93–136.

⁷ *CLJ* 6.

never questions the authorship of Lamentations, still less entertains the theory that Lamentations was composed at the Temple's rebuilding.⁸ For most sixteenth-century interpreters the history was as written, and the grammatical meaning was what needed close investigation.

Having stated that his interpretative method is to make the prophet's words plain, Peter Martyr adds:

However, other supplementary matters, what things people are able to derive or discover on their own, I shall leave to you to be searched out on your own. For as Ibn Ezra rightly observed, to understand the verbal sense in these matters is something solid, like the body. When someone appropriates the body for himself, he will easily be able to put over it a variety of clothes. These clothes are, as a consequence, of a greater or lesser value, finer or ruder, in proportion to the inspiration of the divine Spirit, who leads those engaged in 'turning these matters over and over by the hand night and day.' Imitate this method to grasp the sense of each and every verse. Afterwards it will, believe me, be very easy for you to 'put on' new things that are apt for both time and place.⁹

Peter Martyr does not discount other meanings beyond the 'verbal,' but only this verbal meaning carries authority. This is, of course, Protestant polemic against the Roman Catholic Church's magisterium's claim to uncover a deeper level of scripture. Like the first Protestant interpreters, the pre-modern Jewish students of scripture also wrestled with traditional meanings of scripture that were alien to the scriptural context.¹⁰ The medieval Jewish commentator Rashi intentionally includes the imaginative interpretation of the *midrashim* in his Lamentations comments, while the equally Jewish medieval commentator Ibn Ezra in his comments on the same book claims to eschew midrashic interpretation in favour of the grammatical meaning, provided it does not contradict traditional Jewish practice.¹¹ So we are not surprised when Peter Martyr

⁸ Adele Berlin, *Lamentations: a commentary* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 35 n. 74; in fact, Berlin argues along with most scholars that Lamentations dates before the rebuilding of the temple.

⁹ *CLJ* 6–7.

¹⁰ The critical literature on *peshat* and *derash* in post-Masoretic Jewish biblical interpretation is vast; see, for example, Kalman P. Bland, 'Issues in Sixteenth-Century Jewish Exegesis,' in *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David C. Steinmetz (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990), 50–67.

¹¹ Benjamin J. Gilles, *Peshat and Derash in the Exegesis of Rashi* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1981), chap. 3, 'The Dual Character of the Bible Commentary.' See *The Encyclopedia of Judaism*, ed. Jacob Neusner, Alan J. Avery-Peck, William Scott Green (New York: Continuum, 1999), s.v. 'Ibn Ezra, Abraham'.

cites Ibn Ezra's preface to Lamentations. Martyr treats meanings beyond the verbal as important but attributes their authority not to tradition (whether the Church Fathers or the *midrashim*) nor to method (e.g., the famous fourfold method of scripture interpretation used so often in Christian medieval exegesis)¹² but to hard study and submission to the Holy Spirit's influence. We might note in passing that this distinction between the simple and applied meaning has endured even in today's reader-centred interpretation. Let a reference to two of the standard commentaries in English on Lamentations suffice: Adele Berlin's 2002 commentary on Lamentations is more historical-critical while that of Dobbs-Allsopp of the same year is self-consciously homiletical.¹³

This stance towards beyond-verbal meanings leads Peter Martyr to confront the hoary Christian tradition of the prestige of non-literal interpretations:

Do not let what many people thrust at you so unfittingly lead you astray from my good advice. They say, 'The letter kills, but the spirit gives life.' Everything offered to us without the Spirit of Christ kills, whether it be from human wisdom, from natural law, or from Moses' Decalogue. Even the gospel, if you read it without having the Spirit of Christ, is the letter and it kills. These external things merely instruct, condemn, accuse, and show us what sin is. If, on the contrary, you have the Spirit of Christ and handle these things, they do not kill but console. Those people pass time on a faulty work in the name of the letter that kills.

Peter Martyr arrives at the key role of the Holy Spirit in a logical way. Word and Spirit work in concert in order to achieve salvation. Normally saving knowledge comes through Scripture whose author is the Spirit. Proper, saving interpretation of Scripture is dependent on the indwelling Holy Spirit.¹⁴ When comparing the teaching of Peter Martyr

¹² For Peter Martyr's negative attitude to the four-fold method, see Zuidema, 'Vermigli and the outward instrument,' 161, who cites one of Peter Martyr's sermons, 'On the Death of Christ,' as translated in *LLS* 247.

¹³ Berlin, *Lamentations*; F.W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, Interpretation, a Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching (Louisville, Ky.: John Knox Press, 2002).

¹⁴ The outward Word and inward Spirit work in concert: see Zuidema, *Outward Instruments*, 96–98, 103, 114–15. The Holy Spirit is the actual author of scripture and must enlighten our minds to understand it in a saving fashion. See also *ibid.* 125–126. (refer to 'Encomium of the Scripture,' in *LLS* 296–297). Note especially the longest statement from Peter Martyr that we have on the interpretation of scripture, which is from his preface to his 1 Corinthians lectures. We establish the meaning of scripture by the indwelling Spirit of God and by comparing scripture with scripture (the Spirit being mentioned first): *COR* sig. a; see also *CP* 41.

on Scripture with that of Calvin in his *Institutes*, there would seem to be a difference in emphasis if not in substance. John Calvin argued that scripture acted like a pair of correctives lenses, allowing us a clear knowledge of God. The role of God's Spirit is to authenticate scripture, to testify that it is indeed God's word.¹⁵ It is not until the third book of the *Institutes* Calvin affirms that we remain blind to the truth of the gospel unless the Holy Spirit seals faith in our hearts.¹⁶ Thus Peter Martyr's doctrine of scripture is integrated more into his pneumatology that it is in Calvin's *Institutes*. Although he does not use the metaphor, we could say that Peter Martyr understands the indwelling Spirit of God to be the spectacles we need to read scripture in a salvific way.

Peter Martyr ends his remarks on interpretation method with a rhetorical *inclusio*: 'So my interpretation of Lamentations will be the kind that makes absolutely plain the words of the prophet. This is the way in which I carried on my exposition of the Minor Prophets.' Using the philological tools available today, we may easily see how many times Peter Martyr failed to interpret correctly the words of the Lamenter. This is beside the point. He was focusing on what he, to the best of his ability and with the exegetical tools at his disposal, believed to be the prophet's meaning.

In contrast to Peter Martyr's emphasis on the plain meaning, we may look at the brief comments on Lamentations by Melanchthon, which are decidedly Christological, or at least Christian, in a rather forced way. Melanchthon actualized the Lamenter's words with references to Christ and his work and to current events: 'This comparison [between the Turks and the Babylonians] therefore also must be made, because Jeremiah wrote these lugubrious poems, not so much for his own time but for the Church that was going to follow after him in all times.'¹⁷ Melanchthon alludes to 1 Cor. 10:11, 'Now these things happened to them as a warning, but they were written down for our instruction,

¹⁵ Calvin, *Inst.*, I.7.4–5.

¹⁶ Calvin, *Inst.*, III.1.1–4.

¹⁷ Philipp Melanchthon, *Hieremiae prophetæ threni* = קנות הימריה (Wittenbergæ: [s.n.], 1524). The text is in Hebrew, but the Melanchthon's preface is in Latin; the Latin preface has not been translated into English. See Lowell C. Green, *Melanchthon in English: New Translations into English with a Registry of Previous Translations: A Memorial to William Hammer (1909–1976)*, Lowell C. Green assisted by Charles D. Froehlich (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), 1–58. Hereafter Melanchthon's *Hieremiae prophetæ threni* will be cited in the standard critical text: *Argumentum in threnos Ieremiae*, CR v.13.

upon whom the end of the ages has come.' So Melancthon has the weight of apostolic tradition on his side in a way than Peter Martyr does not. The interpretative method of Peter Martyr and his precursors Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Bucer was a good deal more revolutionary than they realized.¹⁸ This insistence on the grammar and history of the text led to a questioning of traditional interpretations of scripture. The destabilization of traditional authorities encouraged the biblical criticism of the Enlightenment.¹⁹

In theory, therefore, Peter Martyr concentrates on the meaning of the Lamenters's words in their historical context. In practice, Peter Martyr did not restrict himself to this. He applies the Lamenters's message to concerns in the Christian life and to such urgent issues of the day as the threat of the Turks. The first of these beyond-verbal meanings occurs in Peter Martyr's exposition of the very first verse 'How does she sit alone, a city full of people? She has become like a widow....' Peter Martyr comments:

He did not say simply and without qualification, 'She was a widow,' since these Jews were going to return to the dwellings of their fathers, as is observed to have happened in the book of Ezra. Invariably the temporal tribulations of the sons of God do not last forever. Although at times they sense God's favour toward them very little, nevertheless God does not really abandon them.

We may make three observations here. First, Peter Martyr has unconsciously picked up an applied Jewish interpretation from the *midrashim* via Rashi. Jewish tradition turns a simile into a prophecy, according to which Jeremiah does not say, 'She was a widow,' for a widow's husband is dead, and that would mean that Jerusalem would forever remain a ruin; rather Jeremiah says, 'She was *like* a widow,' meaning, despite all rational evidence to the contrary, Jerusalem would be rebuilt. Secondly, Peter Martyr's verbal meaning does not remove the supernatural element from the text; he does not find it incredible that 'Jeremiah' should be prophesying the return of the Jews. Thirdly, the meaning beyond the verbal meaning is not allegorical

¹⁸ R. Gerald Hobbs, 'An Introduction to the Psalms commentary of Martin Bucer,' (PhD diss., Université de Strasbourg, 1971), 316–321. For summaries of the interpretative methods of Zwingli and Bucer, see *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation*, s.v. 'Zwingli,' and 'Bucer.'

¹⁹ For a concise review of this progression, see *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, s.v. 'Biblical Interpretation, History of.'

or figurative but what we might better call analogical. What God's people went through before Christ they continue so after. His applied meaning is dependent on a unity of the Old and New Covenants and on the continuity of God's work; Hebraism is not far removed from such exposition.

Not only does Peter Martyr give counsel for the Christian life, he also manages to apply the disaster of Jerusalem's fall to situations in his own world, the Turkish threat being a case in point. The Book of Lamentations is written as if it were composed shortly after the Neo-Babylonian army destroyed Jerusalem and its Temple in 587 B.C.,²⁰ so Peter Martyr and his contemporaries treated it as such. This destruction was a calamity of unimaginable proportions: the Temple was destroyed, and with it, to all outward appearances at least, so were Israel and the covenants. Little wonder that the ancient Lamerter was forced to ask 'Why?' How could a good and all-powerful God allow the wicked Babylonians to destroy what was most sacred in God's world? True, the Lamerter here and there makes attempts to explain God's action, or rather inaction, since God failed to protect the city.²¹ But all explanations seem to falter: we might call the Book of Lamentations a failed theodicy.²² When lecturing on the Book of Lamentations, Peter Martyr Vermigli had the opportunity to ruminate on issues in his world that theodicy could not quite handle. How could a good and all-powerful God allow the Turks to be in an excellent position to destroy the last vestiges of Christendom? It might appear that the topic under discussion has actuality because of Islam's rising influence in secular Turkey. So perhaps we may resort to the disclaimer in novels: any resemblance to actual people and events is purely accidental.

²⁰ Even today, most commentators agree. See Claus Westermann, *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation*, trans. Charles Muenchow (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 54–55.

²¹ Most of today's commentators believe that in his anguish the Lamerter does not receive without severe questioning the 'Orthodox theodicy' that Israel suffered justly on account of her sins. See Iain Provan, *Lamentations*, The New Century Bible Commentary (London: Marshall Pickering, 1991), 20–25.

²² It might be argued that speaking about 'theodicy' before Leibniz coined the expression is inappropriate. However, with or without the term itself, theodicy has been a preoccupation of some of the best minds of all time. See *Sacramentum Mundi*, s.v. 'theodicy.' For theodicy in the Bible, see James L. Crenshaw's article in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, s.v. 'theodicy.'

Let us refresh our late medieval-early modern history of Islam and remind ourselves that the Ottoman Turks were a real threat to Western Europe. The Eastern Roman Empire in Asia Minor had been a bulwark to the otherwise steady expansion of Islam. However, after the death of the powerful Emperor Basil II in 1025, this vestige of the Roman Empire went into a precipitous decline. In particular its heart, Asia Minor, was left vulnerable; just east of it the Seljuk Turks, converts to Islam, had established a relatively stable kingdom. In 1071 in the battle of Manzikert the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan²³ destroyed the Byzantine army, and proceeded to absorb much of Asia Minor; from then on Byzantines ceased to be an effective threat to the steady expansion of the Turks in Asia Minor.²⁴ The Seljuk conquest of Asia Minor proved unstable, but a vigorous Turkish chieftain of the first half of the fourteenth century, the semi-legendary Osman, founded a viable principality, destined to become the Ottoman Empire.²⁵ The Ottomans gradually assimilated the remnants of the Byzantine Empire, including the Balkans. The coup de grace came in 1453 when the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed the Conqueror, took Constantinople, the last fragment of the once vigorous Eastern Roman Empire. Although strategically, the capitulation of Constantinople made little impact, the symbolic value of the capture of immense.²⁶ Thus Peter Martyr was brought up in a Europe that was only too well aware that the Ottoman Empire was the most powerful state in Europe and the Middle East. The Ottomans were reducing the ancient heartland of Christendom to a small oppressed minority in their expanding Islamic empire. By the time Peter Martyr was thirty, the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Law-Giver had taken much of Hungary and nearly captured Vienna itself.²⁷ By the time Peter Martyr left Catholic Italy for Protestant Strasburg, the Ottomans were undoubtedly the most powerful naval force in the Mediterranean and had made the eastern and central Mediterranean an Ottoman lake.²⁸ In fact, while Peter Martyr remained alive, the Ottomans sustained no major defeats at the hands of their adversaries in Western Europe. Ten

²³ The name means 'Brave Lion' in Turkish. Arslan/Aslan did not gain common coinage until C.S. Lewis's 'Chronicles of Narnia'.

²⁴ Lord Kinross, *The Ottoman Centuries: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish Empire* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1977), 15–17.

²⁵ Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 18.

²⁶ Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 101–111.

²⁷ Martyr quitted Italy in 1541. Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 190–95.

²⁸ Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 217–28.

years after Peter Martyr died, a coalition of Christian navies off the Gulf of Lepanto destroyed an Ottoman armada. One hundred twenty years after Peter Martyr died, Sultan Mehmed IV's Grand Vizer, Kara Mutafa led a huge Turkish army in an all-out attempt finally to capture Vienna; this army was destroyed largely through the famous cavalry charge of the Polish King John III Sobieski, on 12 September, 1683.²⁹ These two catastrophic defeats, the one by sea, the other by land, at last destroyed the myth of Ottoman invincibility. But while Peter Martyr lived, Western Europeans firmly believed that, as Tolkien would later say, the quest stood on the edge of a knife:³⁰ all too little was stopping the immense Ottoman army from putting its boots on, taking Vienna, and marching virtually unopposed into Rome to renew an infidel Empire. Using the wisdom of historical perspective, we now know, of course, things were not that simple. If Western Europe could have united its forces, it could easily have been a match for the greatest of the Ottoman sultans. In fact, power politics kept the West divided. The very Christian King, Francis I of France, cultivated the friendship of the Ottomans to counter the growing power of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, a policy the equally Christian monarch, Elizabeth I of England, also tried when she was conniving against her Roman Catholic enemies.³¹

It is not therefore surprising that the sixteenth-century Reformers referred with some frequency to the Ottoman menace. The Turks haunted Martin Luther's writings and lectures, particularly his Sermons on the Gospel of John. Luther believed that the rise of 'the Turk' was one of the harbingers of the End of the World.³² Luther also taught that the Turks were God's scourge to punish the sins of Christians. Luther did not connect the Turks' conquest of eastern Christendom with the Babylonians' sack of Jerusalem poignantly portrayed in Lamentations.³³ But, as we have seen, Melanchthon did make such a connection. Most of what Melanchthon had to say about Lamentations is contained in his preface to a Hebrew edition of the same; this small Hebrew book

²⁹ Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 341–49.

³⁰ J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring, Being the First Part of The Lord of the Rings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 372.

³¹ Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, 173–75, 321–28.

³² John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963), 245–47.

³³ At least no evidence can be found in the references as found in the indexing of the standard English edition of Luther's works: Joel W. Lundeen, *Index to Luther's Works*, ed. Pelikan and Lehmann (Saint Louis, [Missouri]: Concordia Publishing House, 1986).

appeared in 1524.³⁴ This is what Melanchthon had to say about the Turks in this preface:

It is miserable that in falls such [as that of Jerusalem] parents are sundered from sons, spouses from spouses. The Gentiles also deplored these things, but when it concerns the Church it is sadder still, since the Church knows that its people are sundered from true doctrine, as often happens in our day, when the Turks lead away some captured multitude. The magnitude of these horrible miseries does not approach secure souls, by whom in quietness and in peace these evils are neither experienced nor seen; but the neighbours of Turkish tyranny see daily examples. And we see a shadow of such in this German war: dispersions of the [817] Churches and schools occur in many places, which, even if they are not yet great, nevertheless God must be prayed, that his own immense pity spare this weak old Church, and not allow other more atrocious dispersions to follow.

Melanchthon justifies mentioning the Turks by saying: ‘The complaints of Jeremiah are better understood, and more affect our souls, when they might be compared to our recent calamities.’³⁵ The deportations carried out by the Babylonians remind Melanchthon of those carried out by the Turks, who are similarly harbingers of God’s impending judgement on Christendom. Melanchthon strongly affirms that Lamentations, like the rest of Scripture, is an unfolding of both law and gospel. When the Jews broke the law, they were punished by God through the agency of the Babylonians. But we are encouraged by the message of hope in Lamentations. First, a remnant would be saved. Second, God is not finished with this remnant but is purifying it. Third, the calamity is a test of faith.³⁶

Melanchthon’s preface to Lamentations would have had circulation in the early Protestant community. It would be less than honest to affirm that Peter Martyr, when he wrote his Lamentations lectures, had before him Melanchthon’s preface. Three matters would argue in the affirmative. First, there is a bit of verbal similarity: Peter Martyr mentions ‘*quonam tempore Hieremias hoc lugubre Carmen descripserit*’ and Melanchthon, ‘*quia scripsit Ieremias haec lububria carmina*’. Second there is the matter of the Turks. The Turks get no mention in Martyr’s

³⁴ See note 17 above.

³⁵ Melanchthon, *Argumentum in threnos Ieremiæ*, CR 13: 816–17.

³⁶ Melanchthon, *Argumentum in threnos Ieremiæ*, CR 13: 819–20.

Genesis lectures, or at least in those that remain to us. But the Turks make their appearance four times in his Lamentations exposition. There are other scattered references to the Turks in the surviving Peter Martyr corpus, but the references in Lamentations are more frequent and more prominent.³⁷ Thirdly, as we shall see, there is some similarity in argument: Melanchthon's three consolations seem close to what Peter Martyr has to say about the Turks. But whether or not Peter Martyr had Melanchthon's Preface to Lamentations in front of him, both reformers use references to the Turks to increase the poignancy of their expositions.

Peter Martyr's apparent use of Melanchthon's Lamentations preface brings us to another characteristic of Peter Martyr's method of interpretation. He frequently uses material from his fellow reformers, but without attribution.³⁸ When Peter Martyr cites his Jewish or his Patristic sources, he will frequently (but by no means always) indicate his source. Does this mean that Peter Martyr has no respect for his contemporaries? Not at all. Reformers freely borrow from each other. The foundational position of Luther's writings is a case in point. Both Augustine and Luther have incalculable influence on Calvin's *Institutes*: Augustine gets mention, Luther not so.³⁹ Therefore the scripture interpretations of the Reformers form a sort of common pool. R. Gerald Hobbs and Bernard Roussel argue that this borrowing occurs in clusters, Peter Martyr belonging to the later Rhenish group.⁴⁰ In the case of Martyr's Lamentations lectures, non-Jewish influences of any kind are difficult to trace since there was a paucity of Lamentations commentary available to him, whether Patristic or Protestant.⁴¹

³⁷ See indices to first editions of Martyr's scripture lectures—*GEN*, *LAM*, *IUD*, *ROM*, and *COR*—and the index to *CP*.

³⁸ In *GEN* 3r, Peter Martyr cites Ps. 147:7 with regard to the definition of 'spirit/wind'; this is a reference he has picked up from Oecolampadius, *In Genesim enarratio* (Basle: Johann Bebel, 1536), 9v.

³⁹ This truism in Calvin studies can be verified by using an automated search in *Calvini Opera Database*.

⁴⁰ 'La Bible de 1530 à 1600,' in *Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible*, ed. Guy Bedouelle and Bernard Roussel (Paris: Beauchesne: 1989), 199–252.

⁴¹ Aside from Melanchthon's introduction to Lamentations mentioned above, there were but four Protestant sources for Lamentations study the year Martyr began his lectures on it: Zwingli's annotations on Lamentations were published in 1531, Oecolampadius' expositions on the same in 1533, Pellikan's immense sermonic commentary on the whole Bible in 1534–35, and Münster's Hebrew Bible with annotations

The first time Peter Martyr alludes to the Turks in his Lamentations lectures is in a comment on Lamentations 1:7c, which Peter Martyr rendered: 'The enemies saw her, and they laughed at her ceasing.' Peter Martyr makes the point that the Jews were more punctilious in their observation of the Sabbath in exile than they were in their homeland. Peter Martyr comments:

When these enemies saw their Jewish captives observing the Sabbath among themselves, they jeered.... Let it not happen to us that our cities and districts, after having been captured by the Turks, hear them despising the gospel, sacred assemblies, the Lord's Supper, baptism, and all else of ours. What religious man could then bear that pain?⁴²

Thus Peter Martyr admits the possibility that the Turks will conquer Western Europe. He implies that the Turks are agents of God's judgment on laxity, a theme he will take up again.

The second mention of the Turks occurs when Peter Martyr, commenting on Lamentations 2:1c ('And [God] did not remember his footstool in the day of his anger'), says:

Even though God's power occupies everything, there are nevertheless specific places on earth where he seems to have planted his feet very firmly, and that is where his worship principally thrives. At that time the worship of God was in Jerusalem, in that majestic temple, where the Ark of the Covenant was located. God did not spare Jerusalem, so in this verse God is said to have forgotten it. For if we handle badly and abuse the things that contribute to the worship of God, if they foster and cover up our vices, God burns with a fierce anger. So let us not cast away our readings, meeting together, sacraments, and gospel, but let us value faith and approve the good life. These God cannot despise; what we handle badly God will easily cast aside and let the Turks trample.⁴³

Peter Martyr here states the matter explicitly: unless Protestants worship God sincerely according to scriptural norms, they will be overrun by the Turks.

The third reference to the Turks occurs in Lamentations 4:12, which, according to Peter Martyr, reads: 'The kings of the earth did not believe,

on all books including Lamentations in 1534–35. Peter Martyr in his Lamentations lectures makes little or no use of the first three and some use of the last. The only supposedly Patristic commentary available to Peter Martyr would have been the pseudo-Jerome's tiny work on the first chapter. See *CLJ*, xvii n. 10 and xlv n. 93.

⁴² *CLJ* 27, 29.

⁴³ *CLJ* 70–71.

and all the inhabitants of the world, that the enemy and the foe would enter through the gates of Jerusalem.' In commenting on this verse, Peter Martyr says:

These people could not persuade themselves that the enemies were going to enter Jerusalem and that they were going to overthrow that flourishing and holy state of affairs. Nor today do foolish Christians. They promise themselves that the Turks are not going to destroy them, leaning as they do on the promise that the church shall never be destroyed, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, as if they themselves automatically belonged to the church. The definition of the church according to all its causes is this: as to the material one, it is a gathering of people; as to the efficient, the Spirit of Christ bringing them together; as to the final, eternal life; and as to the formal, right religion, sound faith, holy Law, and harmonious order. Those who belong to this church are not ruined utterly; for example, in former times Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezra, Zerubbabel, and those who were belonging to the true church were preserved and in this way renewed the church so that in those former times it was not extinguished.⁴⁴

Here Peter Martyr goes one step further. Even if the Turks do overrun Europe, the true Church can survive and be stronger for it. Peter Martyr believed in Christendom and believed it was worth fighting for, but he also believed that, temporarily at least, the church could survive without Christendom.

We may note in passing that this particular interpretation highlights yet another facet of Peter Martyr's interpretation method: his use of Aristotle's philosophy. Here specifically he analyzes the scriptural concept of the church using Aristotle's four causes. For Peter Martyr this is still the verbal meaning of church in scripture; human reason when properly used, wonderfully elucidates scripture's doctrine: 'The faculty of arguing, which they call dialectic, if rightly delivered, makes known an infinite number of true things in an exact manner.'⁴⁵

The final reference to the Turks in Martyr's Lamentations lectures occurs in a comment on 5:6, which Peter Martyr translates thus: 'To the Egyptian we gave hands, to the Assyrian also, so we could fill ourselves with bread.' On this verse Peter Martyr comments thus:

After the Jews abandoned God, the Jews began putting their trust in foreign armies, alien kings, and barbarous nations. By them the Jews were

⁴⁴ *CLJ* 167.

⁴⁵ *CLJ* 54.

betrayed to be destroyed. Through the agency of the Turks the Greeks cruelly slaughtered each other in internecine strife. By these same Turks they were oppressed with an intolerable yoke.

Peter Martyr alludes to how John Cantacuzene (Byzantine Emperor, 1341–1354) invited into the Balkan Peninsula the Ottoman Turks to be allies in his struggle against the heir of the Paleologi dynasty whom he sought to destroy. This disastrous policy facilitated the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and a hundred years later the taking of Constantinople. It is also possible that Peter Martyr is alluding, however obliquely, to the power politics referred to above: Francis I openly courting the Ottomans. Be that as it may, the role of the Turks in Martyr's exposition has now changed. They are openly sought! When God's people are in total rebellion, they seek out their own enemies for their own destruction. As Peter Martyr sees it, the Greek Christians had sunk to such a low level spiritually that they invited the Turks to destroy the Christian empire. Is the remainder of Christendom going to suffer the same fate?

Let us review how Peter Martyr sees divine providence in the Turkish threat. First, the Turks are part of God's judgment on a sinful Christendom. Second, more specifically, God will use the Turks to punish formalism and nominalism in Christendom. Third, God may even allow the Turks to overrun Western Europe, to punish a sinful Church and refine it. Lastly, if we invite the Turks to intervene in our affairs, then it shows the corruption of our Christian faith and lack of trust in God to defend our cause.

As a final note, we should emphasize that Peter Martyr does not believe that the ancient Lamenters conducts a successful theodicy in the sense that the Lamenters completely reveals why a good and all-powerful God would allow the Babylonians to raze Jerusalem to the ground. At one point an ancient Lamenters, in this case in the Book of Jeremiah, prays in frustration:

Correct me, O LORD, but in justice; not in your anger,
lest you bring me to nothing.
Pour out your wrath on the nations that know you not,
and on the peoples that call not on your name,
for they have devoured Jacob;
they have devoured him and consumed him,
and have laid waste his habitation.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Jer.10:24–25 (ESV).

Peter Martyr says in his own preface to Lamentations:

It is the prophet's plan, by means of these lamentations of his, to solicit compassion both from the person of God and from his hearers.... Even though they got what they deserved in God's justice, [3] nevertheless, if you bear in mind the cause of their misfortunes (namely, their sins), such a great people would seem unworthy to be overwhelmed by these crimes. So the prophet implores God in his compassion to make atonement for the people in whom he took so much delight and to forgive the sins by which they were unworthily bound. In addition, the seriousness of a crime is made clear by the extent and harshness of its punishment. This being the case, compare this people with other nations who were entirely idolaters and who were not invoking, recognizing, or even acknowledging God's name. It would seem that they, compared to other nations, suffered undeservedly. And so, by these means, the prophet incites God to compassion.⁴⁷

Similarly, if the Ottomans had taken what is now Austria and had been pressing into the heart of Western Europe, we may imagine Peter Martyr presenting his case to God and admitting that the Turks are his scourge. Indeed, we do not have to imagine him praying such a prayer, since we have a record of something very similar. Peter Martyr, in editing for publication the Romans lectures delivered in England, dedicates them to the Marian exile Sir Anthony Cooke.⁴⁸ Peter Martyr writes his dedicatory epistle from his study in Zurich. He looks back with great fondness of the glorious days of reform under Edward VI in which he was privileged to share. He bemoans the current persecution of the Protestants and recommends the encouragement offered in prayer and scripture. He even offers a model prayer:

How long, O Lord, will the wickedness and fury of idolatry, superstitions, ignorance of the scriptures rage about on the earth? How long, O Lord, will your holy Gospel be subject to trampling? As for us, we indeed have sinned, we have been in rebellion against you and have not listened to your words: for this reason we are justly, and by our own ugly demerit, thus afflicted daily with confusion and shame. But as for you, O Lord our God, you are most just in all your works, while at the same time, since it belongs to your clemency and constancy to have mercy, to spare, and with such great faithfulness to keep your covenants and promises, how long, Lord, how long, will you be angry to the end? Do not remember

⁴⁷ *CLJ* 5–6.

⁴⁸ Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, 'Sir Anthony Cooke: Tudor Humanist, Educator, and Religious Reformer,' *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119.3 (1975): 233–250.

our iniquities of old. So we beg you, that in these last times, since the very abundant, yes very powerful light has been poured out, you may deign to manifest the secrets of your truth to human beings who lay in shadows darker than cinders, that you may at last one day turn away your wrath and fury from our ungrateful minds and most grievous faults by which we exposed to curses and blasphemies your most holy name and the pure doctrine that we profess. And rescue your congregation from the contumelies and oppressions of the wicked, which echo back not just on ourselves but as well on the majesty of your name, even though in your own nature you are ἀτρωτος καὶ ἐξω βελῶν.⁴⁹ We ask, shine your face, O Christ who are the best and greatest, on the Church redeemed with your blood, the Church which has been devastated all but to the foundation. We, not relying at all on the trustworthiness of our justice but only on your goodness and compassion, call on your name, not the name of anyone else whatever, that either you make an end of or limit to those evils and mitigate the vexation with which we together with the brothers are afflicted, or that you at the least confer on the hearts of your people such faith and constancy that they do not fail in the profession of true devotion but rather conduct themselves so nobly and valiantly that by their exile, imprisonment, poverty, ignominy, by sword, fire, and by however cruel sort of death it may be, the vivifying knowledge of your gospel may more and more day by day shine forth and radiate light on the whole earth.⁵⁰

This prayer Peter Martyr penned in August of 1558. Mary I died on 17 November and Elizabeth acceded to the throne.

⁴⁹ I.e. 'invulnerable and out of shot.'

⁵⁰ ROM sig. α5; CER sig. Aiiiii.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

I CORINTHIANS COMMENTARY: EXEGETICAL TRADITION

Jon Balserak

INTRODUCTION

A student of Aristotle and classical literature, trained in the Thomistic method and the Augustinianism of Gregory of Rimini, proficient in the Christian Fathers, Jewish exegetes, and both Greek and Hebrew, Peter Martyr Vermigli possessed a combination of strengths which, while not necessarily unknown in his day, was found in impressive measure in him. Accordingly, many, even (apparently) his enemies, remarked on his sharp mind and his ability as a theologian, preacher, scholar and polemicist.¹ His corpus of biblical expositions is not as large as Luther's, Pellikan's or Calvin's, but its weightiness cannot be questioned; nor can the fact that it has been largely overlooked by modern scholarship. During his lifetime, he published commentaries on Judges, Romans and I Corinthians, and a number of his lectures on biblical books appeared posthumously (Genesis, Lamentations, 1 and 2 Samuel, and 1 and 2 Kings). The aim of the present essay is to set out the basic qualities which characterize Vermigli's reading of the New Testament, specifically I Corinthians.² The essay will commence with a consideration of aspects of Vermigli's late medieval and early modern context.

¹ On Vermigli's life see *Life, Letters, and Sermons: Peter Martyr Vermigli*, trans and ed. John Patrick Donnelly, SJ. (Kirksville, MO: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1999) and the other works mentioned there.

² We consulted: Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In selectissimam S. Pauli Priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam D. Petri Martyris...commentarii doctissimi* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1551), [henceforth COR]; Vermigli, *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos, D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii...commentarij doctissimi, cum tractatione perutili rerum & locorum, qui ad eam Epistolam pertinent. Cum duobus locupletibus, locorum scilicet utriusq; Testamenti, & rerum & verborum indicibus* (Heidelberg: I. Lancelot, impensis A. Cambieri, 1613), [henceforth ROM].

SCHOLASTICISM AND HUMANISM³

Once considered mutually exclusive, scholasticism and humanism are now understood to have shared a considerable amount of common ground. This change is due largely to the work of Paul Oscar Kristeller.⁴ Vermigli betrays qualities found in both movements—‘a *Florentine* who studied at *Padua*,’ as McLelland observes.⁵ His Thomism has already been noted. He, of course, lectured on Aristotle’s *Nichomachean Ethics* while in Strasbourg, and exhibits traits in his exegesis and theology which may be broadly characterised as scholastic.⁶ He also lectured on Homer. He employs the *loci* method in his commentaries (on which more anon).⁷ His exegesis betrays excellent philological abilities and the clear conviction that philology is essential to exegesis. And he has a penchant for citing the Fathers and classical authors over medieval theologians. All these qualities find their way into his interpreting of Scripture, as we shall see.

³ On Vermigli’s debt to both, see Joseph McLelland, ‘Peter Martyr Vermigli: scholastic or humanist?’ in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, ed. J.C. McLelland (Waterloo, Ont.: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), 141–152.

⁴ Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classical, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961); Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed., Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); see also, C.C. Greenfield, *Humanist and Scholastic Poetics, 1250–1500* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1981); A.J. Minnis and A.B. Scott, eds., *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100–c. 1375 The Commentary-Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁵ ‘Peter Martyr Vermigli: scholastic or humanist?’ 141.

⁶ See John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli’s Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

⁷ On the *loci* method, see (in chronological order): Paul Joachimsen, ‘*Loci Communes*: Eine Untersuchung zur Geistesgeschichte des Humanismus und der Reformation,’ *Luther-Jahrbuch*, VIII (1926), 27–97; Quirinus Breen, ‘*Loci Communes*’ and ‘*Loci*’ in Melanchthon’ in *Church History* 16 (1947), 197–209; Neal Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 95, 107–115; Cesare Vasoli, ‘*Loci Communes* and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions’ in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, 17–28; Catherine Kavanagh, ‘Eriugenic developments of ciceronian topical theory’ in *Medieval and Renaissance Humanism: Rhetoric, Representation and Reform*, eds. Stephen Gersh, and Vert Roest (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–28; Joseph McLelland, *Peter Martyr’s Loci Communes; a Literary History*, ed. Torrance Kirby (Montreal: McGill University, 2007), 1–10.

THE COMMENTARY TRADITION

Vermigli did not comment *in vacuo*. The late-medieval and early modern eras, moreover, were extremely productive in terms of exegetical developments in all disciplines: law, poetry, moral and natural philosophy, theology, rhetoric and dialectic, medicine, and vernacular works. During these periods 'translations, commentaries, paraphrases, exegeses, epitomes and critical editions abound in all academic disciplines.'⁸ Accordingly Vermigli would have had a panoply of influences with which to engage.

In all of these disciplines, commentaries began (in roughly the thirteenth century) to develop increasingly sophisticated introductions (*accessus ad auctores*) which betrayed a growing interest in the author of the work being treated, his/her situation, intentions in writing, and literary practices.⁹ This development was driven (at least in part) by the rediscovery of the complete Aristotle, which had an enormous impact on numerous aspects of commenting and literary theory.

In relation to the interpretation of the Bible, one finds that before the Aristotelian renaissance, interpreters saw the author as of relatively little importance in comparison with the biblical writings themselves, which were perceived as a kind of mirror of divine mysteries to which the exegete gained access by means of probing underneath the letter.¹⁰ Accordingly, it was not uncommon for interpreters to refer disdainfully to the literal sense and to express an infinitely greater appreciation for the spiritual, since 'the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life (2 Cor 3:6)'. With the rediscovery of Aristotle this changed. The Bible began to be seen as a literary work, the product of a human (albeit inspired) author and the subject of analysis just like any other piece of literature.¹¹ 'Scripture began,' says Beryl Smalley, 'to seem less like a mirror of universal truth and more like a collection of works whose authors had intended

⁸ Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and Meaning in the Renaissance: the case of law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 6.

⁹ For much of what appears in this section, we rely upon A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

¹⁰ Minnis, *Medieval Theory*, 72.

¹¹ Karlfried Froehlich, 'Christian Interpretation of the Old Testament in the High Middle Ages' in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, 3 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996–), vol. I/2: *The Middle Ages*, 496–558, see 522.

to teach particular truths; so exegesis was bound to resolve itself into the scientific study of these authors. The exegete fastened his attention on the letter, which represented the words chosen by them or by their translators as the aptest to express their meaning.¹²

With such developments, it became common to see the literal sense as the sense intended by the human authors of Scripture. Such is the case in Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, Hugh of St Cher, Nicholas of Lyra and innumerable others. This helped to lead biblical interpreters away from the fourfold sense of Scripture (specifically, the finding of spiritual senses beneath the literal). Such was the case with a host of Reformers, Vermigli among them.¹³ These interpreters did not jettison the *quadriga* entirely, but employed it less frequently and, in many cases, adapted it to fit new thinking on the proper methods of interpretation that were arising at this time.¹⁴

Emphasis on the literal sense was, however, not found everywhere. Of a very different opinion were the Dominicans Santes Pagnini and Sixtus of Siena, both of whom favoured allegorizing. Likewise, amongst late-medieval humanists one finds the application of the fourfold sense to ancient poets, like Ovid. Boccaccio in his *De genealogiis deorum* produces a sophisticated tri-level allegorical interpretation of the pagan myths.¹⁵ Similar use of allegory can be seen in the work of Francesco da Fiano, Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, and in the vernacular works of Dante. Ficino and Pico, in particular, employ an allegorizing approach to ancient texts which reveals significant influence from Neoplatonism, with Pico constructing an elaborate synthesis of Neoplatonism, medieval Aristotelianism and the Jewish Cabala in works such

¹² Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd rev ed. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 293. Also B. Smalley, 'The Bible in the Medieval Schools' in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 2: *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation* ed. G.W.H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 197–219, esp. 210–215.

¹³ One thinks of the comments made by Martin Luther, William Tyndale, John Calvin and so many others complaining against the fourfold sense. Tyndale, for instance, remarks: 'Then follow their four senses of the Scripture, of which three (the tropological, allegorical, and anagogical) are no senses.' William Tyndale, *The Obedience of the Christian Man*, in *Doctrinal Treatises and Introductions to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture*, ed. H. Walter (Cambridge: PS, 1848), 303. Vermigli will betray the same misgivings towards allegorizing, as shall be noted later in this chapter.

¹⁴ *Le Temps des Réformes et la Bible*, sous la direction de Guy Bedouelle, Bernard Roussel (Paris: Beauchesne, 1989), 100–115; 199–261.

¹⁵ *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, a cura di Vittorio Zaccaria, 12 vols. (Milano: Mondadori, 1998), vols. 7–8.

as his *Heptaplus* and his *Commento alla Canzone d'amore di Gerolamo Benivieni*.¹⁶ Such apparent equating of 'profane' poets with the Holy Scriptures did not find acceptance in all quarters, and was objected to by scholastics like Savonarola on the grounds that any supposed spiritual meanings found in these poets were illegitimate and should not be used to bring the poets up to the level of the Bible.¹⁷ Savonarola's scholastic approach towards humanist appraisals of poetry is typical of the disputes which characterised the two movements (humanism and scholasticism)¹⁸—disputes with which Vermigli would surely have been familiar.

Such disputes bring to the surface the fact that questions of genre, philology, literary and rhetorical style, and the like were of enormous importance to the late medieval period. In point of fact, as early (at least) as Hugh of St Cher one finds careful work of a philological and textual nature being undertaken, as is witnessed in his influential *Postillæ super totam Bibliam*. Such issues continued to be pondered by a host of scholars in the early modern period. Something of their significance to this era can be gauged by considering the furore that was caused when Erasmus translated *logos* (in John 1:1) as *sermo* instead of *verbum*.¹⁹ The fact that Lorenzo Valla's *Adnotationes*, Erasmus' *Novum Testamentum*, the Soncino and Bomberg Bibles, and Sebastian Münster's *Biblia Hebraica* all appeared at this time, challenging the dominance of Jerome's Vulgate, only adds to the conviction that this was a period saturated with interest in things textual.²⁰

Mention of the Vulgate raises the question of authority, an issue which also underwent change in this period as differing attitudes towards a host of different authorities—pagan poets, Justinian, the Church Fathers, ancient philosophers and physicians (like Galen)—arose. In particular, a greater willingness to question and criticise surfaced during these periods. This can be seen as early as Peter Abelard, Nicholas of Lyra

¹⁶ *Opere, e scritti vari*, a cura di Eugenio Garin (Torino: Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), vol. 1.

¹⁷ A.J. Minnis, 'Fifteenth-Century Versions of Thomistic Literalism: Girolamo Savonarola and Alfonso de Madrigal' in *Neue Richtungen in der hoch- und spätmittelalterlichen Bibelexegese* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1996), 163–180.

¹⁸ On these disputes see Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

¹⁹ See Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986).

²⁰ See, *Le temps des Réformes*, 59–96.

and Petrarch, and it gained momentum over the years which followed. Of course, none of the thinkers under consideration here were ready to discard their *auctores* wholesale; far from it. But they were ready to correct, and depart from, the views of these authorities in a more confident manner than had been witnessed in earlier eras. These developments played an important role in relation to questions over the reliability of knowledge obtained from reason, tradition and Scripture. They, coupled with various other influences (from Nominalism, for instance), led to the conviction amongst a growing number of theologians that the Bible was the sole authoritative source of knowledge about God—a position for which they argued even though it had to be held at the expense of some long standing traditions. Accordingly, one finds in Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and others, including Vermigli, a willingness to cleave to the Scripture and to insist upon it over against traditional authorities as noteworthy as Augustine, Chrysostom, Irenæus and Cyprian.

While thinking on genre, philology and textual issues contributed to the developments just described, it was work on rhetoric and dialectic that helped influence the last topic to be addressed in this section. The desire amongst commentators to explain and expand upon theological truths rising out of a biblical text had been common for centuries. In the Middle Ages this was done through collecting *sententiæ* as is seen in Lombard's work by that name and in Abelard's *Sic et Non*. Later Aquinas produced his *Summa Theologica*, developing the approach of Lombard along lines suggested by the burgeoning scholastic method.²¹ But around the same time, humanists were devising methods for such articulation of ideas, which, as was the case with scholasticism and Aquinas, also had their roots (ultimately) in Aristotle. Among the more important of these humanists were Rodolphus Agricola, Erasmus and Melancthon, whose *De formando studio*, *Ratio colligendi exempla* and *De locis communibus ratio*, respectively, helped to form and give shape to the *loci* method of the sixteenth century, which was employed by numerous theologians and exegetes, one of whom was Vermigli.

CONTEXT FOR THE I CORINTHIANS LECTURES

Vermigli lectured on I Corinthians in 1548 having just been appointed Regius professor of theology at Oxford. He worked over the lectures

²¹ See Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 66–82.

which were then published in 1551. During this period, a large number of expositions of the epistle were produced, amongst which one finds treatments by John Colet (1502?), Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1515), Erasmus (1516), Johannes Bugenhagen (1525), Tommaso de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan (1528–1529), Konrad Pellikan (1532–35), Bullinger (1537), Iohannes Gagnæus (Jean de Gagnée) (1539), Calvin (1546), Philip Melanchthon (1551), Wolfgang Musculus (1559) and Rudolph Gualther (1572). Thus, Vermigli was not alone in his interest in this letter.

By the time of Vermigli's appointment, he had developed into a reformer of considerable standing. Prior to his arrival in England, he had been professor of theology in Strasbourg to which he had fled from Lucca, Italy. The England into which he arrived was awash with change, with Edward VI (the nine year old son of Henry VIII) having come to power in 1547, but it, particularly Oxford, was still a difficult place to be a Protestant.²² Archbishop Cranmer had invited Vermigli and also Martin Bucer (who took up the chair of Regius professor at Cambridge in 1549 but died in 1551) and seems to have hoped that through appointments such as these he could effect theological alliances with continental Protestantism.²³ As it happened, Vermigli's stay was a short one; he was forced to flee back to the Continent in 1553 when Mary came to the throne following Edward VI's death.

Vermigli's lectures on the epistle caused considerable commotion. They touch on themes central to the Reformation—justification by faith, predestination, the primacy of Scripture, the sacraments, indulgences, prayer to the saints and other Roman Catholic 'abuses', and the like—which were inevitably going to be contentious ones, particularly in such a climate. Not surprisingly, it is saturated with polemic, though (one must say) Vermigli refrains from using some of the colorful language heard from a number of his contemporaries. Nonetheless, his invective would have made the lectures even more likely to cause disruption.

* * *

This is (a glimpse of) the world Peter Martyr Vermigli inhabited. Having looked at it, we can take up his treatment of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.

²² On his time and controversies in England, see Pontien Polman, *L'élément historique dans la controverse religieuse du XVI^e siècle* (Gembloux: J. Duculot, 1932), 114–126.

²³ Frank A. James III, 'Translator's Introduction' in Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Predestination and Justification* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 2003), xxi.

EXEGESIS OF I CORINTHIANS²⁴

To peruse Vermigli's commentary on I Corinthians (or any of his expositions) is to enter another world. One does not only meet Vermigli in this world, but an entire community of thinkers with whom Vermigli is in conversation. His most common conversation partners are the Church Fathers, with Chrysostom,²⁵ Ambrose and Augustine being particular favourites. But in point of fact, Vermigli's interaction with a whole raft of patristic literature including both well-known and obscure authors is constant and extremely learned. As mentioned earlier, this interaction includes disagreement and criticism.²⁶ That notwithstanding, it is clear that the Fathers are not only hugely important to Vermigli but possess an authority with which he feels he must come to terms. In this way, his sense of the communion of the saints and the authority which the church wields in respect of Vermigli's own exegetical endeavours is profound, and leaves its mark on his treatment of almost every text and topic.²⁷ In typical humanist fashion, Vermigli's world exhibits rather less engagement with medieval theologians. This is not to say, however, that he is unfamiliar with scholastic thought, for he clearly is familiar with it, and (occasionally) criticises²⁸ and (less often) praises²⁹ it. It will be recalled, of course, that he was a trained Thomist.

²⁴ As an exegete, Vermigli is not as verbose as Martin Bucer but not as concise as Melanchthon. His writing and thinking are clear and logical. There can be little question from the evidence of his commentaries that Erasmus was an influence on him (see below; also, *ROM* 265; cf. *ROM* 150). Other clear influences on him are Chrysostom and Ambrose, both of whom he cites continually. His exegesis has been characterized as fitting within the contours of the Strasbourg-Basel school, and nothing found in this essay will conflict with this assessment; see, *Le temps des Réformes*, 215–233.

²⁵ *COR* 6r.

²⁶ An example will be provided below of such criticism; see also, *COR* 161r (on I Corinthians 7 in relation to marriage, celibacy and virginity).

²⁷ Vermigli's relation with the Fathers is a complex one. Something more on it will be said below, but for a more detailed treatment, see the chapter in this volume by David F. Wright.

²⁸ See *COR* 63v: 'you may see those who from the pulpit speak of nothing except the will of sign and the will of the divine good pleasure, the first instance of nature, formalities, quiddities, and the things indicated by these kinds of words, with which they feel their erudition impresses the common people.' In such comments, Vermigli employs a standard humanist paradigm for criticizing the scholastics; see also, *Romans* 189, 223.

²⁹ See *COR* 55r, on their views on prevenient grace.

Vermigli's humanism is also apparent in that classical thinkers occupy a prominent place in this world.³⁰ Virgil, Ovid, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Cicero, and Quintillian are all part of the community with which Vermigli dialogues. On this point, Vermigli exhibits splendidly the frustration of his age. Like so many humanist-trained Christians, he feels the pull of the classical but the greater pull of the sacred. Petrarch confessed: 'I loved Cicero, I admit, and I loved Virgil. . . now my orators shall be Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory; my philosopher shall be Paul, my poet David.'³¹ Vermigli's feelings on the subject betray greater concern: 'it is a corrupt thing for a Christian continuously to admire and praise the opinions of the pagans, since the lesser things found in the sacred writings are far superior to their greatest.'³² Yet the disapproving tone of this assertion is challenged by Vermigli's obvious love of classical authors. On top of this love, though, Vermigli's actual practice also suggests that he felt it was part of the task of the exegete to be well-versed in the literature of the Greek and Roman world.³³ Thus,

³⁰ For a nice discussion of what distinguishes a humanist from a scholastic, see Rummel, *Humanist-Scholastic*, 1–18, esp. 11–18.

³¹ *Familiars*, eds. V. Rossi and N. Bosco, 4 vols. (Florence, 1933–42), 22.10; Morris Bishop, *Letters from Petrarch* (Bloomington and London, 1966), 191 cited in Greenfield, *Humanist and Scholastic Poetics*, 101. Many others expressed the same sense of conflict; see, for instance, Calvin: 'Read Demosthenes or Cicero, read Plato, Aristotle, or others . . . they will, I admit, allure you, delight you, move you, enrapture you in wonderful measure. But betake yourself to this sacred reading. Then, in spite of yourself, so deeply will it affect you, so penetrate your heart, . . . that, compared with its deep impression, such vigor as orators and philosophers have will nearly vanish' (*Corpus Reformatorum: Ioannis Calvini Opera quæ supersunt omnia*, 59 vols. (Brunswick and Berlin: Schwetschke, 1863–1900), vol. 2, col 62 from *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, 1.8.1. [henceforth *Calvini Opera* = CO])

³² COR 44r.

³³ '[M]ythology furnished . . . the understanding of divine truth with tools, or more exactly with optical instruments. The theological enterprise therefore consisted in imposing on revealed principles a system of grand symbols drawn from the pagan stock and their literary and subconscious implications.' (Marie-Madeleine de la Garanderie, 'Le style de G. Budé et ses implications logiques et théologiques' in *L'Humanisme français au début de la Renaissance. Colloque international de Tours* (Paris: Vrin, 1973), 354 cited by Bernard Cottret, *Calvin: A Biography*, trans. M. Wallace McDonald (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 33. Vermigli's use of such material takes various forms. Sometimes, he uses classical authors for information, as when noting that the city of Corinth had been overthrown by the Romans (he cites Cicero's *Oration on the Manilian Law* (COR 8v)). On other occasions, the classics provide examples, as when discussing the meaning of a Latin word (he employs a letter from Cicero (COR 80r–80v)). There is a place in Vermigli research at present for a modest monograph studying his use of the classics.

though he concedes to them less authority than patristic writers, he still allows these profane authors a regular place around the table.

Having explained something of the context within which Vermigli sees interpreting as taking place, we now turn to the matter itself. Vermigli's interpreting of the New Testament, specifically I Corinthians, is established on a number of literary, historical, philological, rhetorical and theological concerns. His treatment is not set down in the form of brief notes or *scholia* on the text (as one finds with someone like Zwingli) but rather as a full running commentary, which read in such a way that one can easily discern that they were given first as lectures.

Vermigli considers the literary genre of the New Testament book he is expounding. His work on I Corinthians, for instance, commences with his consideration of the nature of letters and enters into minutiae about whether a writer ought to place his name at the beginning of a letter or the end.³⁴ Similarly, he demonstrates an interest in the individual authors of the books of Scripture. He discusses who Paul is (or example), his name change from Saul, the titles he applies to himself, and his position relative the recipients of his letter.³⁵ Vermigli concerns himself with the historical context of Paul and the recipients of Paul's letters. Context, it should be said, does not occupy the place in Vermigli's exegesis that it does in, say, Calvin's, but it is still of importance to him. For instance, Vermigli deals with the situation in Corinth as regards Paul's authority and likewise in his treatment of Romans.³⁶ In much the same way, Vermigli takes care to expound Paul's intention (the *intentio auctoris*) in a given passage³⁷ and points out the kinds of arguments Paul employs.³⁸ He also endeavours to follow Paul's argument from one chapter to the next. In point of fact, literary context is very important to Vermigli.³⁹ Thus issues related to the letter and to its author are basic to Vermigli's exposition of the text.

Philology plays an extremely significant role in Vermigli's exegesis, after a fashion similar to that found in the works of Erasmus, Capito, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Bucer and others. Working (one presumes)

³⁴ COR 7r–v.

³⁵ COR 7r–8v; also ROM 1.

³⁶ COR 6r–9r; also in his Romans commentary, Vermigli deals with Paul at length in his *præfatio* (which is not numbered but covers 8 quarto size leaves).

³⁷ COR 7r–v.

³⁸ COR 71r (*argumentum a contrariis*); 444 (*ab exemplo ecclesiarum*); also ROM 454 (*ad absurdum*).

³⁹ This is especially apparent when Vermigli begins to treat a new chapter; see, COR 147v (on I Corinthians 7); also in ROM 318–319; (on Romans 9).

with a Greek testament in front of him, he engages in short word studies which open up into discussions of related themes associated with the text being interpreted or with a common theological *locus*.⁴⁰ He occasionally mentions the Hebrew to which the Greek may be related (particularly in a citation from the Old Testament), and interacts with the translations of Jerome, Symmachus, Aquila and the Septuaginta.⁴¹ His chosen *lemmata* are often brief selections, but sometimes longer sentences which he then breaks up and treats as individual phrases, allowing him to deal with individual words and ideas. At times, this involves him in text-critical work (as we shall briefly see in the next section). Thus, Vermigli operates with the understanding that correct interpretation requires careful work with the original languages.⁴²

Vermigli often treats allegories, metaphors, and other figures of speech found in a passage, and plainly perceives such treatment as a means by which he may open up its meaning. Such an assertion, however, requires extrapolation. As regards the medieval practice of allegorizing the text of Scripture, Vermigli argues against it in his *Romans* commentary. In so doing, he holds up the (extremely-common) example of Origen as the paradigmatic offender.⁴³ That being said, he also acknowledges an appropriate kind of allegory, namely, when Scripture speaks through figures of speech (*quando tropo scriptura utitur*).⁴⁴ Moreover, Vermigli seems to approach the question of tropes from the perspective of a humanist. For instance, he identifies Paul's use of metaphor in relation to 'I am of Apollos' as follows:

The Apostle uses these names figuratively (*Nomina hæc . . . transtulit*); thus it is not, as he himself will explain in a moment, that on account of these celebrated men, through their exceptional holiness, the Corinthians were in conflict with one another. A figure of this kind (*huiusmodi translatio*) can have a wonderful effect, as can be seen in the sacred history which is narrated concerning the woman Tekoa.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ An excellent example is found in his exposition of I Corinthians 6: 7 (COR 136r).

⁴¹ COR 439v–440r; see also, ROM 456.

⁴² COR 8r (on the name of 'Jesus'); COR 29v (on the word 'faith'); examples abound in his handling of I Corinthians 13, and the qualities which characterise love. See also, ROM 120–121, 470–71.

⁴³ ROM 466. Although he censures it, he occasionally employs it; see, John Thompson, 'The Survival of Allegorical Argumentation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis' in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation*, eds. Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1996), 255–271.

⁴⁴ ROM 466.

⁴⁵ COR 16r.

This example suitably depicts the kind of understanding Vermigli has of such figures of speech, seeing them as having been employed by the biblical writers for various rhetorically-driven purposes.⁴⁶ This does not mean that Vermigli ignores the apostolic concerns over worldly rhetoric found in I Corinthians 1: 17–25; for he does not. Rather, Vermigli endeavours, as many within the church have done, to manoeuvre between a respect for rhetorical gifts and God-given human abilities and inappropriate reliance upon those gifts and abilities.⁴⁷

This understanding of tropes co-exists comfortably with a theological understanding for Scripture's use of them, namely, that they are employed by Scripture in accommodation to human weakness.⁴⁸ This belief Vermigli takes for granted (as did many throughout the patristic, medieval and early modern eras)⁴⁹ and adheres to as basic to a right understanding of biblical revelation. It is (largely) on this basis that Vermigli can hold that the Scriptures are able to be understood and, therefore, should not be withheld from the laity. Accommodation is not the only basis upon which he argues this, it should be said. He also establishes it on the soteriological grounds that all Christians 'have believed, been baptized and participate in the sacraments, and have the Spirit of Christ.'⁵⁰ Thus, this too—particularly the gift of the Spirit—is equally crucial to Vermigli's hermeneutic, as his treatment of I Corinthians 2: 14 exhibits.⁵¹

One other theological point should be asserted as well, namely, that Vermigli's Thomism guides him in his exposition of Scripture. This can be seen, for example, in his treatment of I Corinthians 3: 3.⁵² In John Calvin's exposition, one finds three things: a note that Paul here provides the proof that the Corinthians are carnal from the effect (the rivalry,

⁴⁶ Accordingly, Vermigli identifies many such figures in the apostle's letter; COR 103r (*Ironia*), 254v (*Metaphora*), 258r (*Metonymia*), 388v (*Simile*); see also, ROM 96–97, 192–193.

⁴⁷ COR 20r–23r.

⁴⁸ COR 38r, 103r–v; see also, ROM 336.

⁴⁹ On accommodation in the patristic and medieval periods and in Jewish thought, see, Stephen Benin, *The Footprints of God: Divine Accommodation in Jewish and Christian Thought* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1993); for the Early Modern period, see, Jon Balserak, *Divinity Compromised: A Study of Divine Accommodation in the Thought of John Calvin* (Dordrecht and London: Springer, 2006).

⁵⁰ COR 43v.

⁵¹ COR 49r–50v.

⁵² The passage reads: 'For you are still carnal; for since there is envy, contentions and factions amongst you, are you not carnal?' (COR 65v).

contentions and factions seen amongst them), a brief cross-reference to Galatians 5: 25, and a comment on the elegance of Paul's argument.⁵³ In Vermigli's exposition, by contrast, one finds not only an identical observation on Paul's argument from effect and a cross-reference to Galatians 5: 25, but also a discussion of the nature of *envy*, *contentions* and *factions* which resembles that found in Aquinas' *Summa Theologiae*, IIa IIæ qq. 34–43;⁵⁴ complete with identical citations of chapter two of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (when dealing with envy). Indeed it is this discussion that takes up the lion's share of Vermigli's time in his interpreting of this verse, as he labours carefully to distinguish between the three terms.⁵⁵ In so doing, Vermigli enters into territory not explored by other of his contemporaries and, in the process, betrays the scholastic character of his exegesis.

The final point to be mentioned (actually reiterated) here is that his polemical engagement with the Roman Catholic Church is so intense and constant that it also must be figured in to any consideration of his exegesis. Vermigli is commenting on I Corinthians (and Romans as well) in the context of an England which has been separated from Rome for less than a generation. Accordingly, the issues which divide the two parties force themselves unavoidably into Vermigli's exposition of the Bible through every conceivable crack, from his choice of *lemmata* to his choice of *loci*, and in many other ways.

EXAMPLE: EXEGESIS OF I CORINTHIANS 3: 10–15

Consideration of an example of Vermigli's exegesis will be a suitable accompaniment to the description set out above.

...like a skilled master builder I laid a foundation, and someone else is building upon it. Let each one take care how he builds upon it. For no one can lay a foundation other than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. Now if anyone builds on the foundation with gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw—each one's work will become manifest, for the Day [of the Lord] will disclose it, because it will be revealed by fire, and the fire will test what sort of work each one has done. If the work that

⁵³ CO 49: 348.

⁵⁴ This is the section which deals with vice; see *Summa theologiae* (Cambridge: Blackfriars; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), vol. 35.

⁵⁵ COR 65v–66v.

anyone has built on the foundation survives, he will receive a reward. If anyone's work is burned up, he will suffer loss, though he himself will be saved, but only as through fire.⁵⁶

EXEGETICAL TRADITION PRIOR TO VERMIGLI

Prior to treating Vermigli, the exegetical tradition of this fascinating text should be briefly covered. There are several major questions related with it which every interpreter invariably addresses.

1. Who are the builders? (v10–11)
2. What is gold, silver, costly stones, wood, hay and straw? (v12)
3. When is the day of the Lord? (v13)
4. What is the fire? (v13)
5. What does it mean to be saved, though as through fire? (v15)

The Church Fathers differ quite markedly in their answers to these questions. Some see the builders as teachers who teach good doctrine, that is gold, silver and costly stones, whereas wood, hay and straw indicate bad (*corrupta et vana*) doctrine.⁵⁷ Being saved though through fire indicates the general idea that salvation will come through the punishments of fire. This is the view of Ambrosiaster (who is thought to be Ambrose up through the early-modern period).

Others, like Chrysostom (and Jerome), understand the passage as applying to everyone, not just teachers, and as treating works more generally. For Chrysostom this means that wood, hay and straw indicate sins, and (curiously) that being 'saved though as through fire' actually means being damned in hell.⁵⁸

A third reading, that of Augustine and also Gregory (who follows Augustine), is more subtle and of enormous significance as it lays the groundwork for the medieval doctrine of purgatory. Augustine's interpretation essentially presumes the existence of three different classes of people: *the wicked*, who are sent to hell; *the saints*, who enter heaven; and *ordinary Christians*, who must be purged in purgatory.⁵⁹ Accordingly,

⁵⁶ The textual variant '[of the Lord]' is added by me in preparation for a note Vermigli will make on the passage.

⁵⁷ *PL* 17: 211.

⁵⁸ *PG* 61: 73–82.

⁵⁹ See, Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (London: Scolar Press, 1984).

wood, hay and stubble are not mortal sins, but inappropriate desires. The person who produces such works is a Christian, and rests on the foundation (v10–11) but gives himself excessively to the world. As for the day and the fire (v13–15), Augustine declares that they could refer to the day of judgement and fires of purgatory, or to the providential difficulties experienced in this life, or to both.⁶⁰

Medieval thinkers develop Augustine's reading, with substantial theological enlargement being seen at the hands of thinkers like Hugh of St Victor, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, and Thomas Aquinas.⁶¹ With a developed concern for soteriology, these authors read the passage such that the foundation, previously assumed to be Christ, is now seen to be 'faith in Christ, which works through love, which was established by the preaching of Paul.'⁶² This leads, moreover, to a reading of the question of the nature of gold, silver, costly stone, wood, hay and straw which is based on the ideas of formed and unformed faith. Lombard, for instance, argues that the foundation (v10–11) cannot be understood to be unformed faith, since faith without works does not save but only faith working through love, and therefore wood, hay and straw cannot be sins but must, rather, be works of Christians whose affections are entangled in this world (it takes a full column in the *Patrologia Latina* to explain this). During some period in this development, the flexibility apparent in Augustine's reading of the day and fire falls away, leaving the notion that this text categorically teaches the medieval doctrine of purgatory.⁶³

Simultaneous with the scholastic *barbari*, humanists expound I Corinthians 3: 10–15, bringing to their expositions greater concern for philological, rhetorical and text-critical issues than one finds in the schoolmen. By the early-modern period, this results in Jacques Lefèvre

⁶⁰ Augustine asserts these views in various places in his writings, see, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, chapters 67 and 68 (for example); for a full discussion, see Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, 57–61 *et passim*.

⁶¹ Perhaps the most impressive of these is Lombard's, *PL* 191: 1554–1561. For variation, see, Theophylact, *PG* 124: 603; also Carolingians, like Haymo, were content to set out both Augustine's reading (via Gregory) and Ambrosiaster's, moving from the one to the other with the little word 'aliter,' *PL* 117: 524–626; see also Rabanus Maurus, *PL* 112: 34–39.

⁶² *PL* 175: 519.

⁶³ It should be noted, however, that Aquinas is still quite willing, in his exposition of this passage, to allow for more flexibility. He offers, for instance, that 'the day of the Lord' could be three different things. See *In omnes S. Pauli Apostoli Epistolas Commentaria*, repr. 1^a edn. (Taurini: Marietii, 1929), 1:557.

d'Étaples, John Colet, Cardinal Cajetan, Desiderius Erasmus, Iohannes Gagnæus and others setting out various readings of the passage, many of which vigorously support the Augustinian (purgatory) reading of this passage. Erasmus, however, openly challenges, on rhetorical and philological grounds, the premise that this text had anything at all to say about purgatory.⁶⁴ He is, not surprisingly, followed by reformers like Huldrych Zwingli, Philip Melanchthon, John Calvin and Wolfgang Musculus and also by Peter Martyr Vermigli.⁶⁵

EXPOSITION OF I CORINTHIANS 3: 10–15

Vermigli commences his treatment of the passage⁶⁶ on folio 72r. His *locus* on purgatory starts on 77r. Thus, he devotes twelve octavo sides to (explicit) exegesis of the passage. Despite his love of Chrysostom, he opposes him throughout his exposition of this section of I Corinthians. Accordingly, he commences by declaring that the builders are preachers, this reading being 'more appropriate and [it] fits with the reading of Ambrose.'⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Erasmus' *Annotations on the New Testament; Acts—Romans—I and II Corinthians; Facsimile of the final Latin text with all earlier variants*, Anne Reeve and M.A. Screech eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 446–447. Rummel discusses differences between scholastic and humanist approaches to interpreting Scripture (*Humanist-Scholastic*, 96–125). Erasmus provides a fine example of the latter. For the former, see Cardinal Cajetan, *Epistolæ Pauli et aliorum Apostolorum ad Græcam veritatem / castigatæ, & per... Thomam de Vio, Caietanum, Cardinalem... iuxta sensum literalem enarratæ...* (Paris: Apud Hieronymum & Dionysiam de Marnes fratres..., 1546), 110r–111r. Yet, the character of Early Modern commentaries on this passage varies considerably, see, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Epistolæ divi Pauli apostoli / cum commentariis... J. Fabri Stapulensis... Ad has... adjecta... Epistola ad Laodicenses: Epistolæ ad Senecam sex... Linus de passione Petri & Pauli* (Paris: [s.n.], 1517), LXXXVIIr–LXXXVIIv; John Colet, *John Colet's Commentary on First Corinthians; a critical edition and translation with text in English and Latin*, trans Bernard O'Kelly; notes by Catherine Jarrott (Binghamton, N.Y. Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1985), 104–108; Iohannes Gagnæus, *Gagnæus iohannem gagneium Parisinum theologum christianissimi francorum regis ecclesiasten & doctorem illustrate divi pauli apostoli epistolæ brevissimis et facillimis scholiis* (Paris, 1538), 30r–30v, as well as the expositions listed in footnote 66.

⁶⁵ For instance, Melanchthon, *Commentarius in epist. ad Corinthios*, CR 15: 1067–69; CO 49: 368–374; Wolfgang Musculus, *In apostoli Pauli ambas epistolas ad Corinthios commentarij / Editio vltima / summo studio relecta & ab erroribus vindicata, nec non indice rerum verborumq[ue] locupletissimo adornata* (Basle: Sebastianum Henricpetri, 1611), 38–42.

⁶⁶ It should be noted that, while Vermigli discussed the Greek when treating I Corinthians 3: 8 (in relation to the question of 'merit'), he does not discuss it at any great length when handling vv 10–15, though he does in his *locus* on purgatory, which follows his exposition.

⁶⁷ COR 72v.

Following a brief discussion of the idea of a foundation elicited from Vitruvius' book on architecture and a prolonged treatment of whether the church is founded on the apostles and Peter,⁶⁸ Vermigli takes up v12 'if anyone builds upon this foundation gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw, ...'. Reiterating his criticism of Chrysostom on the question of whether the text refers to teachers or to everyone,⁶⁹ he explains that *wood, hay* and *straw* refer to doctrines which more or less deform and dishonour Christ. In this context, he gives some suggestions of doctrines which fit into this category, namely, required celibacy, imposed fasting, worship and invoking of the saints,⁷⁰ and even the mass⁷¹—all of which is obviously directed at the Roman Church. Vermigli proposes that those in the past who built with such materials include 'Bernard, Francis, Dominique, and other of the ancient Fathers.'⁷²

He continues his polemical approach as he takes up v13, *the day will declare it*. He notes a common textual variant which reads *the day of the Lord will declare it*. 'The Greek codices do not add *of the Lord*,' an additional phrase found in Latin codices.⁷³ Here Vermigli betrays his first indication of (likely) Erasmian influence, for Erasmus makes the same note in his *Annotationes* on this text. He goes on to produce a paragraph-long explanation of *the day* which emphasizes providential trials and tribulations, which are to dispel darkness and illumine the inner recesses of our souls.⁷⁴ Again Roman Catholic views linger noticeably in the background of Vermigli's comments.

The second indication of Erasmian influence is found in his treatment of, *It shall be revealed by fire* v13, in which Vermigli declares: 'As we declared that gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, straw are mentioned allegorically (*per allegoriam*), we should not doubt that fire is to be taken allegorically (*allegorice*) as well.'⁷⁵ He does not labour the issue here, but his point is crystal clear: no literal fire means no purgatorial fire. In fact it is largely on this basis, and by means of trolling through the opinions of the Fathers, that Erasmus argues against the use

⁶⁸ COR 73r–74r.

⁶⁹ COR 74r.

⁷⁰ COR 74v.

⁷¹ COR 75r.

⁷² COR 75r.

⁷³ COR 74v.

⁷⁴ COR 74v–75r.

⁷⁵ COR 75v. Although Vermigli says he explained the gold, silver, etc to be allegorical, he did not (prior to this sentence). He did *imply* that they are allegories or figurative expressions of some kind but he did not assert this explicitly.

of this passage to support the doctrine of purgatory. As if deliberately following Erasmus' example, Vermigli next begins a lengthy discussion of the opinion of Augustine on the issues raised in verse 13, citing *On Faith and Works*, chapters 15 and 16, *Enchiridion to Laurentius*, chapter 69, *The City of God*, book 21, *Eight Questions to Dulcitius*, question 1, and *On Psalm 29*.⁷⁶ Vermigli's interest here is primarily to rehearse Augustine's opinions as regards the day, fire and testing, against his Roman Catholic opponents.

Taking up, *though as through fire*, v15, he stresses the idea that this refers to a sorrowful conscience which is brought on by God's judgement, and asserts again that this reading fits with that of Ambrose.⁷⁷ Following this, he enters into an explanation and critique of Chrysostom's curious reading of being saved *though as through fire*. In the process, he repeats Erasmus' points on (1) the requirement that fire should be read allegorically and (2) on the fact that if the fire referred to here were a purgatorial fire then that would plainly imply that the apostles and all the saints would have to suffer in purgatory, but the traditional doctrine of purgatory does not embrace such a conclusion. He also explicitly praises Erasmus who, in his *Annotations*, explains that this passage has nothing to do with purgatory.⁷⁸

Summing up, Vermigli's exposition of the passage, like Erasmus', was based on text-critical analysis, the identification of Paul's use of figurative expressions, and substantial reliance on the fathers, especially Ambrose and Augustine.⁷⁹ The polemic tone is unquenchable throughout.

LOCUS ON PURGATORY

'But now we shall turn to deal with purgatory'⁸⁰—with these words Vermigli moves quite seamlessly to his commonplace on this doc-

⁷⁶ COR 75v. The fact that he says almost nothing on I Corinthians 3: 14 and the idea of merit and reward is due to the fact that he dealt with these matters in a commonplace on the doctrine of merit and justification in his treatment of I Corinthians 2.

⁷⁷ COR 76v.

⁷⁸ COR 77r.

⁷⁹ He interacts with many of the fathers—citing and/or engaging (sometimes at length) with Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Justin Martyr, Marcion, Jerome, Boniface, Bernard, Francis, Dominique, Gregory, Scotus and Alcuin, and revealing overwhelmingly his feeling that his position has links with ancient church tradition which are rock solid.

⁸⁰ COR 77r.

trine. It is structured in a manner reminiscent of the great medieval *Summæ*, with Vermigli first raising arguments which would seem to stand against his own position before going on to assert his view and refute his opponents' arguments. (His opponents' arguments consist of a collection of Scripture passages and statements from the fathers). Not all of his *loci* follow this pattern, it should be said.

Foundational to Vermigli's statement of his own position is the question of whether purgatory ought to be held as an article of faith or not. He declares: 'first, it ought to be shown that it does not pertain to the articles of faith nor is it a thing which ought to be believed of necessity; secondly, we should make clear whether there are just grounds for believing that there is a purgatory or whether it is merely held by some reason or feeling.'⁸¹

With regard to the question of articles of faith, he insists that 'dogmas and articles of faith ought to be certain and sure things, proven clearly by testimonies from Scripture.'⁸² He then goes on to show that this is not the case with purgatory; (it is not a certain and sure thing). This involves, primarily, engaging with the works of Augustine. Vermigli acknowledges that, of course, Augustine does discuss the possibility that purgatory may exist. He cites passages from Augustine which indicate this clearly. But, Vermigli goes on to show that Augustine himself harboured doubts about purgatory's existence, for which reason one could not use the bishop of Hippo to argue for purgatory as an article of faith. Having treated Augustine, he then addresses a number of shorter points, arguments from silence ('The prophets never mention purgatory,'⁸³ for example), the opinion of Dionysius,⁸⁴ and the like which confirm his judgment of the doctrine as regards the question of whether it is an article of faith.

Taking up the second of his aims, Vermigli addresses those who are induced to believe purgatory by simple reason, in which context he discusses briefly the views of Plato and the poets.⁸⁵ This brings Vermigli to the point where he can begin to probe related issues, such as the rise within the patristic and medieval church of satisfactions, oracular confession and indulgences; here he also treats the question of what

⁸¹ COR 77v.

⁸² COR 77v–78r. He argues this briefly by reference to Scripture (2 Timothy 3: 16–17) and Tertullian's *Liber de Praescriptionibus Haereticorum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981).

⁸³ COR 79r.

⁸⁴ COR 79r.

⁸⁵ COR 79v.

is truly required in repentance.⁸⁶ His handling of these, particularly the historical question of the rise of satisfactions, relies somewhat on Augustine but also brings Cyprian squarely into the picture. It reveals not only his knowledge of patristic literature but also of early church practice. He also addresses a few other points briefly, concluding that 'Everything associated with this opinion is unsure.'⁸⁷

He concludes by responding to his opponents' arguments. This provides him with an opportunity to speak to several additional topics as well, including prayer to the saints, prayer for the dead, and the tendency of some to want to accept as true everything the fathers teach. Given our (earlier) stressing of Vermigli's respect for the fathers, it is perhaps worth our quoting an excerpt from this last section in the interests of balance.

And while I have recalled these examples [of patristic error], I do not wish to be held as Ham, the son of Noah, who laughed when the private parts of his father were exposed, and encouraged his brothers to laugh. I would freely have remained silent over them, but I am forced by the importunity of our adversaries who perpetually cry, 'the fathers, the fathers, the fathers,' as if they themselves wished to assent to everything that the fathers said and did. Why rather do they not understand and notice that they were also men and as men they sometimes erred, for they did not always build on the foundation, which is Christ, with gold, silver and precious stones.⁸⁸

VERMIGLI'S *LOCI* CONSIDERED GENERALLY

Vermigli's treatment of purgatory runs a total of seventeen octavo sides (from 77r to 85r). This is neither the largest nor the smallest of his *loci* found in the I Corinthians commentary. Furthermore, *loci* from the Romans commentary dwarf most of those from the I Corinthians, being double or triple the size in some cases.

The fact that Vermigli, as noted earlier, chose *loci* (in both the I Corinthians and the Romans commentaries) that were invariably related to central points being disputed at the time—he writes *loci* in the 1 Corinthian's work on justification (chapter 1, 29r–38r; excommunication and church discipline (chapter 5, 125r–132r), marriage, celibacy

⁸⁶ COR 79v–82r.

⁸⁷ COR 81v.

⁸⁸ COR 84r.

and virginity (chapter 7, 159r–196r) and the sacraments (chapter 10, 255v–280v)—may move one to ask whether *loci* are part of Vermigli's exegesis or perhaps better characterised as his treatment of theological topics which are merely suggested to him by a particular biblical passage or verse. The question is one over which there is some dispute within Vermigli studies. John Patrick Donnelly, for example, argues that Vermigli's *loci* 'go beyond the biblical text'⁸⁹ and Frank James that they are 'an integral part of the exposition itself.'⁹⁰ The two views are not irreconcilable but they are different. A compromise position could perhaps be constructed in which one concurred with Donnelly that Vermigli's *loci* are more speculative and 'systematic' in character than the exposition which precedes them, and with James that Martyr's main purpose in the *loci* is 'to go back to the text, summarize it, and clarify the meaning of the text.'⁹¹ But while this approach may take us some way towards a solution, the question is not going to be resolved by this suggestion alone and, thus, seems a good topic for further study.

CONCLUSION

Peter Martyr Vermigli exemplified brilliantly the connection which could exist in the early-modern period between humanism and scholasticism. His concern, as a biblical interpreter, for philology, rhetorical tropes and literary devices, literary and historical context, and classical and patristic literature mixed with his Thomism and Protestant commitments to produce exegesis which sought to be conversant with the text of Paul, to penetrate the Apostolic logic, and to understand (from a Protestant viewpoint) the redemptive-historical themes which were part and parcel of Pauline soteriology. This was then articulated within a context saturated in polemic, which gave to his exegesis a sense of earnestness and vitality, while also partaking of the belligerence which was the hallmark of Vermigli's age.

⁸⁹ Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 64.

⁹⁰ James, ed., *Predestination and Justification*, xxii.

⁹¹ *Predestination and Justification*, xxii.



4 [In epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos commentarii doctissimi.]
Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tigre, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes: wherein are diligently [and] most profitably entreated all such matters and chiefe common places of religion touched in the same Epistle. Lately tra[n]slated out of Latine into Englishe, by H[enry] B[illingsley]. Cum gratia & priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis per decennium. London: John Day, 1568.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

ROMANS COMMENTARY: JUSTIFICATION AND SANCTIFICATION

Frank A. James III

THE EMERGENCE OF ITALIAN PAULISM

As one embarks on a consideration of Peter Martyr's Roman's commentary with its treatise-size *loci* on the doctrines of justification and sanctification, it is appropriate to remember the wise words of one of the pioneers of modern Peter Martyr studies, Philip McNair, who wrote:

It is axiomatic that the Protestant Reformation was begotten of Luther's readings in Romans and was Pauline to the marrow; ... less appreciated is the extent to which the attention of Catholic theologians ... also focused on St. Paul. [At the dawn] ... of the sixteenth century an impressive number of Italians commented on one or the other of the Pauline epistles.¹

Roberto Cessi, the late distinguished historian of the University of Padua, went a step further when he pointed out that, even before the Reformation there was a humanist inspired revival of interest in the writings of the Apostle Paul.² In the wake of the Great Schism, came a burgeoning conviction across the European continent that the church might be reformed by a return (*ad fontes*) to the Church Fathers and to the Bible, especially the writings of St. Paul. The Catholic historian Dermot Fenlon reminds us that throughout Europe '... the epistles of St. Paul became the texts, which, more than any other, released the religious energies of the new (16th) century.'³ This was true in Colet's England, the France of Lefèvre d'Étaples, the Spain of Cardinal Cisneros and perhaps especially in Italy.

¹ Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: An Anatomy of Apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 150.

² Roberto Cessi, Professor at University of Padova, died in 1969. See his 'Paolinismo preluterano,' *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, classe scienze, morali, storiche e filologiche* 12 (1957), 3–30. Cited in Dermot Fenlon, *Heresy and Obedience in Tridentine Italy* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 2.

³ Fenlon, *Heresy*, 3.

The religious energy of this 'pre-Lutheran Paulism', as Cessi termed it, is nowhere better exemplified than in the life of Cardinal Gaspero Contarini. His study of Paul's Epistle to the Romans led him to affirm a doctrine remarkably like Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone.⁴ Contarini's letter to his dear friend Tommaso Giustiniani in February of 1523 rather graphically illustrates the point:

I have come to the firm conclusion... that no man can at any time justify himself through his works... One must turn to the divine grace obtained through faith in Jesus Christ, as St. Paul says (Rom 4:8): '*Blessed is the man whose sin the Lord will never count against him, apart from works.*'⁵ (*Beatus cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum, sine operibus.*)... Whence I conclude that... we must justify ourselves through the righteousness of another, that is, of Christ; and when we join ourselves to him, his righteousness is made ours, nor must we then depend upon ourselves in the slightest degree...⁶

All of this is to suggest that, Peter Martyr was no accidental Reformer and his interest in Paul was no aberration. For better or worse, he was a beneficiary of this 'pre-Lutheran Paulism' emerging in Italy. He was also a recipient of the emerging 'Protestant Paulism' through the clandestine ministry of the Spanish Reformer, Juan de Valdés.⁷ Indeed, Josiah Simler, informs us that sometime during Peter Martyr Vermigli's three years in Naples (1537–1540) 'the greater light of God's truth' dawned upon him.⁸ This 'greater light' was the doctrine of justification by faith alone. By the time he fled Italy and arrived in Zurich in 1542, he had already crossed the theological Rubicon.

⁴ Elisabeth G. Gleason, *Gasparo Contarini: Venice, Rome, and Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 294.

⁵ A slight conflation of Rom 4:6 ('*sine operibus*') and 8.

⁶ Fenlon, *Heresy*, 10–11.

⁷ Carlos Gilly, 'Juan de Valdés: Übersetzer und Bearbeiter von Luthers Schriften in seinem *Diálogo de Doctrina*,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 74 (1983): 257–258. José Nieto, 'The Changing Image of Valdés' in *Juan de Valdés: Two Catechisms*, José Nieto, trans. William B. and Carol D. Jones (Lawrence, Kansas: Coronado Press, 1993), 51–125.

⁸ Josiah Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu viri optimi praestantissimi Theologi D. Peteri Martyris Vermiglii, Sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina Professoris* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563), 9. The expanded funeral oration was first reprinted at the beginning of Vermigli's *Primum Librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur Commentarii doctissim*... (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1569) and in many editions of the *Loci Communes* beginning with the Basel edition of 1580.

Not surprisingly, Peter Martyr's Protestant reputation rested in large part on his erudite biblical commentaries on both Old and New Testament writings. Wherever his journey led him, he found himself lecturing on the biblical text, whether in his earlier incarnation as a Catholic theologian lecturing canons in Naples and Lucca, or later in Protestant academies in Strasbourg, Zurich or the University of Oxford. Although Vermigli had wide-ranging theological and polemical interests, to which he devoted many pages, there can be little doubt that his first and primary calling was as a biblical commentator or to borrow the words of John Wesley, Vermigli was a *homo unius libri* (a person of one book).⁹

ROMANS IN VERMIGLI'S THEOLOGICAL CAREER

When Vermigli left England for good in October 1553, he carried with him not only a broken heart and deep concern for Archbishop Cranmer and the English Church, but a manuscript of his lectures on Romans. The completed manuscript became something of an apology for the Reformation efforts of Cranmer. His dedicatory epistle to Sir Anthony Cooke,¹⁰ Edward's tutor and a Marian exile, is not simply a dedication to Cooke but in reality, a dedication to the English Church.

Of his biblical writings, his commentary on Romans was probably the most influential.¹¹ It also was most republished of all his biblical writings—going through eight editions from 1558–1613.¹² Vermigli seems to have had a particular affinity for Paul's Epistle to the Romans well before

⁹ Frank A. James III, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562)' in *Major Biblical Interpreters* ed. Donald McKim (Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 1998), 239–245. Cf. John L. Thompson, 'The Survival of Allegorical Argumentation in Peter Martyr Vermigli's Old Testament Exegesis,' in *Biblical Interpretation in the Era of the Reformation*, eds. Richard A. Muller and John L. Thompson (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1996), 255–258.

¹⁰ For background on Cooke, see C.H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Protestantism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938).

¹¹ J.P. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 18, n. 36. Joan Simon, *Education and Society in Tudor England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 380 and H.S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1550–1603* (Cambridge, 1965), 88.

¹² J.P. Donnelly, with Robert Kingdon, *Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Kirkville, Mo: Truman State University Press, 1990), 18–30.

crossing the Alps to Protestantism in 1542. The historical evidence indicates that he lectured on this epistle at least three different locations (possibly four), during his long career. Although McNair thinks the evidence inconclusive, he does enumerate cogent reasons for the possibility that Vermigli lectured on Romans as early as his triennium in Naples (1537–40).¹³ Whatever doubts remain about Naples, there is an eyewitness to his lectures on Romans in Lucca (1541–1542). Girolamo Zanchi, who was a novice in the Lucchese monastery at S. Frediano and was converted under the ministry of Vermigli, specifically notes that he heard Vermigli lecture on Romans in Lucca.¹⁴

There is evidence indicating that Vermigli also lectured on Paul's epistle to the Romans in Strasbourg in 1545–1546. A young Frenchman from Lille (Hubert de Bapasmé), who had come to Strasbourg to study theology, revealed in a letter dated 10 March 1546, that he had attended Vermigli's lectures on Paul's Epistle to the Romans: 'This week, I have listened to one of his (Vermigli's) lectures on the New Testament, the Epistle to the Romans, chapter twelve.'¹⁵ This places Vermigli's lectures on Romans in his fourth year at Strasbourg, that is, 1545–1546.¹⁶ And finally, as Regius professor of Divinity at Oxford, Vermigli again lectured on Romans from 1551–1552.

¹³ McNair, *Italy*, 152–153.

¹⁴ Girolamo Zanchi, *Operum Theologicorum...* (Geneva: Gamonet & Aubert, 1605), VII, 4, writing to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, on 15 October 1565 specifically mentions that Vermigli lectured on Paul's Epistle to the Romans in Lucca. '...ambo denique simul, cum Martyrem Lucae, Epistolam ad Romanos publice interpretantem...'

¹⁵ Philip Denis, 'La correspondance d'Hubert de Bapasmé, réfugié lillois à Strasbourg (1545–1547),' *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 124 (1978), 103–104: 'J'ay ouy ceste sepmaine une de ses (Vermigli's) leçons qu'il faict au Nouveaux Testament en l'épistre à Romains, douziesme chapitre...' We add two further considerations. First, there is no doubt about the identification of the lecturer; it is Vermigli. Second, de Bapasmé's letter ostensibly speaks of lectures not lecture, so it appears that Vermigli was giving a lecture series on the epistle to the Romans. This is also the opinion of Philip Denis (104n).

¹⁶ See Frank A. James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination: The Augustinian Inheritance of an Italian Reformer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 48–49. Thus, it would appear that Vermigli's lecture sequence began with the Minor Prophets in 1542–1543, Genesis in 1543–1544, and Exodus in 1544–1545. He then moved out of his normal Old Testament sequence to lecture on Romans in 1545–1546, and finally in his last term at Strasbourg (1546–1547) returned to the scheduled sequence and to lectures on Leviticus. Where the five short chapters of Lamentations fit into this scheme cannot be determined, but because of their brevity, they could have been delivered at virtually any point.

JUSTIFICATION & SANCTIFICATION IN THE
ROMANS COMMENTARY

The 'Italian Stranger',¹⁷ as John Strype christened Vermigli, first set foot on British soil in late 1547.¹⁸ Vermigli was not invited to Oxford merely for his academic reputation and achievements, but rather because he was needed to promote Protestantism in England.¹⁹ In Simler's opinion, Vermigli was 'the one person most suited for this task [of reformation] because of his singular learning and incredible skill at many things.'²⁰ There can be little doubt that his Romans lectures were strategically chosen and employed to further his goal of bringing reformation to England, which had been his charge from Cranmer.²¹ Vermigli judged that he had a powerful weapon in this war of ideas—Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

The polemical tone in the Romans commentary should be seen against the larger backdrop of the Council of Trent. The Council's anathema on Luther's doctrine of justification was issued in January 1547. Five years had passed since Trent formally addressed the doctrine of justification, and Vermigli had ample time to reflect upon its canons and decrees as well as their theological implications. His Romans commentary with its extensive *locus* on justification is, in significant measure, his response to this important council.

It is evident that Vermigli had given careful thought to the doctrine of justification and its relationship to sanctification. One of the notable features to emerge in Vermigli's outlook was the ethical orientation of

¹⁷ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials... of the Church of England under King Henry VIII* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), II: 336. R.W. Dixon, *History of the Church of England From the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1881), II: 521: 'But even from the beginning of Edward's reign, the prospect of England had drawn an invasion of learned strangers.'

¹⁸ 'Expenses of the Journey of Peter Martyr and Bernardinus Ochino to England in 1547,' Bodleian Library, Oxford, MSS, Ashmole 826, records a detailed account of expenses incurred by John Abell.

¹⁹ Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II: 197, wrote: 'It was especially thought necessary, that the corrupt opinions about the Eucharist should be rectified in the Universities as well as elsewhere, and both these foreigners [Vermigli and Bucer] thought aught [worthily] in this great point, thought differing in their judgments in the expression to be used about them.'

²⁰ J.P. Donnelly, *LLS*, 33.

²¹ John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II: 197. Cf. J.C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli, 1500–1562* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957), 16.

the doctrine of justification. For him, if justification was to be rightly understood, it must be directly related to godliness.²² This ethical orientation is reflected clearly in the Romans commentary, for he declares that justification 'is the head, fountain and summit of all *piety*.'²³

In many respects, Vermigli provides a conventional Protestant understanding of justification. It is obvious from the commentary as well as his *locus* that justification in the strict sense is a legal pronouncement of God. He specifically employs the legal term 'forensic' (*forense*) to describe this judicial proceeding.²⁴ Justification then, as he makes clear, belongs to the legal domain and, as such, addresses the theological problem of the legal guilt inherited by all Adam's progeny and how it is that a righteous divine judge reaches a verdict of 'not guilty.'

If justification is fundamentally a legal or forensic matter for Vermigli, then the question of how the guilty sinner is legally absolved of the deserved punishment comes to the fore. To describe this divine judicial proceeding, he employs the concept of imputation (*imputatio*).²⁵ In general, he sees two movements of imputation. First, there is the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the elect sinner. When the divine verdict is rendered, it will not be on the basis of the sinner's own accomplishments, but on the basis of the imputed righteousness of Christ that he is judged.²⁶ Second, Vermigli also speaks of the non-imputation of sins, by which he means that sins are not counted against the sinner because they have been imputed or transferred to Christ. Thus he states: 'He (Christ) justifies those whom he takes to himself and bears their iniquities.'²⁷

This double imputation brings a dual legal benefit—acquittal and the right to eternal life.²⁸ Because Christ has taken their sins and transferred

²² Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos commentarij doctissimi*... (Basel: P. Perna, 1558), 521 [hereafter cited as *ROM*]. Calvin refers to justification as the 'sum of all piety.' See McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), II:36.

²³ *ROM* 521: 'Cum hoc dogma caput sit, fons et columen totius pietatis, et propterea oporteret de illo omnium maxime constare.'

²⁴ *ROM* 517.

²⁵ *ROM* 517. Alister McGrath has argued that this legal term 'imputation' has its origins in Erasmus' *Novum instrumentum omne* of 1516 where he replaced the term '*reputatum*' of the Vulgate translation of Romans 4:5 with '*imputatum*.' Cf. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II: 31–32.

²⁶ *ROM* 565.

²⁷ *ROM* 553.

²⁸ *ROM* 558.

his righteousness to them, sinners are thereby pronounced forgiven, hence justified. The second benefit is entrance into a new relationship with the divine judge.²⁹ Vermigli remarks that the ‘chief and principle part’ of forgiveness of our sins is ‘that we are received into the favour of God.’³⁰ For him, this acceptance into the favour of God is particularly identified with adoption, which also has a legal connotation.³¹

It is significant that his forensic understanding of imputation necessarily requires an extrinsic view of justification, which is to say, the act in which Christ’s righteousness is imputed to an elect sinner only has reference to his legal status. Such an act is external to the sinner and does not itself bring inner renewal or sanctification. The imputed righteousness of Christ, technically speaking, does not penetrate and transform the soul of the sinner as is required in the Catholic notion of inherent grace (*gratia inhaerens*), but remains external to the sinner. Justification then, in the forensic sense, is not *iustitia in nobis* but *iustitia extra nos*.³²

Vermigli’s understanding of forensic justification is not particularly unusual. What is unusual is the inclusion of regeneration and sanctification under the rubric of justification. Like his friend and mentor, Martin Bucer,³³ Vermigli had long espoused a three-fold concept of justification, which included three distinguishable but inseparable components: regeneration, justification and sanctification. This three-fold character of his doctrine of justification is found in his earliest treatment of this doctrine in his Strasbourg exposition of Genesis (1543)³⁴ as well as his 1548 lectures on I Corinthians in Oxford and is retained in the Romans commentary.³⁵ For instance, we see his comments on the classic Reformational text, Romans 1:17. There he divided in into 3 parts (*tres partes*). Vermigli writes:

²⁹ Vermigli, *In selectissimam D. Pauli Priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam Commentarij* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1579), fols. 16r and 18v.

³⁰ ROM 558.

³¹ ROM 525. He writes: ‘...there is no doubt that justification [brings]...the favour of God by which men are received into grace, adopted as his children and made heirs of eternal life.’

³² McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II: 20.

³³ Bucer also employed a 2-fold justification. See W.P. Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 52–53.

³⁴ James, *Vermigli and Predestination*, 49.

³⁵ Although he repeatedly mentions the 3-fold justification in the commentary he does not specifically mention it in the *locus*.

God declares his *righteousness or goodness* towards us by three things chiefly. First, he receives us into favour, forgiving us our sins: not imputing death to us for those sins we commit, but on the contrary, imputes to us instead the obedience and holiness of Christ. Second, he kindles in our heart a desire to live uprightly, he renews our will, illuminates our reason and makes us prone to live virtuously, although before we abhorred that which was just and honest. Third, he gives us pure and chaste conduct, good actions and a sincere life.³⁶

Again in Romans 3:21 he puts forward the threefold structure:

The righteousness of God, as I have declared in other places, is threefold: The first is that we are received into favour through Christ and our sins forgiven and the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us. The second righteousness follows this, namely that through the help of the Holy Spirit, our mind is reformed and we are inwardly renewed by grace. Third, holy and goodly works follow...³⁷

What is striking here is that Vermigli's understanding of the righteousness of God is broader than some Protestants would allow (especially Lutherans). Clearly, the first part of the righteousness of God entails forensic justification based on the imputation of Christ's obedience and holiness to the sinner and not imputing the penalty due sinners. On this count, Vermigli is in full accord with the standard Lutheran view.

However, Vermigli adds two other parts to his understanding of the righteousness of God. The second part includes what appears to be what modern theological parlance is called 'regeneration'—that is, a re-energizing and a re-directing of the heart, intellect, will, emotions.³⁸ And even more unusual is the fact that Vermigli also includes a third component in his definition of the righteousness of God, namely, a new way of living life and doing good deeds or what may be described as 'sanctification.' These later two parts are intimately connected as cause and effect. Regeneration is generally taken as the initial work of the Holy Spirit which enlivens and animates the Christian thus producing good works of sanctification.

³⁶ ROM 49.

³⁷ ROM 79.

³⁸ Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1941), 466–467: Reformers often use the term 'regeneration' broadly, referring to the whole of sanctification. 'Calvin also used the term in a very comprehensive sense as a designation of the whole process by which man is renewed, including, besides the divine act which originates the new life, also conversion (repentance and faith) and sanctification.'

The surprising thing here in the history of interpretation is the fact that a major Reformed theologian does not define 'the righteousness of God' exclusively in terms of forensic justification, but also includes internal moral renewal (regeneration) and good deeds (sanctification). Vermigli is very clear to add: 'But the first of these three [justification] is the chief part because it comprehends the others.'³⁹ In another comment he makes the same point: 'the first and principal part in which the sum of justification consists is the forgiveness of sins.' Although forensic justification is the 'chief' or 'principle' part, he stresses the interdependence of the three. 'These [three] parts of righteousness are...so joined together that the one depends on the other.'

What is clear is that Vermigli, especially in contrast to some mainstream Lutherans, does indeed include a transformational element under the broad rubric of justification. He cannot conceive of justification as a mere legal declaration, which is not necessarily accompanied by a moral transformation.⁴⁰ For him, the proper understanding of justification is one that includes both the act and its consequences; its cause and effects, hence he felt compelled to speak of a threefold righteousness.

Like most other Protestants, he taught that justification, regeneration and sanctification were distinct but not separate. He does indeed differ from some Lutherans by placing the principle of 'distinct but not separate' at the forefront of his formulation rather than stressing the discontinuity of justification and sanctification as expressed for example, in the phrase *simul iustus et peccator*.

Although his formulation may differ from some Lutherans, Vermigli is generally in accord with other Protestant theologians of his day who are more identified with the emerging Reformed branch of Protestantism, such as Bucer, Oecolampadius and Zwingli.⁴¹ Vermigli's own distinctive juxtaposition of justification, regeneration and sanctification especially resonates with Martin Bucer, with whom Vermigli spent his first five years as a Protestant. In an interesting parallel, one of Bucer's modern interpreters, Peter Stephens, is somewhat bewildered by Bucer's unconventional formulation of justification describing it as 'ambiguous.'⁴² As I have argued previously, there is little doubt that five years

³⁹ ROM 86–87.

⁴⁰ ROM 539.

⁴¹ McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II: 32–35.

⁴² Stephens, *Bucer*, 49.

with Bucer in Strasbourg (1542–1547), explains the historical origins of Martyr's threefold conception of justification.⁴³

In sum, Vermigli embraces both a narrower and stricter forensic understanding of justification, as well as a broader moral understanding, which stresses the necessary relationship between forensic justification and its accompanying benefits of regeneration and sanctification. Forensic justification, which is based on the imputed righteousness of Christ alone, is necessarily accompanied by the regenerative work of the Holy Spirit, which produces a moral transformation in the sinner, which in turn inevitably produces sanctification or good works. It is one of the hallmarks of his understanding that these three blessings may be distinguished, but never separated. The words of Peter Stephens with reference to Bucer are perfectly applicable to Martyr:

God never imputes righteousness without also imparting it. He does not simply transform a man's standing in His sight; He transforms a man's life in His sight and in the sight of men. At the same time, no man is made righteous...in such a way that he does not always stand in need of the unmerited forgiveness of God.⁴⁴

Martyr still retains the crucial distinctives of a Protestant understanding of justification—original sin, a dynamic view of faith (*fides apprehensiva*) and forensic justification based exclusively on the imputed righteousness of Christ alone. But the primary theological conviction that shapes Martyr's distinctive understanding of justification is his Augustinian view of original sin. In Vermigli's mind, one cannot properly deal with the immense problem of original sin by considering only the legal dimension, but one must also deal with the moral implications. Adam's fall, according to Vermigli, brought legal guilt, spiritual death and moral corruption and the redemptive work of Christ countered each of these by bringing forensic justification, regeneration and sanctification. He would argue that to break the law of God is not only a legal violation, but a moral infraction as well. In essence, he invests justification with a comprehensiveness equal to the magnitude of original sin.

⁴³ Stephens, *Bucer*, 48–70. Cf. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II:203, n20.

⁴⁴ Stephens, *Bucer*, 49.

HISTORICAL-THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Vermigli's doctrinal development with regard to justification and sanctification generally mirrors the evolution of the doctrine in Protestantism. One of the important historiographical insights garnered from Vermigli, is the fact that the Protestant doctrine of justification was not static, but went through a process of theological amelioration. To be sure, Luther blazed a path that others would follow, but it must be recognized that Luther's initial insights provoked decades of Protestant refinement, both from Lutheran and Reformed theologians.⁴⁵ One of the more significant developments of the doctrine concerned the relationship between forensic justification and sanctification. Alister McGrath has observed that there was a definitive movement within early Protestantism from a dynamic view of justification that stressed the unity (but not identification) of justification and sanctification to a more constrictive understanding that stressed the distinction between justification and sanctification.⁴⁶ This is theological trend is most evident in the Lutheran branch⁴⁷ by the 1530's. The Reformed tradition however, retained the more dynamic view of justification throughout its history.⁴⁸

Reformed conceptions of justification tended to place greater emphasis on an ethical conception of justification, so that sanctification is seen as a constitutive element of justification. Zwingli, Bucer,⁴⁹ Bullinger,

⁴⁵ McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II:11 and 10–32. In the early years, Luther understood that 'justification included regeneration and renewal.' Cf. G.W. Bromiley, 'The Doctrine of Justification in Luther,' *The Evangelical Quarterly* 24 (1952), 95, makes a similar judgment: 'Luther makes no final distinction between justification and sanctification.' Bromiley observes that the relationship between justification and sanctification was 'so close' that 'Luther does not scruple to use the one word justification to cover the process of sanctification as well as justification in the narrower and stricter sense.' (96). McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, II: 13, notes: 'Luther does not make the distinction between justification and sanctification associated with later Protestantism.' Initially, Luther did not conceive of justification as forensic. It is only after 1530 that he gets this idea from Melancthon that he derived from Roman law. See Peter Toon, *Justification and Sanctification* (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1983), 62–63.

⁴⁶ McGrath *Iustitia Dei*, II:11 and 10–32. Cf. Toon, *Justification*, 55–66, 75–88.

⁴⁷ See *Augsburg Confession* (1530), part I, chapter 4.

⁴⁸ See the *Westminster Confession of Faith* (1647), chapter 11. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 530: 'They [the Reformers] made a clear distinction between justification and sanctification.... But while they made a careful distinction between the two, they also stressed their inseparable connection. While deeply convinced that man is justified by faith alone, they also understood that the faith which justifies is not alone.'

⁴⁹ Stephens, *Bucer*, 48–70. As far as can be determined, Vermigli and Bucer were the only two early Reformed theologians to develop this explicitly three-tiered understanding of justification.

and Oecolampadius, all envisage a very close relationship between sanctification and justification. Calvin's understanding of justification follows the main lines of his new configuration.⁵⁰ Calvin approached the relationship of justification and sanctification by turning his focus to their common source, union with Christ (*insitio in Christum*), which gave them equal standing, while distinguishing them without separating them.⁵¹ This is precisely what Calvin maintains in the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*, when he writes that 'the grace of justification is not separated from regeneration (sanctification) although they are things distinct.'⁵²

One will not properly understand Reformation doctrine of justification, if we do not recognize that it was developed in a period of intensive theological transition. Like other Protestant scholars, Vermigli was a theological pioneer who was in the process of divesting himself of his Catholic theological training and braving the new world of Protestant theological exegesis. In the midst of this intellectual transition period, there was theological diversity among Protestants (Lutheran and Reformed) with regard to the doctrine of justification, and particularly its relationship to regeneration and sanctification.⁵³ Richard Muller, referring to the earliest period of Reformed theology, is correct when he characterizes this as 'a period of great variety in theological formulation despite general doctrinal consensus.'⁵⁴ However, despite the diversity,

⁵⁰ Francois Wendel, *Calvin*, trans. Philip Mairet, 257–258. Calvin seems to have undergone some development on this matter early in his Protestant career. The 1536 edition of the *Institutes* has almost nothing to say about justification. However, in the *Genevan Confession* of 1536 (section 8), Calvin explicitly places justification before regeneration and the same is true in the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549 (chapter 3). The *Genevan Confession* is found in Arthur Cochrane, ed., *Reformed Confession of the Sixteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966) and the *Consensus Tigurinus* is found in A.A. Hodge, *Outlines of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1977), appendix.

⁵¹ Mark Garcia, 'Life in Christ: The Function of Union with Christ...with Special Reference to the Relationship of Justification and Sanctification in Sixteenth-Century Context,' PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2004.

⁵² *Inst.*, 3.11.11. It has not escaped the notice of scholars that Calvin treats sanctification before justification in the 1559 edition. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei*, 2: 38, argues that this chronology is not significant except to show that Calvin's real interest was the believer's union with Christ and that justification and sanctification are merely two consequences of that signal event.

⁵³ Garcia, *Life in Christ*, 223: '... the Lutheran and Reformed strands of the Reformation had in fact adopted distinguishable understandings of the justification/sanctification relationship.'

⁵⁴ Richard Muller, *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics: Prolegomena to Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1987), I:28.

there seems to have been an irreducible core of a genuine Protestant doctrine of justification, centering on the imputed righteousness of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. It is probably more historically accurate to speak of the perimeters of a Protestant doctrine of justification and within those perimeters are considerable differences among early Protestant theologians. The crucial distinction between Roman Catholics and Protestants (of both kinds) was that the latter see the ground of justification to lie exclusively in the imputed righteousness of Christ. From Vermigli's perspective, Trent could not make the same claim.

* * *

On 11 November 1562, Vermigli lay dying in his home just across the street from the *Schola Tigurina* in Zurich. Simler informs us that Vermigli, realizing his journey was nearing its end, made out his will and then declared 'in a rather clear voice' his final confession. In the shadow of the magnificent twin towers of the Grossmunster,⁵⁵ he acknowledged that his salvation was 'in Christ alone.' Then in the presence of his second wife, Catherine Merenda, Bullinger, Simler and several of his close friends, he concluded saying, 'This is my faith, in which I am dying.'⁵⁶ On 12 November, having nearly lost all power of speech, he weakly commended his spirit to God and breathed his last. It was Heinrich Bullinger, who with his own hands, closed Vermigli's lifeless eyes.⁵⁷

One does not have to look very closely at his final confession of faith to see that he not only lived but also died with his doctrine of justification. For Vermigli, 'salvation in Christ alone' was just another way of declaring that his sins had been forgiven because of the imputed righteousness of Christ alone through faith alone. Justification was no longer a doctrine to be disputed, but a gateway into the presence of God.

⁵⁵ Emidio Campi, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562): Ein theologisches Profil,' in *Schola Tigurina: Die Züricher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550*, ed. Hans Ulrich Bächtold (Zurich: Pano Verlag, 1999), 65, indicates that Vermigli was buried in the cloister of the Grossmunster in Zurich.

⁵⁶ Donnelly, *LLS*, 60.

⁵⁷ Emidio Campi, 'Ein theologisches Profil,' 65, indicates that Vermigli was buried in the cloister of the Grossmunster in Zurich.

PART FOUR

THEOLOGICAL *LOCI*

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

CLASSICAL CHRISTOLOGY

William Klempa

INTRODUCTION

Karl Barth told a University of Bonn audience over sixty years ago, ‘Tell me how it stands with your Christology and I shall tell you who you are.’ He went on to add: ‘This is the point at which ways diverge, and the point at which is fixed the relation between theology and philosophy.... At this point everything becomes clear or unclear, bright or dark. For here we are standing at the centre.’¹ Barth was rightly concerned, some might say obsessed, with the Christological core of his and our theologies. He asked his question in the second person singular but I want to pose it in the third person. How does it stand with Peter Martyr Vermigli’s Christology, i.e. with his doctrine of the person of Christ? How are philosophy and theology related in his theology and Christology? And, since Christology cannot be separated from the doctrine of salvation, how did Peter Martyr view the work of Christ?

This essay will argue that Martyr’s teaching moves within the classical statements and creedal definitions of the person and work of Christ. Like the other magisterial reformers, he accepted the Christological doctrine of the first four ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, Constantinople and Chalcedon as well as the fifth and sixth councils.² This does not mean that he and they spoke with one voice on Christology. Clearly they did not and even if they all spoke in Latin it was with different accents. While there was a remarkable convergence, there were differences, for example, between Lutheran and Reformed, and also differences among the Reformed. Martyr’s classical Christology is evident in his first published work in 1544, his only work in Italian, a

¹ Karl Barth, *Dogmatik im Grundriss* (Zollikon: Evangelischer Verlag, 1947), 76–77, and *Dogmatics in Outline* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 66.

² Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Life, Letters, and Sermons*, translated and edited by John Patrick Donnelly, PML, vol. 5 (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1999), 202.

commentary on the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed,³ where 25 of the 51 sections are devoted to the exposition of Christology and references to Christ abound in the other sections. It is also explicit in his last literary works, among which were three letters addressed to the Church in Poland countering Francesco Stancaro's view that Christ is mediator only in his human nature.⁴ Martyr's last published work was his *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ* written as a rebuttal to Johann Brenz's view of the ubiquity of Christ's body.⁵ We will also argue that orthodox Catholic Christology underlies and pervades Martyr's commentaries, sermons, disputations, works on the Eucharist and occasional writings.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

I want to begin by delineating briefly three main influences on Peter Martyr's Christology. First, Martyr's Christology, as well as his whole theological thought, was shaped by the double legacy of scholasticism and humanism. 'A Florentine who studied at Padua'⁶ is Joseph C. McLelland's apt description of Peter Martyr, calling attention to the twofold influence of his birthplace, Florence, the jewel of the Italian Renaissance and of the University of Padua, a leading sixteenth century centre for the study of Aristotelian philosophy and scholastic theology. Was Peter Martyr more humanist or more scholastic? The safest and probably correct answer to this much-disputed question is that Martyr was as much a scholastic as he was a humanist, and that more than some of the other reformers, he was eminently successful in wedding and fusing the two opposing movements.

At Padua, Martyr acquired a solid grounding in Aristotelian philosophy principally under the Averroist philosopher, Marcantonio de'

³ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Una Semplice Dichiaratione sopra gli XII Articoli della Fede Christiana*, trans. by Mariano Di Gangi as *The Apostles' Creed: A Plain Exposition of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith* in PML, vol. 1, *Early Writings*, edited by Joseph C. McLelland (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1994), 27–79.

⁴ LLS 198–220.

⁵ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ*, translated and edited with an Introduction and Notes by John Patrick Donnelly, PML, vol. 2 (Kirkville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1995). [DTN]

⁶ Joseph C. McLelland, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, edited by Joseph C. McLelland (Waterloo: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1977), 141, 147.

Passeri, called Genua. His theological studies at Padua also concentrated on Thomas Aquinas and Gregory of Rimini,⁷ an Augustinian, whom Luther once praised as the only scholastic who was not a Pelagian.⁸ It may well be, as John Patrick Donnelly has conjectured, that Gregory of Rimini's strong Augustinian doctrine of grace contributed to Martyr's shift from the medieval doctrine of justification by grace and charity to the Protestant doctrine of justification by grace through faith alone.⁹

Martyr's Aristotelian and scholastic studies made him proficient in the use of scholastic logic and skilful later in countering the scholastic arguments of both his Roman Catholic and Lutheran opponents. This is evident in his *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ* where Martyr employs scholastic analysis and often refers to Aristotle and quotes the opinions of the scholastic theologians, Lombard, Thomas, Bonaventura and so on. Although Josiah Simler is inclined to pass over in silence the scholastic theology Martyr acquired at Padua under the Augustinian Eremite, the Dominicans and possibly two Franciscans, it definitely left its impress on Martyr.¹⁰ The scholastics, and in particular, Thomas Aquinas and the Augustinian, Gregory of Rimini, appear to have been foundational and formative in passing on a Christology to Martyr that was shaped by the ecumenical councils and as Klaus Sturm has shown Martyr's Christology has similarities to that of Thomas Aquinas.¹¹ But it also departs from Aquinas at important points, particularly on the issue of Christ's mediatorship.

Peter Martyr was also strongly influenced by humanist strains of thought. This occurred at the Augustinian monastery Martyr entered at Fiesole just outside of Florence where Martyr was exposed to and made use of the vast resources of a renowned library. It continued at Padua where he pursued his humanistic studies. As Martyr himself

⁷ See Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 110–11 and Joseph C. McLelland 'Introduction' to *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, edited by Emidio Campi and Joseph C. McLelland (Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2006), ix.

⁸ Quoted by Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), 144.

⁹ John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), footnote no. 79, 37. I have opted for the phrase, 'justification by grace through faith alone' in preference to Donnelly's use of the term 'solafideism'.

¹⁰ See Josiah Simler's *Life of Peter Martyr Vermigli* in LLS 16.

¹¹ Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542–1547* (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 114–115.

noted, this created a cleavage between the schoolmen and the humanist scholars.¹² Genau, under whom Martyr studied, sought to bridge the gap between the two opposing schools by expressing his thought in the form of humanist eloquence. It was also while at Padua that Peter Martyr gained the friendship of a distinguished humanist, who was to be his most influential friend in Italy, the future Cardinal Pietro Bembo.¹³ Martyr acquired the tools of a humanist scholar. His mother taught him Latin. At Padua, he taught himself Greek so he could read Aristotle in the original language, and he acquired a knowledge of Hebrew. Bucer in a letter to Calvin commented on Martyr's outstanding knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew and his being versed in Holy Scriptures.¹⁴

The third influence was 'Italian Evangelism'. Juan de Valdés, a refugee Spanish lay theologian, was the major catalyst of this movement to meet the spiritual longings in Italy and to reform the doctrine and morals of the Italian church. This complex movement has been the subject of many studies. It will suffice to say that this movement represented a 'positive reaction of certain spiritually minded Catholics to the challenge of Protestantism, and in particular to the crucial doctrine of Justification by Faith.'¹⁵ With respect to Christology, it has been shown that Valdés held firmly to Nicene teaching. In his penultimate work, *Considerations*, Valdés declared: '...I rejoice in what I know at present, that this Word of God is the Son of God; with Whom and by Whom God has created and restored all things; that He is of the same substance with the Father; that He is one and the same in essence with Him; and that like Him He is eternal.'¹⁶ Martyr's association with Valdés, as McNair has said, 'began to reorientate Martyr's mind...' He began to read Erasmus, who had been a strong influence on Valdés and as Simler informs us, he 'studied carefully Bucer's commentaries on the gospels and the annotations on the Psalms [and] also read Zwingli's book *On True and False Religion* and another volume of his *On God's*

¹² Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Commonplaces* 2, 268A, referred to by Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 111.

¹³ McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 96.

¹⁴ Martin Bucer to John Calvin, Strasbourg, 28 October 1542, referred to by Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermigli*, 22.

¹⁵ I am quoting McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, 8, and taking his position in his argument with Roman Catholic historians such as E. Jung and H. Jedin who hold that it was a movement that was independent of Protestantism.

¹⁶ Benjamin B. Wiffen, *Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés, with a translation from Italian of his Hundred and Ten Considerations by John T. Betts* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1865), 570.

Providence, together with some works of Erasmus.¹⁷ This gave Martyr a systematic Christ-centred approach to his theology.¹⁸

THE TWO MAIN SOURCES OF MARTYR'S CHRISTOLOGY

For Martyr there was 'nothing more beautiful than the knowledge of God and his most merciful will by which he decreed to save us through Christ', which knowledge we find deposited in the sacred letters.¹⁹ Scripture is 'divinely inspired and instilled from heaven and breathed into [our] hearts by the divine power of the Holy Spirit.' Accordingly 'any doctrine should be measured against the touchstone of the sacred letters.' Neither the Church,²⁰ nor the fathers of the Church, take precedence over the sacred letters which have their authority from God. Appeal to Scripture is primary. Since Scripture is concerned with our salvation and renewal, the principal subject matter of both the Old and New Testaments, is Jesus Christ. It is not the Church but the Holy Spirit who convinces us of the authority of the sacred letters. The same Spirit who provided that these things were written persuades us to believe that they are not human inventions. Martyr's advice to theological students was: 'Let us get used to God's sermons, let us immerse ourselves constantly in the sacred letters, let us work at reading them, and by the gift of Christ's Spirit the things that are necessary for salvation will be for us clear, direct, and completely open.'²¹

¹⁷ Josiah Simler, *Life of Peter Martyr Vermigli*, LLS 20.

¹⁸ See Émile G. Léonard, *A History of Protestantism*. Volume 1. The Reformation, edited by H.H. Rowley, trans. By Joyce M.H. Reid (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965), 298, where he speaks of Luther's and Calvin's Christocentric theologies. Both were influenced by Erasmus who sought to establish the best texts of Scripture and to interpret them seeking only for Christ. See also Gordon Rupp 'Patterns of Salvation in the First Age of the Reformation,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 57 (1966), 55 where Rupp reminds us of the debt of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* to the 'modern devotion' and its constant reference to Jesus Christ and the need for and provision of grace.

¹⁹ *Exhortation for Youths to Study Sacred Letters*, in LLS 278.

²⁰ Vermigli says that when Augustine stated 'I shall not believe the gospel except as moved by the authority of the catholic church' (*Contra epistolam Manichaei* [PL 42: 176]), Augustine meant that it was not the Church but the Holy Spirit that convinced him of the truth of the Gospel through the ministry of the Church. This ministry is God's instrument and it is said to move through the agency of the Holy Spirit (LC I.6.5). See also John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. J.T. McNeill and F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960) 1.7.3.

²¹ *Exhortation for Youths to Study Sacred Letters*, in LLS, 281.

If the primary reference of all that Martyr has to say about theology and Christology is to Holy Scripture, the secondary reference, as Alfred Schindler has helpfully stated, is not to contemporary theological literature—to Luther, Zwingli, or Calvin. Most powerfully, it is to the Church Fathers. For Vermigli they play the role that so-called secondary literature plays for us in our published works.²² Yet their secondary role must be observed ‘First we should define doctrines soundly out of Scripture itself’, Peter Martyr says, ‘then afterwards the Fathers may be read with judgment.’ That is, they must be measured against the touchstone of Scripture, for we cannot hand over to the Fathers the power to decide. ‘We are called theologians and that is how we want to be known’, Martyr told students of theology and then exhorted them, ‘Let us live up to our name and profession unless we should prefer being patrologists instead of theologians’²³ The profession of theology requires us to deal diligently with the Word of God.

Martyr’s contemporaries, both friends and foes, have acknowledged, and recent Vermigli scholarship has confirmed, that Peter Martyr had a remarkably vast store of patristic knowledge.²⁴ Long before the age of the computer, as Alfred Schindler has put it well, the riches of Christian antiquity, in their vast breadth were available to him without electronic means, thanks to an immense memory bank.²⁵ His references span from Chrysostom and Jerome as exegetes to Origen, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Origen and Ambrose. Yet it is Augustine who is everywhere present, prominent and pivotal as will be evident in this discussion of Christology. Yet Vermigli acknowledged that the fathers are a kind of labyrinth for they do not always agree. Only Holy Scripture is clear and authoritative whereas, councils, canons and citations from the Fathers have at best a derived authority, which must be determined case by case. Martyr’s approach to the Fathers was governed by the general rule that the greater the antiquity, the greater the Father’s authority.

²² Alfred Schindler, ‘Vermigli und die Kirchenväter’ in *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation*, edited by Emidio Campi in co-operation with Frank A. James III., Peter Opitz (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002), 37.

²³ *Exhortation*, 284.

²⁴ See J.C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God*, 267–71; Alfred Schindler, ‘Vermigli und die Kirchenväter’, 37–43; and Frank A. James III., *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 94ff.

²⁵ Alfred Schindler, ‘Vermigli und die Kirchenväter’, 38.

CHRIST AS MEDIATOR

Peter Martyr did not write a Christology yet it was a *locus* that was central to his thinking. The question arises at the outset: where should one begin in setting out his Christology? Certainly, Martyr's *Common Places* offers us an overview but as it has been pointed out, the collection of passages in Book II, chapter 17 culled from his commentaries on Romans, 1 Corinthians and 1 Samuel is rather slight compared with the five chapters of John Calvin's *Institutes* on which Robert Masson sought to model his work.²⁶ The reader is helpfully referred to Martyr's other writings including the *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura*, and his letters to the Polish churches. These last-named works were written during the last three years of his life. It is with Martyr's three letters to the Polish Church and his controversy with Francis Stancaro regarding Christ's role as mediator in the unity of his two natures rather than simply in his humanity, as Stancaro insisted, that I want to begin.

Here I follow the lead of Stephen Edmondson. In his fine study of *Calvin's Christology*, Edmondson opens his consideration of the Genevan reformer's thought on the person and work of Christ by choosing as its centre Calvin's definition of Christ as mediator and thus organizing the form and content of his teaching around this central focus. Christ's person is discussed in the context of Christ's role and work as mediator.²⁷ Edmondson's line of argument attempts to be a confirmation and expansion of Heiko Oberman's comment that there is in Calvin a shift of accent 'from a natures-Christology to an offices-Christology, converging towards a mediator-theology.'²⁸

Accordingly, Edmondson devotes the first chapter of his study of Calvin's Christology to exploring the importance of Calvin's debate

²⁶ See John Patrick Donnelly 'Christological Currents in Vermigli's Thought' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformation*, edited by Frank A. James III (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004), 177–78; and Christoph Strohm 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes*' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance No. CCCLXV, edited by Emidio Campi (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2003), 85–86: 'Im Vergeich zur *Institutio* muss man von einer Dominanz der Ethik auf Kosten von Christologie im zweiten Buch der *Loci communes* sprechen' (86).

²⁷ Stephen Edmondson, *Calvin's Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 5.

²⁸ Heiko Oberman, 'The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of John Calvin', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21.1 (Jan. 1970), 60–62, quoted by Edmondson, *Calvin's Christology*, 6.

with Stancaro, contending against him that Christ acted as mediator in his complete person as God-Man and not just in his human nature. In a short but superb essay, 'Patterns of Salvation in the First Age of the Reformation' Gordon Rupp, the English Luther scholar, has remarked that it would be best not to flank Calvin 'with Karl Barth and T. Torrance, but with the vast *Commonplaces* of Wolfgang Musculus and Peter Martyr—compared with which the *Institutes* is the third dinosaur, which survived.'²⁹ The omission of Bullinger from the flanking list is puzzling and one also wonders about Rupp's use of 'dinosaur' which sounds depreciative. Yet, if Rupp is basically correct in his comparison, then there might be good reason to suppose that Martyr also made Christ's role as mediator his central focus. We therefore begin the consideration of Martyr's Christology by looking at his debate with Francis Stancaro.³⁰

CONTROVERSY WITH STANCARO

Stancaro argued that Christ acted as mediator only in accordance with his human nature and that though Christ was both human and divine in one person, his divine nature could not mediate since his divine nature was shared equally with the Father and the Holy Spirit. To stand between God and humanity and to mediate would imply that Christ was subordinate to the Father in his divinity and this was nothing other than the Arian heresy.

Stancaro wrote a ten page pamphlet against Melanchthon who had disputed his view of the mediatorship of Christ. In the pamphlet, Stancaro charged Melanchthon with Arianism because he said Melanchthon's doctrine of mediation subordinated Christ to the Father, tending to depict Christ as less than God and above humanity. Supporters of Melanchthon responded by calling Stancaro a Sabellian and burning all the copies of his booklet. The debate reached a climax at the synod

²⁹ Gordon Rupp, 'Patterns of Salvation', 63.

³⁰ See the article 'Stancarus, Francis' by Waclaw Urban, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, edited by Hans J. Hillerbrand (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), vol. 4, 107–108; Waclaw Urban, 'Die grössen Jahre der stancarianischer 'Häresie', 1559–1563', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 81 (1990), 309–318; Frederic C. Church, *The Italian Reformers 1534–1564* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 130–33, 161, 231, 263, 338–39, 345–46 and 381; and Stephen Edmondson, *Calvin's Christology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 13–39; and Richard A. Muller, *Christ and the Decree* (Durham: The Labyrinth Press, 1986), 91, 193–194.

of Pinczów in August, 1559 where Stancaro was charged with being a Judaizer, a Nestorian and even a Muslim. During the debate, à Lasco threw a heavy Bible at Stancaro's head, failing thereby as George H. Williams has humorously commented, to impress the Word of God on this pugnacious and loquacious Italian reformer.³¹ Stancaro was excommunicated and it was stated that any pastor found to be among his followers would be deposed from his office. A Lasco called for the publication of a confession, the *Confessio de Mediatore generis humani Jesu Christo Deo et homine* which was later published and organized around the threefold office of Christ and a Pauline penal theory of the atonement rather than the Anselmic theory of satisfaction.³²

Thereupon, in March of 1560, shortly after John à Lasco's death in January, Felix Cruciger wrote letters to Zurich and Geneva in which he referred to Stancaro's view that if Christ is mediator according to his divine nature then Christ is less than he to whom he pleads. Cruciger offered his own rebuttal that a mediator did not demean himself as a supplicant to another and added, 'Stancaro says that the man Christ mediates to the Trinity.'³³ The Zurich and Genevan churches were asked to adjudicate the debate. Peter Martyr wrote on behalf of the Zurich ministers in May, 1560 and John Calvin on behalf of the Genevan pastors in June of that year. When the letters were received Stancaro argued that they were forgeries. Jerome Ossolinski, a Polish noble and supporter of Stancaro proposed a four-month truce during which time Calvin and Beza, Bullinger and Peter Martyr could again be polled for their views. This proposal was accepted. Calvin wrote a second letter as did also Peter Martyr in March, 1561. In 1562 at Cracow, Stancaro published his *Contra i ministri di Ginevra e di Zurigo* in which he charged Calvin and Bullinger with being Arians and said: 'Peter Lombard alone is worth more than a hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bullingers, four hundred Peter Martyrs, and five hundred Calvins, and all of them ground in a mortar with a pettle would not amount to one ounce of true theology.'³⁴

³¹ George Hunston Williams, *Radical Reformation*, 1029.

³² Williams, *Radical Reformation*, 1020. Williams has helpfully provided a translation of a portion of this important confession on 1030–31.

³³ Williams, *Radical Reformation*, 1036.

³⁴ See Williams, *Radical Reformation*, 1041 and Frederic C. Church, *Italian Reformers*, 345–46.

The ranking of the five reformers, the two Lutherans and the three Reformed, is puzzling. Luther was not involved in the controversy and why he is mentioned is not clear. Yet apparently Luther is to be preferred to the other four and the ones who are of the least worth as theologians are Vermigli and Calvin. A psychologist might well have a field day regarding Stancaro's wounded pride and who had inflicted the deepest wound. At any rate, what is clear is Stancaro's preference for and reliance on Peter Lombard. On the basis of a particular interpretation of Augustine, Lombard and the medieval tradition, including Aquinas, held that Christ performed the work of satisfaction according to his human nature. Thus they bequeathed to the sixteenth century reformers an ambiguous tradition.³⁵ The Pauline text, I Timothy 2:5: 'there is one God, and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,' became Stancaro's slogan. Clearly, the words 'the man Christ Jesus' emphasize Christ's humanity. Is Christ mediator only as man, or also as God? If one takes the former position, which Lombard and Stancaro took, that he is mediator only in accordance with his humanity, the question arises: Could not the work of salvation been accomplished by Moses or some other holy figure and if so, *cur deus homo*? If one takes the latter position how then does one avoid the heresy of Arian that the Son is inferior to the Father even though he is above humanity? Both Vermigli and Calvin took the latter position and appealed to other passages in Augustine which teach that Christ is mediator in both natures and the two, therefore rejected Lombard without in their view, falling into the trap of Arianism as Stancaro charged.

Peter Martyr wrote three letters in all to the Polish Church. In his first letter of February 14, 1556, there is a brief allusion to the Stancaro controversy while in the other two letters the matter is dealt with specifically and in greater detail. I will focus largely on the third letter which John Patrick Donnelly has described as Martyr's 'best single statement on Christology,'³⁶ with occasional references to the other two letters. In this and the other letters, Vermigli argues against Stancaro that Christ mediates on the basis of both natures, each of which is essential to his work as mediator. Christ's divine nature is required not just as an enabling activity for the human nature's fulfillment of his mediatory

³⁵ See E. David Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), 67ff.

³⁶ John Patrick Donnelly, 'Christological Currents in Vermigli's Thought', 201.

work, but because of the hypostatic union, the divine nature is itself involved in the task of mediation.

In the introductory part, Martyr establishes the Trinitarian grounding of his doctrine of Christ's mediatorship in a more explicit way than in his previous May 1560 letter:

We preach teach, and write just what we believe: there are three divine persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, consubstantial, equal, of the same essence, and just as they are of the same nature, so they also have one will and operation, which however we want to be understood as preserving the properties of the persons. The Son does not beget as does the Father; the Father is not sent as is the Son; neither did the Father and Holy Spirit take on human flesh like the Son.³⁷

Martyr then proceeds to affirm the mystery of the incarnation. In accordance with the Chalcedonian creed, he posits two natures in Christ, the human and the divine, which he states are 'conjoined inseparably together as tightly as possible so that in the hypostasis of the Son of God...or the eternal Word [*Logos*]...the nature of man also is borne up and subsists undivided.'³⁸ The humanity and divinity of Christ retain their properties which are not abolished mixed or confused. It is the person from whom the actions proceed. The two natures do not act separately as if they were divided from each other as Nestorius taught.³⁹ Some actions are proper to the human nature, such as, to hunger, to thirst, to suffer and die while other actions are proper to the divine nature; for example, to be at one and the same time in heaven and on earth, to exist before Abraham, to forgive and to send the Holy Spirit. Over against the Monothelites who were condemned by the Third Council of Constantinople in 681, Martyr affirms two wills and actions yet in such a way as to retain the unity of the divine *hypostasis* to which the human nature taken from the substance of the Virgin adheres indivisibly.

In answer to the specific question about the Zurich Church's doctrinal position on Christ as mediator, Martyr divides his letter into three parts. First, he affirms that Christ is a mediator according to both his natures. This is because, on the one hand, the human nature is not sufficient for such a great task and on the other hand, because the divine nature is

³⁷ Peter Martyr Vermigli, 'Letter No. 267, To the Illustrious Polish Noblemen' in *LLS* 200.

³⁸ *LLS* 200.

³⁹ *LLS* 200–201.

not able to suffer and die. 'Hence it is necessary in setting up a mediator' Martyr concludes 'that both [natures] be conjoined.'⁴⁰ The next question Vermigli addresses is whether the Son of God, as the second person of the Trinity was mediator before the incarnation? The role of mediator, Vermigli states, does not befit the Son of God as he is of the same essence with the Father. But if we regard him as sent from the Father, he was mediator before the incarnation. In his May, 1560 letter Vermigli had described Christ as mediator before his incarnation as follows: 'to illumine human souls, to send the Holy Spirit, to change hearts to revivify and make us blessed, and to direct, unite, liberate and protect his church even though he is absent in body. For these actions it was not necessary for our mediator to use the instrument of the humanity. Indeed even before the incarnation Christ did this among the ancient Fathers.'⁴¹ Lest, what he wrote in his March, 1561 letter be misunderstood, he states that before assuming his humanity 'the two natures are conjoined not because they were then really together but because they were regarded as joined and linked together in God's knowledge and acceptance [of them]'.⁴² The ancient fathers of the Old Testament attained justification or forgiveness of sin by faith in him under both of his natures.

It is important to note both the similarity and the difference between Vermigli and Calvin on this point. Both agree that Christ is mediator before and after his incarnation. Calvin says that Christ is mediator as head of the angels and of humankind and as the Reconciler.⁴³ Vermigli states that Christ is mediator in that he illumines human souls and directs the church before his incarnation and mediator in that he expiates sin after his incarnation. Yet Vermigli holds that the role of mediator does not befit the Son of God as he is of the same essence with the Father and it seems that in this respect Vermigli remains closer to the western theological tradition. Calvin, on the other hand, uses the term 'mediator' to ascribe to Christ an eternal role of sustaining creation, a role which Christ always had but which the tradition did not usually speak of as mediation.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ LLS 203.

⁴¹ LLS 180.

⁴² LLS 203.

⁴³ See John Calvin, *Responsum ad Fratres Polonos*, CO 9, 338; Joseph Tylenda, 'Christ the Mediator: Calvin versus Stancaro' in *Calvin Theological Journal* 8 (1973), 12–13.

⁴⁴ Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology*, 71.

The divinity of Christ is not to be excluded from the work of mediation. The hypostatic union would have been of no purpose, if the humanity of Jesus on its own had been able to accomplish the work of mediation. The office of the mediator involves not only the human but also the divine nature which is its root and origin and which is essential for the work of redemption.⁴⁵ The Son of God as he is a supposite, a person or *hypostasis* 'upholds and directs the human nature and is conspicuous, and is the better part of Christ himself'.⁴⁶ Here Vermigli alludes to and upholds the ancient doctrine of *anhypostasis*, or the non self-subsistence of the human nature of Christ, and its corollary of *enhypostasis*, that is, the subsistence of the human nature in the divine. In considering the task of intercession which is peculiar to a mediator, Vermigli says we are really speaking of the human nature since naked divinity, simply and in itself, does not pray. But the divine nature is not excluded from these prayers which are accepted by God because they are 'derived from the divine supposite which gives voice to those prayers through the human nature.' Stancaro misconceives this as the work of an outside efficient cause, namely the Trinity. Yet the prayers receive their power and strength, not from an outside principle. All this shows that 'the person of the Son of God is in no way made less than his Father through those prayers. It also does not imply that the Son and the Father are presented either as two gods or as being different in essence.'⁴⁷ The prayers receive their power and strength not as Stancaro says from an outside principle but 'from its own special inmost source or root.'⁴⁸ Vermigli's watchword is: 'We want the whole Christ and the whole mediator.'⁴⁹

Finally, Vermigli seeks to show that this has been the teaching of the Church. He begins by quoting from canons 10 and 13 of the Council of Ephesus which condemned the teaching of Nestorius and asserted that the Word of God was made our High Priest when he assumed flesh and that high priesthood pertains to both his human and divine nature. Vermigli then cites from Irenaeus, Chrysostom, Theophylact, Ambrosiaster, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Cyril of Alexandria, Dionysius the Areopagite and John of Damascus.

⁴⁵ LLS 207.

⁴⁶ LLS 206.

⁴⁷ LLS 209.

⁴⁸ LLS 209.

⁴⁹ LLS 210.

The pivotal figure in the debate was Augustine since it was from him that the medieval tradition, represented by Peter Lombard, rightly or wrongly took its cue. Vermigli admits that Stancaro has found some citations from Augustine favourable to his position; but, if one wishes to play the numbers game, Vermigli says in effect that he has come up with far more citations. Calvin was somewhat more gracious in admitting that in many places Augustine made Christ a mediator as man. Yet Augustine's considered position, Calvin says, was that the office of mediator required that Christ be God, indeed that the very term 'mediator' has reference to one who is both human and divine.⁵⁰ Vermigli quotes from Augustine's *Enchiridion to Laurentius*, *De consensu Evangelistarum*, from Sermon 47 and *The City of God*. The strongest quotation is from Sermon 47 entitled 'On the Sheep' where Augustine says: 'The man is not mediator aside from the divinity; God is not the mediator aside from the humanity. Behold the mediator! The divinity without the humanity could not mediate; the humanity without the divinity could not mediate. But the human divinity and the divine humanity of Christ could mediate between the divinity by itself and the humanity by itself.'⁵¹ Significantly Calvin quotes the same passage from the same sermon.⁵² Vermigli is not content simply to offer citations. Certainly the citations make it clear that the Church Fathers did not withdraw Christ's divinity from his office of mediator. If in places they appear to attribute the office to his humanity in a separate way, it is necessary to remember first, that they sometimes focussed on the divine nature and removed the office of mediator from the divinity and secondly they focussed only on the suffering, crucifixion and death in the office of the mediator and thereby shunted the task of the mediator down to the humanity alone lest simple folk think that the divine nature suffered.

It is from Peter Lombard's 'pond' that Stancaro hauled out the teaching Christ is mediator only in his human nature, Peter Martyr says. Augustine left an ambiguous legacy, as I have argued, which Calvin was more prepared to acknowledge than Vermigli. A number of medieval theologians followed Augustine's statements that Christ is mediator according to his human nature while others followed his

⁵⁰ Joseph N. Tylenda, 'The Controversy on Christ the Mediator: Calvin's Second Reply to Stancaro', *Calvin Theological Journal* 8 (1973), 155.

⁵¹ *LLS* 217.

⁵² Joseph N. Tylenda, 'Controversy on Christ the Mediator', 156.

broader teaching that 'the man is not mediator aside from the divinity.' Peter Lombard belongs of course to the former group and he was followed in some respects by Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura, and yet their teachings, like Augustine's, were of a broader character. At any rate, the reformers argued, over against the medieval tradition, not only for the singularity of Christ's mediatorship rejecting other forms of mediation such as the Virgin Mary, the saints, masses and indulgences, but also for Christ's mediatorship in both his humanity and divinity. Both Vermigli and Calvin disputed Stancaro's interpretation of the 1 Timothy 2: 5 passage: 'There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.' In calling Christ a man, Paul did not deny, they said, that he is God but sought to emphasize that the mediator does not stand far off from us and that he died for us which pertains only to his humanity.⁵³ Both insisted that the union of both natures is required for the office of the mediator.

What then of Stancaro's major concern that to teach that Christ mediates also in his divine nature threatens Christ's unity with the Father and the Spirit, a concern that arose out of the Arian controversy. Stancaro adopted the two-nature heremeneutic and in line with Peter Lombard, argued in a one-sided and Nestorian way that Christ mediates only in his human nature while in his divine nature he shares in the unitary activity of the Trinity for the salvation of humankind. In response to Stancaro's charge of teaching Arianism, Vermigli states that this 'does not imply that the Son is of a different nature from the Father or is less than he.'⁵⁴ The Son considered as God is equal to God but as mediator is subordinate to the Father. Calvin states this explicitly in his first letter to the Polish nobles: 'As long as Christ sustains the role of mediator, he does not hesitate to submit himself to the Father. He does this not because his divinity had lost its rank when he was clothed in the flesh, but because he could not in any other way interpose himself as intermediary between us and the Father...'⁵⁵ Vermigli's teaching, although more implicit is akin to Calvin's. Both have their source in Augustine,

⁵³ LLS 182 and Joseph Tylanda, 'Controversy on Christ the Mediator,' 159. See also John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, II 12.1, where explaining 1 Timothy 2: 5, he says that Paul 'could have said "God" or omitted the word "man" just as he did the word "God."' But the Spirit speaking through the apostle's mouth, knowing our weakness employed the word "man" to teach us that 'he is near us, indeed touches us, since he is our flesh.'

⁵⁴ LLS 220.

⁵⁵ Tylanda, 'Controversy on Christ the Mediator,' 15.

who stated in his *On John*: 'Let us acknowledge the twofold substance of Christ, to wit, the divine in which He is equal with the Father, and the human, in respect to which the Father is greater. And yet at the same time both are not two, for Christ is one; and God is not a quaternity, but a Trinity.'⁵⁶ As Albert Outler has commented, Augustine's emphasis on unity, the unity of God and the unity of the person of Jesus Christ, ruled out any tendency to the Nestorian heresy but pushed him to making the human nature of Christ radically subordinate to the divine nature.⁵⁷ Here, Vermigli and Calvin followed his lead.

CONTROVERSY WITH JOHANN BRENZ

We will now explore Vermigli's two-nature hermeneutic in his controversy with Johann Brenz. Whereas, in the former dispute the issue revolved around Stancaro's Nestorian tendency to separate the human nature from the divine by attributing the act of mediation solely to Christ's humanity, the dispute with Brenz had to do with Brenz's monophysite tendency, in Vermigli's view, to ascribe the divine attribute of ubiquity to Christ's humanity. It is no more legitimate to confuse the humanity and divinity of Christ than to pull them apart.

This long, unhappy, and in many ways, stubborn dispute which separated Lutheran and Reformed Christians into rival communions originated in a disagreement between Luther and Zwingli regarding the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. Zwingli held that Christ was present spiritually only and solely for those who believe. Luther vehemently maintained that Christ was present bodily, in, with, and under the bread and was eaten both by believers and unbelievers; by the former to their benefit, by the latter to their detriment. Such a view, of course implied that Christ's body is ubiquitous, a view which the Reformed pronounced as incompatible with the nature of a human body.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Augustine, *On John*, lxviii, quoted by Albert C. Outler, 'The Person and Work of Christ' in *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine*, edited by Roy W. Battenhouse (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955), 354.

⁵⁷ Outler, 'The Person and Work of Christ', 354.

⁵⁸ See Johannes Brenz, *De Personali Unione Duarum Naturarum in Christo* (Tübingen: Morhard, 1561). There is a recent critical edition in Johann Brenz, *Die Christologischen Schriften*, Part 1, edited by Theodore Mahlmann (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1981), 3–107. Here and in what follows I am indebted to an older study of Lutheran

Apart from the Christology of Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) which was closer to and became identified with Reformed Christology, the other two major Lutheran Christologies were those of Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) and Johann Brenz (1499–1570). The former was a softer, the latter a harder version of the ubiquity doctrine. At the Stuttgart Synod in 1559, Brenz drew up a confession, subsequently adopted, making ubiquity a tenet of belief of the Württemberg Lutheran Church.

It was Brenz's publication of his *De personali unione duarum naturarum in Christo, et ascensu Christi in cælum, ac sessione eius ad dextram Dei Patris* in 1561 that irked Martyr, and encouraged by friends, he began writing his *Dialogue* as a rebuttal of Brenz's doctrine of ubiquity.⁵⁹ Brenz's position was basically this: that although the divine and human nature of Christ are altogether different, and each has its own peculiar properties, nevertheless they are so conjoined in a union that they become one inseparable *hypostasis* or person and their respective properties are mutually communicated so that what is the property of the one nature is appropriated by the other, and wherever the deity is, there is also the humanity. If the deity of Christ is everywhere without his humanity, there are then two persons rather than one.⁶⁰ The Reformed view which speaks of a mere sustentation of the humanity by the Logos, Brenz rejected as not being a personal union at all.

To respond to Brenz, Vermigli chose a time-honoured literary genre the dialogue method. The disputants are appropriately called, Pantachus ('everywhere') that is, Brenz, and Orothetes ('fixer of boundaries'), that is Vermigli. Most of what Pantachus has to say is taken verbatim from Brenz's, *De Personali Unione*. Orothetes or Vermigli then proceeds to counter Brenz's arguments. Neither Brenz nor his work is mentioned by name. The tone is courteous and respectful throughout. Though the *Dialogue on the Two Natures* is a fine example of sixteenth century polemics, it strikes the contemporary reader as repetitive and

and Reformed Christologies in A.B. Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ* (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901), 83ff.

⁵⁹ See John Patrick Donnelly's Introduction 'Eucharistic Controversy and the Reformation' in *DTN* xvi.

⁶⁰ See Brenz, *De Personali Unione*, 18: 'Quid ergo hinc sequitur? Quid dicemus? An non perspicuum est, quod cum deitas et humanitas in una personal Christi inseparabiliter et indivulse coniunguntur, necessarium sit, ut ibicunque est deitas, ibi etiam sit humanitas Christi? Certe nici hae due naturae sic semper unitae in Christo maneant, ut altera nusquam sit sine altera, fieri on potest, ut Christus una maneat personal. Si enim deitas Christi alicubi est sine humanitate eius, duae erunt personae, non una.'

somewhat artificial in that there is no concerted attempt to understand the opponent's position and consequently there is a speaking past rather than to each other.

Let us look briefly at a representative and rather revealing section of the dialogue in which each side seeks to demonstrate its own orthodoxy and accuses the other of heterodoxy. I will summarize a part of the debate:

Pantachus: I will continue to use the argument from the hypostatic union. The two natures in Christ constitute not two but one person.

Orothetes: As orthodox believers we accept the union but do not divide the natures, as Nestorius did. Neither do we confuse them as did Eutyches. Christ is one person, but he has two natures conjoined in the same *hypostasis* but both retain their properties intact and whole. All our churches not only accept the holy Scriptures but also the three creeds, namely, the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian creeds as well as the first six Councils...

Pantachus: You may affirm the articles but you do not agree with what they imply. For example, since the divinity and humanity are joined undivided and inseparably in the one person of Christ, it follows that wherever the deity may be the humanity is there also; the natures are so united that one can never be without the other...

Orothetes: Your conclusions do not follow. It suffers from the flaw of equivocation. You understand the union of the two natures effected in Christ as if the whole of the divine nature is included in the human, or as if the human nature were filled out and spread out so that both natures appear equally broad. But that means two persons are being asserted. Surely that is not far from the error of Eutyches, who so confused and mixed the properties and natures in Christ that he set up not two but only one nature. We teach the union in which humanity adheres so inseparably to the divine *hypostasis* that it cannot be divided. Certainly the humanity of Christ can never exist without being joined to the divinity, but without restricting the divinity to its own narrow limits nor so expands itself so that it fills every place where the divinity exists. You dream up a commingling between the two natures. Nor do you interpret 'unseparated' the right way. You think there is a tearing apart of the person if the divinity is held to be where the humanity is not present. Not at all. It suffices for the divinity, as immense and infinite to support and substantiate the humanity in his person wherever it may be. Granted that the body of Christ is in heaven and not on earth, yet the Son of God is nonetheless in the Church and everywhere; he is never so freed from his human nature that he does not have it joined in the unity of his person in the place where his human nature is.⁶¹

⁶¹ DTN 23–24.

Several observations are in order. First, both Lutherans and Reformed accepted the Council of Ephesus (432) which condemned Nestorius and the Council of Chalcedon (451) which condemned Eutyches; and yet the Lutherans accused the Reformed of a Nestorian separation of Christ's natures, while the Reformed, in turn, accused the Lutherans of a Eutychian confusion. Clearly, a different two-nature hermeneutic was at work in the opposing views. Martyr's *Dialogue on the Two Natures of Christ* is replete with biblical references and the patristic interpretation of them. It mirrors the difference between the Christologies of Alexandria and Antioch from which Lutheran and Reformed Christologies took their lead. Speaking broadly, Eutychian and Lutheran Christologies were inclined to appeal to the Gospel of John, while Nestorian and Reformed Christologies were more inclined to appeal to the Synoptic Gospels. The Antiochene Christological school also tended to interpret biblical texts incompatible with Christ's divinity, as referring to Christ's human nature, for example, suffering and death; and texts which expressed Christ's unity with God, 'I and the Father are one' as referring to Christ's divine nature. The Alexandrian Christological school, on the other hand, stressed the unity of Christ's person rather than the distinction of the natures. Yet interestingly, Martyr's citation of Johannine texts far exceeds his use of synoptic texts and much like Calvin he makes the Johannine texts a key to understanding the synoptic texts. Moreover, while Martyr quotes theologians of the Antiochene school including John of Antioch (d. 441), Chrysostom (347–407) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (c. 393–466) with whom we would expect him to have a great affinity, he also seeks to make his case by appealing to the writings of Cyril of Alexandria (376–444), the major exponent of Alexandrian Christology. Cyril of Alexandria, as we know, emphasized the hypostatic union and saw in John 1: 14 the *locus classicus* or 'starting-point' of his Christology.⁶² Vermigli sought to do justice to this emphasis but whether he succeeded in doing so has been questioned.⁶³ But he also sought to do justice to the Antiochene theology of the indwelling Logos

⁶² Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100–600)*, *The Christian Tradition*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 247.

⁶³ See John Patrick Donnelly's 'Introduction' to *DTN* xxiv. Donnelly thinks that Martyr's use of Cyril of Alexandria remains suspect. He refers to Henry Chadwick's article 'Eucharist and Christology in the Nestorian Controversy,' *The Journal of Theological Studies* 2 (1951), 153. Chadwick states that according to Cyril 'in the Eucharist we receive the flesh of Christ, the selfsame body that he took of Mary.' Donnelly holds that this has parallels with Luther and Brenz.

and the two-nature doctrine, which found its most creative interpreter in Augustine and its most authoritative formulation in the creed of Chalcedon.⁶⁴ For the most part he saw the two positions as explaining and supplementing each other. Above all he sought to avoid the extremes to which the two positions might be pressed, Eutychianism, on the one hand and Nestorianism, on the other hand.

The dialogue is not without its touch of humour. At one point in the *Dialogue*, after listening to one citation after another from the Church Fathers, Pantachus cries out in exasperation: 'I've had my fill of patristic quotations.'⁶⁵ Yet mention must be made of the Church Father who is cited most, Augustine of Hippo (354–430). Both Brenz and Vermigli appeal to him. Augustine's Letter to Dardanus and the statement which Vermigli quotes twice leaves no doubt in his mind, about the patristic teaching regarding ubiquity: 'Take away from bodies the space of their location and they will be nowhere, they won't exist.'⁶⁶ Vermigli also draws upon the teaching of Aristotle to demonstrate that a human body must exist locally. It cannot exist in the world without occupying a space.⁶⁷ An ubiquitous human nature is no human nature at all. An important corollary of this position is Vermigli's difficult notion that heaven itself must be local. Pantachus, therefore accuses Orothetes of chaining Christ in some corner of heaven to which Orothetes responds that we are assured by scripture that Christ ascended above all the heavens. This can't be called a corner or tiny hut. Moreover, we are not to interpret this literally. Christ's ascension means that he has acquired supreme dignity and status before God. God is Spirit and does not have a bodily right hand and when Christ is spoken of as at God's right hand this is 'a very elegant turn of phrase' to express Christ's excellence, honour and dignity.⁶⁸

The second comment that has to be made has to do with the differing interpretations of the *communicatio idiomatum*. In the *Dialogue* 'Topic II: On the Property of the Natures in Christ' is devoted to the exposition of this patristic term. Scripture raises the problem, for example when Paul in 1 Corinthians 2: 8, speaks of the Lord of glory

⁶⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Emergence of the Catholic Tradition*, 256.

⁶⁵ DTN 125.

⁶⁶ Augustine's letter to Dardanus, *PL* 35, 839. See *LLS* 14 & 14n and 41 & 41n. As John Patrick Donnelly, translator and editor, points out, this was the classic patristic text regarding the ubiquity of Christ's risen body 14, footnote 30.

⁶⁷ DTN 113.

⁶⁸ DTN 111–118.

being crucified, that is, a property that pertains to humanity is attributed to divinity. In his May, 1560 letter to the Polish Nobles, Vermigli explained the term as follows: since the two natures come together in one *hypostasis* it easily happens that what is said of one nature is also attributed to the other nature. Accordingly we say that God died and was crucified... But the truth of these statements remains firm because since they are the acts of the person in whom the two natures are conjoined, their properties, which as regards their reality remain integral, preserved, and unmixed, are easily mixed together in our speech.⁶⁹ There is a kind of impropriety about this manner of speaking. In the *Dialogue*, when challenged by Pantachus, whether he accepts the communication of idioms, Orothetes, replies that he does not reject the idea but he refuses to 'accept it crudely with everything jumbled together.'⁷⁰ The principle which Vermigli adopts is that only those properties of which the human nature is capable of receiving are communicated, for example, immortality light and glory, but other attributes such as eternity, immensity and ubiquity, which the human nature cannot receive, cannot be communicated. The integrity of Christ's human nature must be safeguarded. The Lutherans on the other hand, interpreted the *communicatio idiomatum* as an ontologically real communication or exchange of properties and not merely a verbal one.⁷¹

Thirdly, we cannot leave this debate without making a critical comment. Academic debates are often so vicious because the stakes are so small. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the stakes appeared large and church-dividing. From our perspective they are less momentous. The two sides were closer to each other than they thought as is evident in the statement: 'Granted that the human body of Christ is in heaven... still the Son of God is in the Church and everywhere; he is never so freed from his human nature that he does not have it joined in the unity of his person...' This is not that far from the more moderate Lutheran ubiquitarianism. At his best, Vermigli was faithful to his principle: 'We want the whole Christ and the whole mediator.'

⁶⁹ LLS 181.

⁷⁰ DTN 50.

⁷¹ See J.C. McLelland, *Visible Words of God*, 208 and Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: the Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 54.

THE SO-CALLED *EXTRA CALVINISTICUM*

A related issue arose out of the Lutheran/Reformed debate, namely, the theological distinction known as the '*extra calvinisticum*'. Luther and his followers asserted that Word existed solely in Jesus Christ and after the incarnation no longer had an existence beyond the humanity. The Reformed contested the 'solely' and stated that the Word also exists outside the flesh *etiam extra carnem*, to which the Word is united. In speaking of the Calvinistic *extra*, Lutheran theologians attacked it as a theological innovation, and dubbed it as Nestorian, whereas in actual fact it was taught in one form or another by Athanasius,⁷² Augustine,⁷³ Cyril of Alexandria,⁷⁴ Peter Lombard,⁷⁵ and Thomas Aquinas.⁷⁶ Calvin does not deserve either the name or the blame. The catch-phrase—*extra calvinisticum*—was apt only to that extent that the Reformed theologians continued to follow the patristic and medieval tradition, while it was the Lutherans who introduced an innovation.

Early in his *Dialogue*, Vermigli counters Brenz's use of a statement of Gelasius (fl 475), 'The whole God is man and the whole man is God' with the following explanation: 'This statement, rightly understood, cannot be taken as meaning that the Word, that is, the second divine person, is so shut up in the humanity that when the humanity exists in some specific place, the Word, which is infinite, is not everywhere.'⁷⁷ Here, as elsewhere,⁷⁸ the *etiam extra carnem* or beyond the humanity is implied. Like Calvin, Martyr argued that though Christ's divinity is united inseparably to his humanity and is fully present in it, yet it cannot be contained by that finite humanity, but is ubiquitously present outside of it.⁷⁹ Both the *intra* and the *extra* are asserted with thorough-

⁷² *On the Incarnation: the treatise De incarnatione verbi dei* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, 1982), s. 17.

⁷³ See 'Letter To Volusian', *Epistolae* 137.2, *PL* 33: 518.

⁷⁴ See *Epistle* 17 (Third Letter to Nestorius) *PG* 77: 105–122.

⁷⁵ *Magistri Petri Lombardi Parisiensis episcopi Sententiae in IV libris distinctae*, 3rd edn. (Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971–81), vol. 2, lib. III, d.22,3.

⁷⁶ *Summa Theologica* IIIa.q.10.art.1, ad 2. See Willis, *Calvin's Catholic Christology*, 34–60; E. David Willis, 'Extra Calvinisticum' in *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith*, Donald K. McKim, editor (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 132; and Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics* I/2, G.W. Bromiley & T.F. Torrance, editors (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956) 168–170.

⁷⁷ *DTN* 30.

⁷⁸ *DTN* see 23, 31, 53, 139, 165.

⁷⁹ See Stephen Edmondson, *Calvin's Christology*, 211ff.

going seriousness, i.e. the Word is completely within and yet wholly beyond the assumed humanity. One can understand the Lutheran objection to this teaching. There was always the danger of directing one's attention to a *Logos asarkos*, the Word outside the flesh, rather than contemplating his presence and activity in the Word made flesh. Martyr however, does not avert his gaze from the Word made flesh to a *Logos asarkos* but as he says in his *Defensio*: 'We do not perceive the divinity of Christ, except enveloped in flesh. Nor can our faith otherwise aspire to the divine nature, mercy, goodness and felicity, except through the humanity of Christ.... For the humanity of Christ is like a kind of channel, through which not only sanctification, but also all the life-giving grace can flow from God to us...' ⁸⁰ Vermigli's concern, like that of the earlier tradition, was to safeguard the distinctness of Christ's natures, to maintain the infinitude of the divine nature and the finitude of the human nature.

From the Reformed perspective, the Lutheran interpretation of the *communicatio idiomatum* threatened the integrity of the two natures. Brenz insisted that by virtue of the real exchange of attributes, Christ's humanity was exalted to participate in God's majesty and thereby to govern the universe in union with the divine nature beginning with Jesus' birth of the Virgin Mary. To say that Christ's humanity shared the divine majesty, Martyr believed, amounted to a divinisation of the human nature. Vermigli, like Calvin, subscribed to the patristic and medieval teaching that even after the incarnation the Word governed the universe and was ubiquitous *etiam extra carnem*.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Defensio doctrinae ueteris & apostolicæ de Sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento... aduersus Stephani Gardineri* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1559), 590, 606, quoted by J.C. McLelland, *Visible Words of God*, 103.

⁸¹ The *locus classicus* of *extra calvinisticum* is found in John Calvin's *Institutes* II.13.4 where Calvin argues against Menno Simons's view that it is disgraceful to hold that Christ, as God's eternal Word, was contained within and born in the womb of the virgin Mary. Calvin says Christ is true man but without fault and corruption since he was sanctified by the Holy Spirit. Moreover, human generation is not unclean and vicious in itself but is an accidental quality arising from the Fall. We are not to think that if the Word became flesh then he was confined in the narrow limits of a human body: 'Here is something marvelous: the Son of God descended from heaven in such a way that, without leaving heaven, he willed to be borne in the virgin's womb, to go about the earth and to hang upon the cross; yet he continuously filled the world even as he had done from the beginning!' This statement is from the 1559 edition. But Calvin also discusses the *extra Calvinisticum* in IV.17.30 in an expanded version of a section that is found in the 1536 edition of the *Institutes* where there is a discussion of the eucharist: '...he is said to have descended to that place according to his divinity, not

THE WORK OF CHRIST

We began our discussion of Peter Martyr's Christology by looking at his dispute with Stancaro regarding Christ's person and work as mediator guided by the conviction that his discussion of the mediatorship of Christ, like that of Calvin's, lies at the centre of his Christology. Over against Stancaro's view that Christ accomplishes the work of mediation solely in accordance with his human nature, Vermigli insisted that Christ's humanity cannot do its work apart from its union with the divine nature. The only Jesus Christ Vermigli knows is the Son of God and the Son of Man, united inseparably in one person. Stancaro had to be answered since his Nestorian tendency to separate the humanity and divinity threatened the efficacy of Christ's reconciling work. Johann Brenz, the Lutheran ubiquitist also had to be answered. In Vermigli's view, Brenz's hard version of the ubiquity doctrine undermined the true humanity of Christ, through the *communicatio idiomatum*, according to which the properties of the divine nature, such as, ubiquity are attributed directly to the human nature, in contrast to his own interpretation that only those divine properties which the human nature is capable of receiving can be attributed to Christ's human nature. If, on the one hand Stancaro's Christology had a marked Nestorian tendency, Brenz's doctrine of Christ, on the other hand, ended up in Monophysitism and the divinisation of Christ's human nature. Vermigli sought to avoid both pitfalls. The importance of the *etiam extra carnem* doctrine for Vermigli lies in the fact that it relates the eternal Son of God to the historical Jesus, the eternal Word to the Word made flesh. In this way the true humanity of Christ is safeguarded so that a wall is not erected between the incarnate Christ and sinful humanity. Its purpose is to express the reality of Christ's assumption of our flesh, the reality of his death and of his resurrection and of Christ's Ascension and Intercession on our behalf. As Heiko Obermann has stated regarding a similar concern in

because divinity left heaven to hide itself in the prison house of the body, but because even though it filled all things, still in Christ's very humanity it dwelt bodily (Col. 2: 9), that is, by nature, and in a certain ineffable way,' John Calvin *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1536, edited translated by Ford Lewis Battles (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975), 105. In view of the patristic and medieval use of this doctrine and Calvin's early use of it, it is difficult to credit Hans Christian Brandy's claim in his *Die späte Christologie des Johannes Brenz* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 80, that the concept has its origins not with Calvin but with Vermigli's 1561 *Dialogus*.

Calvin's doctrine of the mediator: 'The theological motive (*sic*) is the *caro vere*, the religious motive is the *spes resurrectionis*'.⁸²

For Vermigli, Christ's person and work are inseparably united so that in his discussion of Christ's person the work of salvation is always in mind and in his elaboration of the work of Christ the person of Christ in whom the two natures are united without separation and without confusion, is always presupposed.⁸³ It will now be our task to offer a brief discussion of Vermigli's teaching regarding the work of Christ with specific reference to his sermon *On the Death of Christ from Saint Paul's Letter to the Philippians* and *The Apostles' Creed: A Plain Exposition of the Twelve Articles*.

In order to accomplish the work of salvation Christ took the form of a servant. Vermigli argues that if Christ had been a creature, as Arius held, then he would have already been a servant and so would not have received the form of a servant. He was equal with God, being in the form of God, sharing in God's majesty, beauty, dignity and glory. Rather than boast about his dignity, he yielded to the Father's command, emptied himself and received the form of a servant. The servant form was a veiling or hiding of his divinity. It did not involve an abdication of his divinity for 'he could not deny himself. He who is the cause of all things did not cease to be divinity but only hid it under a man, the most rejected of men. He emptied himself in regard to both natures because he hid the divine and submitted the human.'⁸⁴ Yet he revealed his divinity in the course of his ministry and demonstrated the glory of his divine nature to a degree sufficient for the elect.⁸⁵ His humanity was like a veil which was interposed. Just as we see the sun hidden behind a cloud, so was his divinity obscured. Vermigli uses a striking analogy to speak of the incarnation, an analogy we have come to associate with Søren Kierkegaard. Christ is 'like a prince who is in love with

⁸² Heiko A. Oberman, 'The "Extra" Dimension in the Theology of Calvin', 29.

⁸³ Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis*, 128: 'What Christ does and suffers is simply a representation of what he is, and that he is God and man, establishes and brings about our redemption.'

⁸⁴ 'On the Death of Christ, from Philippians' in *LLS* 237. For what precedes see 236–37.

⁸⁵ Vermigli draws upon the accounts in the four Gospels to illustrate. Part of this eloquent passage is worth quoting: 'the Father spoke out; the angels sang; the heavens opened; a dove descended, the sky was darkened; the winds died down; the sea became still and solid...; the earth quaked; rocks were sundered apart;...water was changed into wine; bread and fishes were multiplied; a tree dried up; people's sicknesses vanished.' *LLS* 237–238.

a poor girl and comes privately to her door. He manifests his power in his princely majesty but hides his love; in ordinary garb, he cloaks his majesty but reveals his burning desire.⁸⁶ From the beginning the power of God's Word shone forth in his creation and providence but now his love has been truly displayed in Christ. Thus Vermigli says: 'The person who does not see Christ's divinity sees nothing.'⁸⁷ What has to be underlined and always recalled is that Christ was humiliated for our sake; he humbled himself for our salvation.⁸⁸

In his exposition of the Apostles' Creed, Vermigli also makes use of the Philippians passage but takes as his starting-point, John 1:14, 'The Word was made flesh' and Romans 9:5: where Paul speaks of Christ taking his human nature from the Jewish people and then adds, 'He is God, blessed forever. Amen.'⁸⁹ On the basis of these two passages and the article of the Creed: 'I believe in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary', Martyr affirms 'this Jesus Christ of ours is a unique [singular] person in whom the divine and human natures are indissolubly united' for in the phrase 'the Word became flesh' the Word means and is God and flesh plainly means humanity.⁹⁰ This Jesus Christ, both God and man, with respect to his humanity, was as Paul says in Galatians 4:4, 'made of a woman, made under the law.' In the words of the creed he was 'conceived of the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary.' In order to cleanse what is inherent in human nature, the divine wisdom 'devised an amazing and wondrous plan':

With matchless skill, from her blood already made pure by most holy grace, he formed this unique and perfect man. Thus by the God of mercy, the eternal Word assumed humanity. The womb of the virgin Mary became the divine furnace from which the Holy Spirit, out of sanctified flesh and blood, drew that body destined to be the obedient servant of a no less noble soul. Thus none of the defects of the fallen Adam were transmitted to Christ, though the bodies of both were produced in a similar way. Our first father was miraculously formed from the earth,

⁸⁶ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 236.

⁸⁷ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 236.

⁸⁸ See 'The Apostles' Creed: A Plain Exposition of the Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith' in *EW* 45.

⁸⁹ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 32, 33.

⁹⁰ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 32–33.

without the seed of man but by the power of God. So also was the second Adam.⁹¹

Christ purified our nature and in words that are reminiscent of Irenaeus and Athanasius, Vermigli adds, he ‘clothed himself with it, so that we might share in his divine nature.’⁹² The divine Word’s humble assumption of our humanity was for our reconciliation and divine blessing. He sanctified human nature ‘not only for his own humanity, but also for all who by faith are joined to him as living members.’ Vermigli then draws the lesson that since He who was Lord descended so low to come in the form of a servant, it should not be too hard to humble ourselves and put aside our vanity for the sake of our weak and needy brothers and sisters.

This union or conjunction with Christ is the subject of Vermigli’s letter to John Calvin, dated, March 8, 1555 and an undated letter to Theodore Beza, probably about the same time and Calvin’s letter of August 8, 1555 in response.⁹³ The union or conjunction is twofold. The first is by benefit of the incarnation and the second is by ‘the Spirit and grace.’ This is succinctly stated in Martyr’s commentary on 1 Corinthians 12:12:

We are so joined with Christ that we are called flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bones; because through the Incarnation we are made of the same nature and kind as He; and afterwards, His grace and Spirit coming to us, we are made partakers of His spiritual conditions and properties.⁹⁴

In response, Calvin foregoes speaking of the first communication we have with Christ by reason of his assumption of our flesh to become our brother by sharing the same nature. It is the second communication that he wants to emphasize; namely, that when we receive Christ by faith we become truly members of his body and his life flows into us: ‘For in no other way,’ Calvin says, ‘does he reconcile us to God by the sacrifice of his death than because he is ours and we are one with him.’ Paul uses the word [*koinonia*] of Christ to express this sacred unity and Calvin says: ‘Thus we draw life from his flesh and blood,

⁹¹ ‘Apostles’ Creed’, *EW* 37.

⁹² ‘Apostles’ Creed’, *EW* 37.

⁹³ Letters of Vermigli to Calvin and Beza, *LC* 1094ff and 1108ff, and Calvin to Peter Martyr, 8 August 1555, *CO* 15, 722–723.

⁹⁴ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In selectissimam D. Pauli Priorem ad Corinthios Epistolam* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1572), quoted by McLelland, *Visible Words of God*, 88.

so that they are not undeservedly called our 'food.' How it happens, I confess is far above the measure of my intelligence. Hence I adore the mystery rather than labour to understand it.⁹⁵ This, Calvin adds, is the communication or communion we receive in the Lord's Supper.

THE DEATH OF CHRIST

For Peter Martyr Christ's death is at the heart of the work of mediation. It is a constant theme in his commentaries, sermons and treatises, for commenting on the article 'suffered under Pontius Pilate was crucified, dead, and buried...', 'Vermigli observes that we cannot contemplate or celebrate [Christ's death] enough,'⁹⁶ and again as he says in *De morte Christi*, 'Here all the mysteries of our salvation are recapitulated...'⁹⁷ Christ was completely obedient even to death on a cross. He was obedient with all this heart and soul. His eagerness to obey is shown in the fact that he was led like a sheep to his slaughter; he did not cry out or fight back. In language that reminds us of Calvin's statement that 'Christ has saved us by the whole course of his obedience,' Peter Martyr says:

His obedience was then very great and also willing because nobody was able to take his life away from him. He himself laid it down. But his obeying did not make him less than the Father as regards his divine nature. Like a friend he obeyed a friend, not like an inferior, '*Unto death.*' The Lord of life subjected himself to death, and the immortal one died since a king ought to die for his people. A shepherd lays down his life for his sheep, and a victim who is killed for a sin should be considered a sacrifice. Where there is a sacrifice, God is reconciled and sin is destroyed. In short our justification is there.⁹⁸

In his discussion of Christ's death in the Apostles' Creed, Vermigli raises the question, if God could have reconciled the world in some easier way why did he chose to do it by exposing his own Son to suffering and death? Was God not free to achieve a state of peace in some other way?⁹⁹ Yes, God 'could have redeemed us by a single word', Martyr says, 'just as he created the world. He refused, so that we could

⁹⁵ Calvin to Peter Martyr, 8 August 1555, CO 15: 722–23. See Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude*, 128.

⁹⁶ 'Apostles' Creed', EW 39.

⁹⁷ 'On the Death of Christ', LLS 241.

⁹⁸ 'On the Death of Christ', LLS 241–242.

⁹⁹ 'Apostles' Creed', EW 41.

understand his love.¹⁰⁰ Like Calvin, Vermigli rejected any notion of necessity being placed upon God: 'for that which God does he does freely, and that which he does not do, he freely does not do. Nor do we suppose a necessity according to a proposed end: for the salvation of man may have been wrought by many other ways and means. But it was necessary that Christ die according to the purpose of the divine providence and counsel; for God decreed it should be so. And this he did chiefly to declare his infinite love.'¹⁰¹ The death of Christ is the supreme sign of God's love for us. The Father handed him over, 'not because the Father is savage or cruel...but he handed one member for the sake of all the others...Here a most intimate fellowship between us and Christ began. He gave us his justice and took up our sins...'¹⁰² Here is Luther's doctrine of the wondrous exchange. Peter Martyr also makes use of the notion of satisfaction: Christ endured the agony of the cross, 'otherwise the justice of God would not have been fully satisfied.'¹⁰³ And he employs the idea of punishment: 'our sins were punished in Christ.'¹⁰⁴ Several of these biblical images and theological concepts are brought together in a kind of exhibition of what the cross has accomplished:

Through the cross our sins are forgiven us; our concupiscence is broken, not imputed; the devil is conquered; we are snatched from the law, death, and condemnation. Through the cross the wall is broken which divides us from the Jews, we are reconciled with the heavenly beings.... Through the cross the justice of God is satisfied; God, who otherwise would be angry because of our sins is at peace with us and justice is given for free.¹⁰⁵

Christ is the supreme Exemplar of the Christian life for 'through the cross all examples of good living are manifested.'

DESCENT INTO HELL

Peter Martyr offers a brief exposition of the article of the creed, 'he was buried, and descended into hell' but he does not make use of Luther's idea of the 'harrowing of hell' or of Calvin's teaching that

¹⁰⁰ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 245.

¹⁰¹ *LC* II, xvii, 19, 419; *CP* II, xvii, 19, 611.

¹⁰² 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 245–246.

¹⁰³ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 41.

¹⁰⁴ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 41.

¹⁰⁵ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 249–250.

Christ experienced the agony of abandonment by God. Christ's body and soul were separated from each other by his death. The body was buried and it continued in this state until the third day. On departing the body, His soul did not remain idle but descended into the lower regions. This simply means that Christ's soul experienced what other souls experience in being separated from their bodies; that is, association with the saints or with the condemned. Both groups were confronted by Christ's soul. The saints thanked the divine goodness for their liberation through this mediator while the souls condemned to eternal perdition had as Peter testified, Christ preach to them. Peter Martyr prefers to interpret this as meaning that Christ rebuked them for their incredulity and obstinacy but he adds a perhaps—perhaps Christ preached salvation to them—but he does not expand on this perhaps in order to leave a loophole, but simply says since they rejected the message on earth, they condemned themselves fully.¹⁰⁶

RESURRECTION OF CHRIST

The death and resurrection of Christ are for Peter Martyr, the 'two principal and main points' of the Christian religion because they sum up all the other events of the ministry of Jesus.¹⁰⁷ Christ's cross is the triumphal chariot in which he is borne to the capital of God's kingdom.¹⁰⁸ The resurrection means that Christ has been exalted for our salvation. A certain dynamism is given to Martyr's Christology by his use of the dynamic notion of the two states: humiliation and exaltation. Christ being in the form of God humbled himself and took the form of a servant. He did this in contrast to tyrants who never dare to put aside their royal pomp lest they not be allowed to take it up again. Kings from birth do not fear that their kingdoms will be taken from them and this is how Christ acted, and how we should act.¹⁰⁹ Because Christ acted in this manner God has highly exalted him. 'The height of exaltation is proportionate to the depth of abasement and humiliation.' As Martyr explains we can rightly understand to what greatness

¹⁰⁶ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 43–44.

¹⁰⁷ *LC* II, xvii, 15, 417; *CP* II, xvii, 15, 607.

¹⁰⁸ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 247, 243.

¹⁰⁹ 'On the Death of Christ', *LLS* 247–248. Vermigli refers to the tyrant, Dionysius I of Syracuse (406–367 BC).

Christ has been exalted if we recall to what depth he was humiliated for our sake.¹¹⁰

As Christians we have the assurance that since Christ is risen and is our head, we are also risen in him through our union with him. If Christ had remained under the thralldom of death, our situation would be hopeless. How could he save us if he remained under death's power? It would be like someone drowning, Martyr says, and another plunging into the water to save him, only to be drowned himself. One tragedy would be made worse by another, especially since the life of the second person was dear and innocent. It was then necessary for our salvation that Christ should be freed from death and in order afterwards to persuade us that we have been rescued from death through faith in him. As members of Christ's body, we are intimately united with him who is head. What is true of Christ the head will be true of his members. Martyr again picks up the metaphor of our being drowned and Christ coming to the rescue:

Tell me, I pray you, when one holds his head above the deep and deadly waters of a fast-flowing stream, do we not say that he has escaped death even though his other bodily members are yet below the surface? The same holds true for us, who are all one body in Christ. Our head is risen from the depths of death. Even though we may appear to be overwhelmed in the mortal stream, yet we are risen in him. We must either deny that he is our head or acknowledge that we are members of his body—in which case we are compelled to affirm that our resurrection has begun in his.¹¹¹

Through Christ's resurrection we enter into a new spiritual life, a life that is no longer lived to self but to God the Father. It is for this reason that the resurrection is such a key article of our faith. As Paul tells the Romans: 'Christ died for our sins, but was raised for our justification.' In the dying of Jesus our Savior we are reconciled to God, yet it is only in the resurrection that we have the harbinger of our future state. Christ's flesh had no power on its own to regain life. The pure and simple goodness of God was required. 'Similarly, we acquire a new and justified existence by no works of our own, but by the special goodness of God, who graciously bestows it on us without regard to our merits.'¹¹²

¹¹⁰ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 46, 45.

¹¹¹ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 47–48, 44.

¹¹² 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 49.

I want to conclude this all too brief discussion of the resurrection by recalling that Vermigli's insistence on Christ's *caro vera* had as its religious motive the *spes resurrectionis*. His profound concern with the integrity of Christ's natures and particularly of his human nature had a soteriological motive; namely, Christ's bodily resurrection is a guarantee of our bodily resurrection. We have a living and effective image of our bodily resurrection in Christ's resurrection, as Peter Martyr says: 'we not only have a bare and simple promise of new life, but have received a sure foretaste of it in Christ.'¹¹³ Martyr also underlines the point that the Holy Spirit is 'the cause and true author of bodily resurrection.' On the basis of Ephesians 1:19–20 that 'we are led to believe by the same power and virtue of God by which Christ was raised from the dead and exalted to heaven', and indwelt by the same power that raised Christ we can rejoice that this has been graciously given to us.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we return to Barth's challenge with which I began: 'Tell me how it stands with your Christology, and I shall tell you who you are.' What does Peter Martyr's Christology tell us about him? In brief that he was an Italian/Swiss Reformed Christologist who contended for 'the whole Christ, the whole mediator' since any diminution of Christ's divinity or humanity and the fullness of the hypostatic union would jeopardize the work of salvation. Martyr is thoroughly christocentric and his Christology moves within the creedal definitions of the first six ecumenical councils and in that respect, it does not offer any novelties. Yet, as Jaroslav Pelikan has reminded us, it is novelty that is condemned and continuity that is prized. Continuity is the essence of orthodoxy, while discontinuity is the essence of heresy.¹¹⁴ In Vermigli's Christology, it is 'God in Christ' who is proclaimed, the whole mediator who is offered to us for our salvation. Faith is directed to the whole Christ and thus involves through the Holy Spirit, union, communion and participation in him. As Joseph C. McLelland has argued so powerfully in his superb study, *The Visible Words of God*, which launched the Vermigli renaissance, 'union with Christ' is a dominant motif of Peter Martyr's theology, a union that is effected, first with all humankind by

¹¹³ 'Apostles' Creed', *EW* 48.

¹¹⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Credo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 7–8.

Christ's incarnation, and then by 'the Spirit and grace', whereby 'we are so joined with Christ that we are called flesh of His flesh, and bone of His bones.'¹¹⁵ Peter Martyr well deserves the title 'Scholar of Christ.'

¹¹⁵ See footnote 97 above.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

PREDESTINATION AND THE *THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES*

David Neelands

Ever since the eclipse of Calvinism in the Church of England in the seventeenth century, there have been occasional references to the Church of England's Thirty-nine Articles as Calvinist. This opinion has usually been based on Article 17, 'Of Predestination and election', a subject later generations identified with Calvin. With three minor changes made in the Elizabethan period, the Article has survived from 1553, when it first appeared as Article 17 of forty-two. Article 17 is divided into three paragraphs. The first paragraph deals with the more strictly Biblical material, from *Romans* and *Ephesians*; it provides a definition of predestination and, if the heading of the Article is accurate, of 'election', a term that appears only once in the body of the Article. 'Predestination to life' is defined in terms of God's *purpose* and *decree*, 'before the foundations of the worlde were laied.' This secret judgement refers to deliverance from 'curse and damnation,' which suggests that the decree is made with foresight of the Fall, even though it clearly precedes actual creation. And the Article gives a periphrastic account of the *ordo salutis* from *Romans* 8.28–31 that omits any reference to God's foreknowledge: *calling* 'according to Goddes purpose, by his spirite, woorking in due season,' *obedience* 'through grace,' 'free' *justification, adoption* as 'sonnes,' *conformity* to 'the image of Goddes onely begotten sonne Jesu Christe,' 'walk[ing] religiouslie in *goode workes*', and, finally, 'by Goddes mercie, thei atteine to *everlasting felicitie*.'

The second paragraph deals with a more pastoral question: should predestination be made the proper study of contemplation for the Christian? The answer implied is positive, with a cautious qualification. The response to considering the mystery of 'our election in Christe' varies *according to the state of the person*. To 'godlie persones, and soche as feelee in themselves the woorking of the spirite of Christe,' the doctrine is of 'unspeakable comfort,' and leads to deeds of mortification of the flesh, for the double reason that the doctrine strengthens and confirms their trust in their own salvation through Christ, and that it

makes them grateful to God. To 'curious, and carnall persones lacking the Spirite of Christ,' this 'sentence of Goddes predestination is a *moste daungerous downefall*', leading either to 'desperation' or 'rechillessnesse' of life, both of which are '*perilous*' responses. This could allow that the situation is not hopeless, simply perilous, for those who do not yet feel the workings of the spirit, nor yet trust that they are on the way to salvation; that is, the article leaves open the possibility that the doctrine might be dangerous for those not yet 'godly,' but not hopeless for such.

This pastorally optimistic conclusion is drawn out in the shorter third paragraph that speaks of the need to receive God's promises hopefully and to continue to be obedient in accordance with Scripture, a 'nevertheless' to the second: 'the Decrees of predestination are unknowen unto us,' that is (even if we currently feel the workings of the spirit) we cannot be *certain* that we are of the elect or (if we are currently in a state of uncertainty) that we will not be saved through God's mercy. And since they are unknown, we are to 'receive Goddes Promises, in soche wise as thei be *generalie* set forth to us in holie Scripture,' that is, we are to assume there is hope for us, and follow the will of God, as opposed to a life of despair and hopelessness or the recklessness of presumptuous assumptions.

The Article is, thus, significantly silent on any *decree* of reprobation; further, it appears to countenance the possibility that some at least of those who are to be saved may not yet trust that this is so. It does not say whether those who once feel the workings of God's spirit may finally fail. And 'security' about one's own final state is condemned as carnal. The word '*generalie*' could mean 'from place to place', that is, within the canon of Scripture, or 'for all human beings,' that is, even beyond those who are effectively called. 'Predestination to life', presumably synonymous with 'election', is apparently considered to be unconditional and utterly gratuitous, foresight and foreknowledge not even being mentioned, although this is not explicitly stated. Election is clearly related to the *ordo salutis*, especially to *works*. But the Article attributes this inevitable final salvation of the elect to God's 'spirite workyng in due season,' without indicating whether the Spirit brings about a real renovation in the justified sinner or rather salvation remains the work of the indwelling spirit alone: the *attainment* of 'everlasting felicitie' 'at length' is not compared to 'reward' for the works of sanctification in any way, but is attributed solely to 'Goddes mercie.'

The Articles of 1553 are the first major Confessional statement of the Reformation to include an Article on Predestination. Previous Lutheran confessions had not referred to it: the Augsburg Confession (1530) and the Württemberg Confession, which was contemporary with the Forty-Two Articles, both important Lutheran statements designed primarily to articulate the Reformation principle to Christians of more 'Catholic' points of view, are silent on the matter. And Swiss statements were equally silent, such as the First Helvetic Confession of 1536. This silence does not indicate that the Reformed groups in each case did not have distinctive convictions about election, but rather that these views were not, so far, considered to be appropriate for a confession of the essential faith. From 1553 on this pattern changed, reflecting a development on the matter in the Reformed household, and perhaps the resolutions of the debates. The Scotch Confession of Faith (1560) also includes an article on predestination, as does the Belgic Confession (1561), and the Second Helvetic Confession (composed by Bullinger in 1561 and published 1566). The later Lutheran symbols also include articles on Predestination, as for example, in the Formula of Concord (1576) and the Saxon Visitation Articles (1592), apparently reacting to Calvinist positions.

This pioneering aspect of the English Articles of 1553 might in itself suggest a Calvinist bias, since it is the Reformed churches usually identified with John Calvin in some way that later introduced such articles. Predestination, had been raised long before 1553 in the English Reformation and had been the subject of a heated debate between Bishop John Hooper, identified with the views of Bullinger, and echoing the views of Bishop Hugh Latimer and Bartholomew Traheron, claiming the better views of Calvin.

PETER MARTYR VERMIGLI

There is, however, another important voice that deserves to be recognized in looking at possible sources, influences and consonances in Article 17. The reign of Edward brought to England a new stimulus to theological precision, in the persons of the Italian Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) as well as the German from the Rhineland, Martin Bucer (1491–1551). These two reformers, who had been together for several years in Strasburg, and who were allied on most matters, were given theological chairs at Oxford and Cambridge respectively, where

they exercised a certain influence of significance on the circles of their students, and a less clear, but often claimed, influence on Archbishop Thomas Cranmer himself, who had undoubtedly been part of the initiative of Edward's ministers to invite significant foreign reformers, of various kinds and including Melancthon, to come to England. Although his direct relation to the composition of the Forty-two Articles is not clear, Vermigli was a member of the panel of eight divines who, with eight bishops, eight civil lawyers and eight canon lawyers, framed the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, a work bearing some relation to those Articles.¹

Vermigli's older friend and erstwhile host in Strasburg, Martin Bucer, wrote and taught about predestination, and shared most of the points of doctrine in this matter with Vermigli. Like Martyr to whom we will turn presently, Bucer taught an absolutely gratuitous and unconditional election. Bucer could find no justification for an 'unconditional reprobation' of the damned.² Bucer affirms that there is a slight qualification on the *unconditional* character of election, but only in that election is always *in Christ*, and for Bucer it makes sense to say that reprobation is *on account of sin*.³ Bucer also emphasizes the indefectibility of the elect.⁴ Questions about the universal saving will

¹ Strype, *Cranmer* I, 388. James C. Spalding, *The Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws of England, 1552* (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 37. Bartholomew Traheron was one of the civil lawyers, Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Hooper and Bishop Latimer were among the bishops. (Latimer was considered a cleric and not a bishop, but his presence is significant for the question of predestination.) Traheron was left off the list of members from November 1551 and Latimer from February 1552. The manuscript was probably finished in Fall 1552. (37–39). See also Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 500–501.

² 'Election' is used of the *designation* by the pure grace of God, of some out of the general mass of lost mankind, to attain to the *knowledge of the will of God* and finally to eternal life.... Foreknowledge of what we were to do or of future faith in is, was in no sense the *cause* of our election.' Martin Bucer, 'Election' [Lecture at Cambridge, 1550], *Common Places of Martin Bucer* (Appleford, Berkshire: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972) [20–21], 111. Bucer's view also involved an election to sanctification as a middle step on the way to final glorification. See William Peter Stephens, 'The Place of Predestination in Zwingli and Bucer', in *Zwingliana* 19 (1992), 393–410.

³ 'Understand this phrase ['in love'], therefore, of *God's love* in embracing us in the Son, such that he adopts as beloved sons us who were by nature sons of wrath. Hence he does not choose the elect as though they possessed anything in themselves worthy of election, and those whom he leaves in the defilement in which they were born and live, *can blame nothing but their own perversity*, for in their whole being they are hostile to God.' Bucer, *Common Places* [22], 113.

⁴ '[The phrase 'in the heavenly places' (*Ephesians* 1)] is taken to indicate those blessings, which come to the elect by the gift of Christ, for already they live the life of

of God, and of limits on Christ's saving work do not much arise for Bucer, who rather emphasizes the universal nature of external vocation, and of the 'gospel' that God 'loves' all men, or at least does not will that any be lost.⁵ The consideration of election does not lead to laxity of life or religion.⁶ Convictions about indefectibility should not lead to security either, as all are to work, as Latimer had preached, to make our election sure.⁷

Bucer offers an important spiritual picture to those undergoing testing: *strive to lay hold onto the faith that God gives*, for if you have no assurance about your election, you may be lost.⁸ This means that, to be fortified against the testing of our faith, we must contemplate our own election, not just the gracious will of God towards us that allows us to trust that we will be saved, and in considering the election that we believe we have, we will make our faith more certain. In addition to this secure group of the *assured*, the outer circles (where some lack assurance) have room for hope, for God's calling is universal. Thus Bucer adds the relatively new emphasis on internal assurance to the older Reformation affirmation of the external evidence of the universality of

heaven. For Christ dwells in our hearts and *will not desert us* even until the consummation of the world; he comes to the man who loves the Father, and abides with him. Therefore, *although the saints fall into sin every day*, nonetheless by their higher nature they are heavenly. Our faith and our sanctification are heavenly, and are bestowed by Christ who is in heaven and we keep company with him through faith and ardent desire. Paul adds '*in Christ*,' because it is through his righteousness and merit that all the godly obtain all good things.' Bucer, *Common Places*, 110.

⁵ 'The last final cause of our elect is that *everywhere* the *infinite* goodness of God and the righteousness of Christ towards *all* men should be magnified and noised abroad... because by our praise others are brought to salvation and to the blessedness *he offers to all*.' Bucer, *Common Places* [22], 114.

⁶ 'The consideration of election must lead to the strengthening of faith among men, and it is pointless to fear that mention of it must induce laxity of life and religion as a whole.' Bucer, *Common Places* [20], 111.

⁷ 'On God's part these gifts [election, adoption, calling, faith, etc.] stand unshakable; nonetheless, we must be zealous that for our part too they may become ever more firmly established, for although it is true that *the elect are preserved and never completely fall away*, we must take care to avoid falling away even for a moment by committing sin. The man who reflects deeply on his election by God before he was born is set on fire with an amazing longing and desire to cleave to the benefits of God, and to acknowledge his Benefactor in every part of life.' Bucer, *Common Places*, 110f.

⁸ 'If we lack this certainty of faith, if we are not convinced of it, we cannot look forward to eternal life nor acknowledge God as our Father or Christ as our redeemer—in short, no element of *true religion or genuine love of God* can reside in us.' Bucer, *Common Places* [21], 111.

God's promises: those who lack assurance should not give up hope yet, though they are in a potentially perilous state.⁹

Vermigli's view of predestination was in some ways noticeably distinct from that of the earlier Lutherans, his contemporaries, and is preserved in an extended treatise on Predestination. It is also distinct, in some important details, from that of Bucer. For Martyr, the doctrine had a strong practical and spiritual significance and was articulated in the terms of St Augustine and St Paul. An extended treatment in an important section of his *Loci Communes*, and in his *Commentary on Romans*, following chapter 9, was published in 1558, during his lifetime, and based on lectures he had given in Strasbourg in 1545–6 and in Oxford from 1550 to 1552.¹⁰

Precision about the doctrines related to predestination remained important for Martyr. At the end of his life, in Zurich, Vermigli strongly advocated the doctrine of predestination against the distinguished Orientalist Theodore Bibliander (Buchman).¹¹ Martyr emphasized God's providential fore-knowledge of everything—distinct from election as an act of God's will, but never separated from it: God's providence does not make decision and action useless.¹² 'God violentlie presseth no man.'¹³ And Martyr held that Predestination was always *in Christ*, and not only predestination to life, but also to good works.

Predestination is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he hath from the beginning constantlie decreed to call all those, *whome he hath loved in Christ*, to the adoption of his children, to justification by faith, and at

⁹ 'It is this holiness and uprightness that confirms our conscience, because it is the work of the Holy Spirit who is the surest pledge of life eternal. . . . *Those who lack the confirmation* of this favourable testimony of conscience cannot *be assured* of their election nor of the hopes in store for the elect. But yet let *all* believe, let *all* repent, let *all* hear the words of the gospel and God's counsel of election, also let their faith in this *infallible* election be steadfast. . . .' Bucer, *Common Places* [22], 113.

¹⁰ *PJ* xx–xxi. John Patrick Donnelly dates it not later than 1552, perhaps from 1551. Martyr describes it in a letter to Bullinger in November 1553. John Patrick Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's Doctrine of Man and Grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 125.

¹¹ For Bibliander, who was removed from his professorship of Hebrew on account of his advocacy of free-will (1560), though his salary was continued to his death (1564), see Christine Christ von Wedel, *Theodor Bibliander: Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit* (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005).

¹² *The common places of the most famous and renowned diuine Doctor Peter Martyr*, trans. and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten (London: Henry Denham and Henry Middleton, 1583) [cited hereafter *CP*], III.1.7, 10 (6, 8).

¹³ *CP* 3.1.10 (9).

the length to *glorie through good works*, that they may be made like unto the image of the Son of God; and that in them may be declared the glorie and mercie of the creator.¹⁴

Martyr was thus not behind any of the Reformers in stressing the gratuity of election and the sovereignty of the God whose will decreed it. Vocation and justification, as well as glorification, were caused by election, and not the other way round. And those who are elect are given the gift of perseverance; they cannot finally defect: 'If they cannot by them be taken awaie which are in Christ; neither also are they able to withdrawe themselves; not that they are compelled by force, but by the waie of persuasion it is of necessitie that they abide.'¹⁵

In offering a judicious treatment accepting the Lutheran point about final indefectibility but balancing it with a more satisfactory view of God's causality and human co-operation, Martyr also looks forward to the disputes that were to come with the Calvinist revolution. God does not will the death of any sinner. In fact, Scripture speaks of predestination only as election, and not at all as reprobation: For Martyr, here is no separate positive act of reprobation: 'as the elect are separated asunder from them that are not elect.'¹⁶

But now let us judge by the scriptures, as they for the most part use to speake. Wherefore the Schoole-divines also affirme, that The elect onlie, and not the reprobate, are predestinate. That opinion will we also at this present follow: not because of that reason, which they [the school divines] bring;¹⁷ for it is a reason verie weake, as we shall afterward declare in due place: but because I see the scriptures so speake for the most part. Wherefore in this treatise, under the name of predestination, we will comprehend the saints onlie.¹⁸

I said before, that I was of the same mind that the Schoolmen are; namelie, that the reprobate are not predestinate: not for that I judged their reasons to be so firme, but because the scriptures use so to speake for the most part.... Howbeit, I therefore separate the reprobate from

¹⁴ CP 3.1.11 (9). See also CP 3.1.25 (19) where Martyr insists that election is always in Christ. Compare Bucer's view, noted above, that predestination is to sanctification as well as to final glorification.

¹⁵ CP 3.1.39 (27).

¹⁶ CP 3.1.59 (42).

¹⁷ Apparently the reason given by some Schoolmen and rejected by Martyr, is that the faith or good works foreseen is the cause of predestination. (CP 3.1.21, 16)

¹⁸ CP 3.1.9 (8). See also CP 3.1.9 (7), and CP 3.1.28 (20f.).

the predestinate; because the scriptures no where (that I knowe of) call men that shall be damned predestinate.¹⁹

As for the damned then, they are separated from the elect by the predestination of the elect, not by a separate decision or act. Yet Martyr speaks of reprobation, and provides an almost identical and parallel definition of it, explicitly denying that it is on account of foreknowledge or the sins of those not elect:

reprobation is the most wise purpose of God, whereby he hath before all eternite, constantlie decreed without anie injustice, not to have mercie on those whome he hath not loved, but hath overhipped²⁰ them; that by their just condemnation, he might declare his wrath towards sins and also his glorie.... The damnation of these men is said to be just, bicause it is laid upon them for their sinnes. And yet we ought not hereby to inferre, that sinnes fore-seene, are the cause why anie man is reprobate: for they bring not to passe, that God hath purposed, that he will not have mercie; howbeit they are the cause of damnation, which followeth in the last time; but not of reprobation, which was from the beginning.²¹

Predestination is, for Martyr, both related to God's Providence or foreknowledge and distinct from it:

This [predestination] hath common with providence; that either of them requireth knowledge, and is referred unto the will, and that either of them hath a respect unto things to come. And herein they differ, for that providence comprehendeth all creatures; but predestination, as we speake of it, pertaineth onlie unto the saints, and unto the elect. Besides this, providence directeth things to their naturall ends; but predestination leadeth to those ends which are above nature: as to this; To be adopted into the sonne of God; To be regenerate; To be indued with grace; To live well; and last of all, To come unto glorie. Wherefore we do not saie, that brute beasts are predestinate; for they are not capable of this supernaturall end: neither are angels now predestinate; for they have alredie attained unto their end. But predestination hath a respect unto things to come.²²

¹⁹ CP 3.1.14 (11).

²⁰ Overhip. V. obs. To hop over; always fig. to pass over, pass by, omit, miss, 'skip'. OED.

²¹ CP 3.1.15 (11–12)

²² CP 3.1.10 (8) Compare Philip Schaff on *The Form of Concord 1577*. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1983), vol. 1, 329–330.

One conclusion to be drawn from this quotation is that, if ‘providence comprehendeth all creatures; but predestination, as we speake of it, pertaineth onlie unto the saints, and unto the elect’, then the damned and their judgement are to be considered under God’s providence but not his predestination.

With respect to God’s providence, the government of God is not tyrannical; although the elect are not lost, neither is their permanence compelled: ‘God violentlie presseth no man, neither by this government giveth anie commoditie unto himselfe, but onlie communicateth his goodness unto creatures.’²³ There may be reasons for predestination, and there may be final causes for predestination, but there is no cause in the ordinary sense, and certainly no efficient cause, of God’s predestination; thus

Forasmuch as predestination is the purpose or will of God, and the same will is the first cause of all things, which is one and the selfsame with the substance of God; it is not possible, that there should be anie cause thereof. Howbeit, we do not therefore denie, but that sometimes may be shewed some reason of the will of God: which although they may be called reasons, yet ought they not to be called causes, especiallie efficient causes. But that in the scriptures are sometimes assigned reasons of the will of God, may by manie places be gathered. . . . But that there are finall causes of the predestination of God, we denie not.²⁴

Although Martyr’s interest in defining predestination often seems scholastic—the solutions of intellectual questions about the doctrine—in speaking of reprobation, Martyr introduces a clearly pastoral argument: no one can find from scripture an argument that he is reprobate:

And it is vaine, that they saie, that manie fall into suspicion of their reprobation: for out of the holie scriptures, no man can gather anie effectual arguments of his reprobation. And if God will sometimes reveale it by a certeine secret judgement, it cannot be drawne by a common rule. [*Martyr gives the example of a Francis Spiera, who wickedly and impiously was convinced of his reprobation and ‘was throwne into a great desperation’, refusing to have any hope for himself when exhorted to do so. But this*

²³ CP 3.1.10 (9). Compare also CP 3.1.39 (27) cited above and CP 3.1.57 (41), where Martyr follows Augustine and makes clear that, except in matters indifferent and civil, human beings, on account of sin, have lost free will and must be directed by God. Compare discussion of Article 10 ‘Of Grace’ below.

²⁴ CP 3.1.16 (12).

conviction was more likely the devil's doing than God's.] If ye talke of strangers, they either nothing regard these counsels of God, or else they are already in despaire of themselves: if we meane of the godlie, they will not suffer themselves anie long time to be tormented with this suspicion; for that they now see themselves called and faithfull, and therefore are justified: all which thinges persuade them to have a confidence, and to hope that their names are entered in the roll of the elect.²⁵

Yet grace is not given equally to all: 'We in no wise saie, that grace is common unto all men, but is given unto some; and unto others, according to the pleasure of God, it is not given.'²⁶ Yet

both the predestinate and the reprobate are partakers of some of the benefits of God. And even as in this life, the commodities of the bodie are of life, are not alike given unto all men so also predestination unto eternall felicitie is not common unto all men.²⁷ ... [Those who infer that all men have power to become sons of God] grant also, that Christ died for us all; and thereof they inferre, that his benefite is common unto all men. Which we also will easilie grant, if onlie the worthinesse of the death of Christ be considered; for as touching it, it might be sufficient for all the sinners of the world. But although in itselfe it bee sufficient; yet it neither had, nor hath, nor shall have effect in all men. Which the Schoole-men also confesse, when they affirme, that Christ hath redeemed all men sufficientlie, but not effectualle.²⁸

In God, there are two wills, an absolute will indicating God's signified will for all human beings as exemplified in God's will that a sinner not die, in outward vocation, in the Scriptures, in preaching, and in the sacraments, and another, called variously 'rewarding' or effectual, by which not all are saved.²⁹

²⁵ CP 3.1.33 (23–4).

²⁶ CP 3.1.38 (26).

²⁷ CP 3.1.43 (30).

²⁸ CP 3.1.44 (31).

²⁹ 'Wherefore there is a certeine will of God absolute [God does not will the death of a sinner], and another (as Augustine calleth it) recompensing.' CP 3.1.60 (43) 'We might also adde with manie divines that there is a certeine will of God, which they call effectual; and also another of the signe: for there are given to all men one with another certeine signes of salvation; such as are outward vocation, which doth chievelie consist of the word of God, of preaching, and of administration of the sacraments. Another will there is of God secret, which is called effectual; and belongeth not unto all men together: for if it comprehended all men, no doubt but all men should be saved. CP 3.1.61 (43)

For in election, foreknowledge and will are both involved, yet in reprobation, perhaps foreknowledge alone.³⁰ Scripture does not tell us that reprobation is the work of God, yet, one cannot say simply that sin is its cause, 'or none should be elected.'³¹ This agnostic conclusion is different from Bucer's who believed, as we have seen, that reprobation is on account of sin.³² We cannot be secure either of our own salvation or reprobation, for scripture does not unambiguously damn anyone in particular: no one can see himself or another as reprobate by gathering it out of Scripture, since scripture and the gospel offer hope and call all.³³ In fact, *outward* calling is given to both the reprobate and the predestined.³⁴ Yet we must not speak of a universality of grace, for grace is not effectually offered to all: 'We in no wise saie, that grace is common unto all men, but is given unto some; and unto others, according to the pleasure of God, it is not given.'³⁵

And this means, for Martyr, that the apparent universalism of such passages as *I Timothy* 2.4, which on the surface would seem to indicate that God's saving will is universal, are to be interpreted as Augustine had been forced to interpret them, 'God will have *some of all kinds* to be saved.'³⁶ And for Vermigli, as for Augustine, the 'number of the elect is certeine and unmoveable.'³⁷

³⁰ CP 3.1.10 (8). J.P. Donnelly's opinion that Peter Martyr actually held a 'double predestination,' in particular that he held that God 'singl[ed] out individuals for damnation as well as for glory,' is not supported by these passages or by any other Donnelly has cited: for Vermigli, the reprobates are not 'singled out', but 'over-hipped'. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 132ff., and note 20. Although Donnelly recognizes that Martyr's views anticipated Calvin and were independent of Calvin, he seems to look at Peter Martyr through later Calvinist spectacles, and this may distort Martyr's views.

³¹ CP 3.1.36 (25).

³² See Bucer, *Common Places* [22], 113, quoted in footnote above.

³³ CP 3.1.33 (23).

³⁴ CP 3.1.42 (30).

³⁵ CP 3.1.38 (26). See also CP 3.1.41 (29).

³⁶ CP 3.1.45 (31). See also CP 3.1.61 (43) for Vermigli's treatment of Ezek. 18.23 and 33.11.

³⁷ CP 3.1.4 (4).

VERMIGLI AS THE SOURCE OF DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF ARTICLE 17

1. *Verbal Similarities*

In the first place, several scholars have noted the verbal similarities between Vermigli's definition of Predestination in the *Loci Communes* and the first paragraph of Article 17:³⁸ 'Predestination is...purpose of God, whereby he hath constantly decreed...adoption...justified...they be made like the image of God's son...good works...god's mercy'. Secondly, as has been noted, both refer to the *ordo salutis* of *Romans* 8.28–30 in a distinctive paraphrase that they partially share, both in particular omitting any mention of foreknowledge.³⁹ And thirdly, and this has not usually been noted, there is a significant correspondence between the words of the second and third paragraphs of Article 17 and chapter 22 of 'On Heresies' in the *Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws*, in the composition of which Martyr was involved, in the wording, in the novel inclusion of the topic, and in its placement with respect to the other matters dealing with grace. The shared wording is striking (See Figure 1): 'before the foundations of the world were made...desperation...sweet, pleasant...comfort...the flesh...members...heavenly things...faith of eternal salvation...through Christ...kindle...love

³⁸ Wallace's statement that Article 17 *comes* primarily from Peter Martyr is thus not entirely inept, though what evidence he has for a direct relationship he does not disclose. Unfortunately, this observation undercuts Wallace's general thesis that the English formularies were informed by Swiss, particular Calvinist influence, for Wallace does not seem to recognize that Martyr was prepared to say far less than Bucer and Calvin on election, nor does he seem to recognize that Zurich was much more influential in England than Geneva, until well into Elizabeth's reign. Wallace, *Puritans and Predestination*, 17. Wallace's source for the comment was a little more guarded: 'The definition itself of predestination in the articles seems nothing more than an expansion of the definition given by Martyr's tract on predestination which was written just about the same time.' John P. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 176. In a footnote, Donnelly explains his conclusion: 'Article XVII is much longer and more formal, but follows that order of Martyr's definition and has frequent verbal echoes. The differences may come from Cranmer or later revisions of the article, or may even be from Martyr's own suggestions to suit a more formal situation. One would not expect Martyr simply to urge a page taken from his lecture-notes on the Archbishop, but the lecture notes probably provided a point of departure. Sometime after I had noticed the similarities between the two definitions, I discovered that this had been pointed out by E[van] Daniel years ago in his *The Prayer-Book*, (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co., 1913), 605. Calvin's definition of predestination (*Inst.* III.21.5) is very different.' Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, footnote 20, 176–77. Frank A. James has also noted without further comment the comparisons with Article 17. See *PJ* 19n.

³⁹ Two small exceptions are evident in the order of presentation: Article 17 refers to justification before it refers to election and Martyr, closer to the order of *Romans*, refers to adoption before justification. See figure 1 on p. 374 below.

towards God...curious...Spirit of Christ...the Devil...into desperation...recklessness...decree of predestination...promises...generally...in the sacred scriptures'.⁴⁰

These intriguing verbal parallels would not be sufficient in themselves to conclude that Martyr was the source of the Article or the sole author of the parallel section of the *Reformatio*. A consideration of some matters the Article shares with Martyr and some matters the Article does not share with others, may be more conclusive.

2. Predestination identified with election

Article 17 explicitly speaks of Predestination 'to life' and does not refer in any parallel way to the fate of those not elect, although it does hint at their existence as the reason that one might despair, and it does refer to the 'sentence of predestination' to refer to the damned. As we have seen, this relative silence about the damned is shared in other Reformed confessions. Vermigli, as we have also seen, gives a reason for this silence: Scriptures do not speak of the damned as predestined to their fate.⁴¹

The *Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws* had provided no positive notion of 'reprobation' and had begun the chapter on predestination with a description of the conversations about reprobation by those in the Church 'with unrestrained and dissolute characters' who used the word as a synonym for 'damnation', apparently the more proper word.

Yet Vermigli had offered a definition of reprobation that parallels in some ways the one he gave for predestination, and had not treated the word as the preserve of the curious and carnal. And he has rightly been considered as in some sense an exponent of the 'twin decree',⁴² since the single degree of predestination has at once divided those who are elect from those 'overhipped' on whom God has decided not to have mercy

⁴⁰ *Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum: ex avthoritate primum Regis Henrici 8. inchoata: deinde per Regem Edovardum 6. provecta, adauctaque in hunc modum, atq; nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem edita* ([London]: Iuxta exemplar Londinense 1571; & venales habentur apud T. Garthwait, 1661), 20, 21. See also Gerald Bray, ed., *Tudor church reform: the Henrician canons of 1535 and the Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press [for the] Church of England Record Society, 2000), 210-11.

⁴¹ CP 3.1.9; CP 3.1.14

⁴² Frank A. James, *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Predestination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 59-60 *et passim*, has argued for a 'gemina predestinatio' or double predestination in Martyr's writings, from the 1540s on, in that the cause of election and reprobation are together 'the sovereign free will of the deity'. This is not to say, as J.P. Donnelly had held, that God 'singled out' the reprobates. See note above.

and who must therefore be damned on account of their sins. He had also given a reason that predestination should be considered only under its positive form: this is the universal voice of Scripture, reprobation presumably being a logical consequence of leaving to God's providence those not chosen. But there is a considerable lack of symmetry between the account of the two outcomes: God foreordained the *ordo salutis* for the elect, his foreordaining of the reprobate consisted simply in his 'overhipping' them, that is, in scholastic terms, preterition.

This treatment is still very different in emphasis from that given by John Calvin, as early as 1539 in the *Institutes*, where a strict symmetry obtains between the outcomes of those foreordained to eternal life and those foreordained to eternal death:

We call predestination God's eternal decree, by which he compacted with himself what he willed to become of each man. For all are not created in equal condition; rather, eternal life is foreordained for some, eternal damnation for others. Therefore, as any man has been created to one or other of these ends, we speak of him as predestined to life or to death.⁴³

Not only does this emphasize the decision as made with every human being in mind, which Martyr would claim goes beyond the voice of Scripture, this definition ignores the corporate and collective nature of election: that election is of those 'in Christ', as both Martyr and Article 17 emphasize.

We have noted that Martyr is correctly described as holding for a 'double decree', but he shared with his Augustinian predecessors some reserve about the will of God as it relates to those not elect: we cannot know about them with the certainty required of faith that God deliberately damned them in advance, since Scripture nowhere says so. In addition, Calvin is silent on the 'overhipping' or preterition, leaving the strong suggestion that he does not believe it is relevant. Thus, on the question of identification of predestination and election, although Martyr is an exponent, in some sense, of a twin decree, his account is compatible with the wording of Article 17 in a way that Calvin's is not.⁴⁴

⁴³ *Inst.* III.21.5 926 (1539).

⁴⁴ It is usual to concede that Calvin asserts a double decree that goes beyond Augustinianism, which had made the fall of Adam the object of a permissive or passive decree, and taught the preterition rather than the reprobation of the wicked. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 1, page 453.

3. *God's manner of bringing about the predestined end*

Martyr, unlike Calvin and his English admirer, Bartholomew Traheron, had been careful to emphasize the non-compulsive character of God's bringing about of the destinies of all: all human beings whether elect or not are under providence, which does not compel. In the Articles of 1553, Article 10 'Of Grace' had explicitly also rejected a strict necessitarianism:⁴⁵ God does not enforce the will. Article 17 uses the phrase 'working in due season'. This casual phrase surely indicates something different from 'God's appointed time' as in Calvin, a sense of non-coercive causality that goes with Latimer and Hooper, and allows for some human agency and, perhaps, some involvement in the sacramental life, in which God's external vocation is heard.⁴⁶ Thus on the question of the manner of God's causality of salvation, and the timing of God's vocation, Article 17 is in sharp contrast to Calvin's own view, and Calvin's view as presented in England by Bartholomew Traheron, and is identical with the view of Vermigli. On this, Martyr's view must be thought to have prevailed over Traheron's on the committee.

4. *Desperation and Security*

The twin perils of desperation and security in the consideration of predestination are found, in remarkably similar descriptions, in both Article 17 and in the *Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws*. Bucer had minimized the potential laxity of life as a consequence of considering election; Calvin, however, had identified the perils of 'security': 'They say they are unconcerned about their vices, for if they are of the number of the elect, vices will not hinder them from being at last brought to life.'⁴⁷ But Calvin appears not to have noted the perils of 'desperation'. Earlier in the Century, Lutheran circles had emphasized the peril of desperation, but not the concern about security, when predestination was presented to weak Christians. In translating Luther's *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans* into Latin in 1522, Justus Jonas had added:

⁴⁵ Probably with a view to an Anabaptist position described above opposed by the statutes of Henry VIII and by John Hooper, but also including the Calvinist view of Traheron, Hooper's opponent Strype, *Memorials*, I.1.48, 552–53.

⁴⁶ See references to Latimer and Hooper earlier, and especially to Vermigli, *CP* 3.1.10 and *CP* 3.1.39.

⁴⁷ *Inst.* III.23.12 (960) 'securos se in vitiis pergere dicunt.' Security and presumption had also been the principal concern of the Council of Trent in its brief reference to predestination, *Decree on Justification*, 12.'

Now since this unchanging and most certain sentence of God cannot be altered, nor subverted by any creature, then hope surely remains for us that sin will at length be overcome, however much even now it rages in our flesh. But here the over-curious must be reined in, who, before they learn of Christ and the might of the cross, peer into that abyss of predestination, and, they try to find out whether they are predestined or not, to no avail. For these undoubtedly will lead themselves into confusion of conscience or desperation, and fall headlong, by this inappropriate curiosity of theirs.⁴⁸

Melanchthon had further developed this suggestion.

For Martyr, predestination is primarily hopeful pastorally. Unlike Melanchthon, Martyr believed that contemplation of the doctrine of election confirmed our hope, rather than leading to desperation. Those who 'thinke that men by this meanes are brought to desperation' are wrong: 'We are not by this doctrine driven to desperation, but rather much more confirmed in hope, and by it is received great comfort.'⁴⁹

Inappropriate teaching about predestination, however, may lead to a false security about one's election:

We ought not so to preach predestination unto the people of God, as to saie, whether thou doest this, or doest it not, thou canst not alter the determination of God: and if thou be elect, whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not be removed from salvation: for these speeches easily hurt weake and unlearned men.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ This view, in the translation of Justus Jonas (1523), shows some remarkable parallels with Article 17.

Luther, *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans* (1522); Latin Translation by Justus Jonas, 1523. 1554 ed. In T.V. Short, *History of the Church of England* s. 483, note (New York, 1847), 168f. Justus Jonas' Latin version of Luther's Preface, is not exactly parallel to Luther's German original. *Works* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1932) vi, 459f. If there is a dependence, it is clearly through the Latin version.

T.V. Short added an important comparison in parallels between Article 17 and the views of Martin Luther in his early work on Romans. In particular, the nuance that election is a 'comfortable' doctrine only for those already 'on the way' in their struggle, that is, those who have discovered their own helplessness. In other words, it is comfortable doctrine, but meat too strong for the infant: 'In the absence of suffering and the cross and the danger of death, one cannot deal with predestination without harm and without secret wrath against God. The old Adam must die before he can endure this subject and drink the strong wine of it. Therefore beware not to drink wine while you are still a suckling. There is a limit, in time, an age for every doctrine.' *Preface to the Epistle of St Paul to the Romans*, in *Works of Martin Luther*, (Philadelphia, 1932) vi, 460.

⁴⁹ CP 3.1.5 (5). The case of Spiera is not a strong example of desperation: it is admitted as a highly unusual case, a 'special revelation', and possibly the devil's work. CP 3.1.33. See above.

⁵⁰ CP 3.1.4 (4). See Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 130.

For Martyr, it is those who are ignorant of predestination who are likely to live wickedly, not those who are acquainted with the doctrine, but who are 'curious and carnal'.⁵¹ Thus Article 17, like the *Reformatio*, in balancing both a concern about desperation and a concern about security or recklessness, goes against Martyr with respect to the concern about desperation, but agrees with and goes beyond him with respect to the concern about recklessness, a concern shared with Calvin.

There is no suggestion in the Articles of the necessity of assurance about one's salvation, as we have seen hinted in Bucer. Such a view was later to cause a crisis in sensitive souls, who could not identify such assurance within them, and were thus driven to despair. Martyr, although considering the doctrine as pastorally hopeful, does not seem to have any notion of assurance in the same sense: one is to consider the (external) doctrine of God's election as hopeful, even though one is not (internally) certain of one's own.⁵² Calvin, however, making clearer what Bucer had suggested, had made an explicit link between the elect and the unfailing constancy of their faith:

Now there is no doubt, when Christ prays for all the elect, that he implores for them the same thing as he did for Peter, that their faith may never fail [Luke 22.32]. From this we infer that they are out of danger of falling away because the Son of God, asking that their godliness be kept constant, did not suffer a refusal.⁵³

5. *Is Election Unconditional?*

By omitting reference to foresight, Martyr and Article 17 may seem to insulate the doctrine of election from the possibility that election is on account of foresight by God of those in whom grace would be effective,

⁵¹ 'For we are predestinated, not only to felicitie, but also unto good works; namelie, that we shold walke in them, and be made like unto the image of the Sonne of God. The wicked regard not these things, and also without this doctrine, live wickedlie: but the godlie, for that they have confidence, that they are predestinated, labour by holie work to make their salvation sure.' *CP* 3.1.30 Note the reference of 'confidence', as in Bucer and Calvin, and the phrase 'to make their salvation sure' found in *2 Peter* 1.10, and a referred to by John Hooper in *Early Writings*, 76. Desperation is related to not knowing about election, not to knowing it but integrating it in a wicked fashion.

⁵² Note, however, *CP* 3.1.30 quoted above in its reference to the confidence of the godly 'that they are predestinated'.

⁵³ *Inst.* III.24.6 (1539 as altered in 1559), ii, 972–3. Calvin elsewhere uses the phrase 'assurance of salvation', as in IV.14.14 (1539), ii, 1290; III.15.title (1559), i, 788. See also 'Scripture shows that God's promises are not established unless they are grasped with the full assurance of conscience. Whenever there is doubt or uncertainty, it pronounces them void.' *Inst.* III.13.4, i, 767.

the apparent view of John Hooper,⁵⁴ to be revived by Arminius' successors, the Remonstrants.

As we have seen, Martyr offered a theological argument why there is no efficient cause or condition of predestination, although predestination has final causes. Martyr allowed, however, that Scripture sometimes assigned reasons for the will of God. The definitions of predestination in Martyr and Article 17 may, therefore, avoid any declaration about the unconditional character of predestination, although that is to be assumed, since such a declaration might seem to go beyond Scripture. Such a reason for silence would be precisely parallel to the reason for silence about reprobation, which Martyr does accept. For whatever reason, the silence of Article 17 on the unconditional character of election was to provide comfort for later English Arminians. In contrast, Calvin's definition is much more committed: predestination depends on God's compact with himself.

6. *The 'Generality' of God's Promises*

Martyr appears not to have spoken of the 'generality' of God's promises, an important term in both the *Reformatio* and Article 17. Martyr did, however, speak of attending to the will of God expressed in Scripture, rather than considering one's predestination when one is to act; and one is to trust that one is of the elect:

Neither counsel we, that when a man doth anie thing, he should deliberate with himselfe of predestination; but rather refer himselfe unto the will of God, expressed in the scriptures: and that everie one also ought to have a trust, that by predestination he is not excluded.⁵⁵

Calvin, on the other hand, does use the vocabulary and acknowledges the universality of God's invitation, but always to make clear that the special grace attached to salvation is not general.⁵⁶ And Bullinger, in the [Second] Helvetic Confession (1562), will write that 'the promises of God are universal to the faithful'.⁵⁷

The sense of 'generality' in Article 17 is, however, not said to be restricted, applying to all, not just to the faithful. In this, there is a

⁵⁴ See especially John Hooper, 'A Declaration on the Ten Commandments' (1548), in *Early Writings*, ed. S. Carr (Cambridge: PS, 1843), 263f.

⁵⁵ CP 3.1.4 (4).

⁵⁶ *Inst.* III.22.10 (1559), ii.943–4; III.24.1 (1543), ii.964.

⁵⁷ *Confessio Helvetica*, 'de Praedest.' Cap. X, § 9, composed 1561 published 1566. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, vol. 3, 253–4.

survival of the Lutheran sense, as in the use of Hugh Latimer earlier in the reign.⁵⁸ And thus, although Martyr apparently does not use the vocabulary of 'generality', the thought of the Article is much closer to his than to Calvin's, who does use the vocabulary.

CONCLUSION

In trying to decide of the dependence of Article 17 on Vermigli there are thus some theological matters to add to his known participation in the related committee working on the reform of canon law and the significant verbal similarities others have noted.

- (a) The verbal similarities also extend to the text of the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.
- (b) The silence on reprobation in Article 17 (and in the *Reformatio*) can be explained in terms of Martyr's careful treatment of reprobation in terms of preterition, and his conviction that Scripture does not speak of reprobation as part of predestination. It cannot be explained by any relation to Calvin's existing account.
- (c) Article 10 'Of Grace' had clearly excluded the necessitarianism implied in Calvin's work by the second edition of the *Institutes*, in 1539, and which had in 1552 been identified in England as distinctive of Calvin. Article 17 appears to distance itself from the same necessitarianism. Martyr, unlike Calvin, is consistent with this position.
- (d) On the two perils of desperation and security, Martyr and Calvin were not at odds: Martyr identifies both issues, but treats only security as a genuine problem, like Calvin and the Council of Trent, who identify only the problem of security. It was Melancthon and the earlier Lutherans had emphasized the perils of desperation. The balanced position of Article 17 and the *Reformatio* is thus compatible with both, but adds another, older, thought as well.
- (e) On the question of assurance, suggested by Bucer, and important to Calvin, Martyr's silence is paralleled by Article 17, which appears to allow that some who cannot yet be assured of their salvation and election, are nonetheless elect, and should live in hope.
- (f) Article 17's lack of precision about the unconditionality of election is compatible with Martyr, but not with Calvin.
- (g) Article 17 and the *Reformatio* use the term 'generality' in connection with the promises, not in the way Calvin, or even Bullinger, uses it, but in the earlier Lutheran tradition, as reflected in the sermons of Hugh Latimer.

⁵⁸ See especially Hugh Latimer, Sermon xxv (Lincolnshire, 1552), *Sermons* i, 463.

Thus, although certainty on the matter of direct dependency on Vermigli will continue to be a somewhat open question, it seems that Article 17 as published in 1553 is not only verbally reminiscent of Martyr and of the *Reformatio*, in whose composition he is known to have participated, it is also consistent with his views, even when it goes beyond them; on the other hand, it remains in some respects incompatible with Calvin's views, which were clearly known, and advocated in England in some details at the time. Vermigli more than any other individual, should be seen as the source, if not the author, of Article 17.

Figure 1. Verbal Similarities between Article 17 of the *Forty-Two Articles of Religion* (1553) and Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes* and *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* (1553)*

XVII.

Of predestination and election.

Predestination to life, is the everlasting **purpose of God**, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) **he hath constantly decreed** by his own judgement secret to us, to deliver from curse, and damnation those whom he hath chosen [in Christ, 1571] out of mankind, and to bring them to everlasting salvation by Christ, as vessels made to honour: whereupon, such as have so excellent a benefit of God given unto them be called, according to God's purpose, by his spirit, working in due season, they through grace obey the calling, they be **justified** freely, they be made sons by **adoption**, **they be made like the image of God's** only begotten **son** Jesus Christ, they walk religiously in **good works**, and at length by God's **mercy**, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ is full of **sweet**, **pleasant**, and unspeakable **comfort** to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of **the spirit of Christ**, mortifying the works of **the flesh**, and their earthly **members**, and drawing up their mind to high and **heavenly things**, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their **faith of eternal salvation** to be enjoyed **through Christ**, as because it doth fervently **kindle their love towards God**: So for **curious**, and carnal persons lacking the **Spirit of Christ**, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby **the Devil** may thrust them either **into desperation**, or into a **recklessness** [**'security'** in Latin] of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, although **the Decrees of predestination** are unknown unto us, yet we must receive God's **promises**, in such wise as they be **generally** set forth to us in **holy Scripture**, and in our doings **that will of God** is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

* Words and phrases found in both Article 17 and Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes* are indicated in **Bold Italics**. Words and phrases found in both Article 17 and the *Reformatio* are indicated in **Bold Sans Serif** type.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

ECCLESIOLOGY: EXEGESIS AND DISCIPLINE

Robert M. Kingdon

The ideas of Peter Martyr Vermigli on ecclesiology and discipline have been brought together in the first six chapters of his *Common Places*. They originally came, to be sure, from his Biblical commentaries, especially on the Pauline epistles, but the version in the *Common Places* was widely used in the training of pastors in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and thus had considerable, separate influence. It is also a convenient place to find these ideas drawn together now.¹

THE CHURCH

These chapters begin with an analysis of the *notae* or marks of the true Church of Christ, namely the signs that demonstrated which of the many competing institutions then claiming to be that Church really was truly faithful to Christ.² The established view, of course, was that of the Roman Catholic Church, and it was advanced and developed in the sixteenth century by a number of theologians specializing in controversy. The one against whom Vermigli was most consciously arguing was Stanislaus Hosius, a Polish cardinal, who was the presiding officer at the final sessions of the Council of Trent, which adopted the definitions of doctrines that became authoritative for the Catholic Church in the period of the Reformation. Vermigli wrote in a period before the concluding sessions of Trent. He thus was surely reacting to Hosius' publications, which in fact went well beyond Trent in defining a variety of Catholic positions, especially on definitions of the church.

¹ References throughout are to the 1583 English translation of the *Common Places*, book, chapter, and section.

² For a more fully documented version of the argument that follows, see Robert M. Kingdon, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli and the Marks of the True Church,' in *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History: essays presented to George Huntston Williams*, ed. by F. Forrester Church and Timothy George (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 198–214.

Vermigli was no doubt thinking of some edition of Hosius' *Confessio Catholicae Fidei Christiana*, which appeared in multiple editions during their lifetimes. Another Roman controversial theologian of great influence in the period was Robert Bellarmine whose *Controversies* were widely used in the early modern period. They were drafted for the most part after Vermigli's death, but they still define in a useful and authoritative way positions against which Vermigli was reacting. The works of Hosius, Bellarmine, and others advanced a considerable number of marks of the true church, often about fifteen. The most important were that the true church had to be Catholic, or universal; it had to be Apostolic, or founded by the apostles who were the most immediate followers of Jesus; it had to be led by a man, the pope, who had inherited power by direct descent from the most eminent of those apostles, Peter, bishop of Rome at the time of his death. Vermigli spent some time refuting each of these claims. He insisted that the Church of Rome was neither Catholic nor Apostolic. It was not Catholic, or universal, in that it did not and for centuries had not controlled all of Christianity. It had broken with the orthodox churches of the east hundreds of years earlier and it denied the legitimacy of the Reformed churches for whom Vermigli spoke. It was also not Apostolic in that it no longer taught only the doctrines taught by Christ himself and his apostles. It had added to them a great number of traditions, practices and doctrines that had been invented by the succeeding generations of human beings who made up its leaders. In fact it now taught a good deal of false doctrine and for that reason alone should be repudiated. Christ had not given authority, Vermigli added, to the apostle Peter to found his church. He had said that the church should be founded on the beliefs Peter shared with the other apostles. It was these shared beliefs, not the person of Peter himself that Jesus had selected to be the foundation of his church.

These, of course, were arguments adopted by all Protestants of the period, to justify their secession from the Church of Rome. The leaders of the earliest body of Protestants, the Lutherans, had insisted in response to Catholic arguments that there are only two marks of the true Church of Christ: the preaching of true doctrine, and the correct administration of sacraments. Everything else is unnecessary. Any group of people that hear correct doctrine and practice sacraments correctly is a true church, no matter how recently it has been gathered, no matter how wide a geographic area it covers, no matter how many followers it can claim. A clause to this effect is included in article VII of the Augs-

burg Confession, the most widely recognized formal statement of early Lutheran belief, approved by Luther himself and his earliest associates, then used by governments favourable to Lutheranism as a formal test for those seeking positions of leadership in their churches.

A number of early Protestants found this two-mark definition of a true church to be incomplete. They thought it was not enough to require true belief of Christians. They found Luther's emphasis on justification by faith alone to be excessive. It was also necessary they felt, to expect right behavior of Christians. These people wanted to add a third mark for identifying a true church, the mark of discipline. The demand for discipline was particularly strong among the Anabaptists and other religious radicals. They thought main-line magisterial Protestants were hypocrites in giving full status as church members and admitting to communion services people generally known to be notorious sinners. But even in communities becoming Protestant in full cooperation with local governments a demand for discipline was widely heard. One of the most prominent was the imperial city of Strasbourg—then in the Holy Roman Empire, now in France—whose Reformation was led by Martin Bucer. In Strasbourg and in many other newly Reformed areas the demand for discipline was resisted by governments. They had joined the Protestant Reformation in part to escape from the control over behavior exercised by the elaborate court system created over the centuries by the Roman Catholic Church, a system that demanded, for example, full control of all cases dealing with marriage, since marriage was a church sacrament, according to Roman Catholic doctrine. It was a system, furthermore, that demanded control over a good many other things. There were parts of Europe, for example, where money-lenders drafted contracts with promises to repay attached in the form of oaths, making them enforceable in church courts rather than regular secular courts.³

Bucer never did succeed in introducing discipline of the kind he wanted in Strasbourg. He finally persuaded the local government to permit the creation of a number of 'Christian fellowships' of people who voluntarily accepted discipline among themselves, without any sanctions imposed upon them by the government.⁴ Even this experiment

³ See Lucien Febvre, 'Un abus et son climat social: L'excommunication pour dettes en Franche-Comté,' *Au cœur religieux du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1957), 225–250.

⁴ See Amy Nelson Burnett, *The Yoke of Christ: Martin Bucer and Christian Discipline* (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, 1994), 180–207.

quickly collapsed, as Bucer left Strasbourg and moved to England for the final years of his career.

In response to this demand for discipline, a number of Reformed churches, when they came to creating Confessions to summarize in an authoritative way their fundamental religious beliefs, included a clause offering a three-mark definition of the true church. A religious assembly was not a true church unless it offered true preaching, correct administration of the sacraments, and discipline. One finds clauses of this kind in the first Confession of the Church of Scotland (article XVIII), of the Belgic Confession adopted for the Netherlands (article XXIX), and in others. And Peter Martyr Vermigli was one of the most prominent theologians arguing for this definition of the true church. He advanced this three-mark formula in place after place in his Biblical commentaries. In 4:6:16 of his *Common Places*, for example, he says that there are 'three markes of the Church which are wont to be shewed by men of our side: namely doctrine, the right administration of the sacraments, and the care of discipline.' He concedes that some would not include discipline in this list, but backs up this part of his argument with an allusion to Ephesians 5:25 and ff. on Christ's love for the church. This inclusion of a mark of discipline became a distinctive feature of Vermigli's ecclesiology. One can find it not only in his *Common Places*, but in some of his independent writings. His 1556 letter to the Lords of Poland, for example, giving them advice on how to create a truly Christian Church, tells them that it must include discipline.⁵

The emphasis on discipline is more pronounced in Vermigli's writings than in those of John Calvin. Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a book of instruction for Reformed pastors even more widely used than Vermigli's *Common Places*, and often used along with it, offers a definition of the marks of the true church consisting of only two: 'Wherever we see the Word of God purely preached and heard, and the sacraments administered according to Christ's institution, there, it is not to be doubted, a church of God exists.'⁶ This formulation might as well be Lutheran. This comes as something of a surprise when we realize that Calvin, in practice, insisted vehemently on discipline in the church he supervised in Geneva. He refused to return to Geneva in 1541, until he was promised the introduction of discipline by the creation

⁵ See the translation by John Patrick Donnelly in *LLS* 147.

⁶ *Inst.* IV.1.9.

of a body that came to be called the Consistory, and he threatened to leave Geneva in 1555, when he felt the government was undermining discipline by threatening to intervene in the use of excommunication as exercised by the Consistory. Vermigli, on the other hand, after he left Italy, never did supervise the creation of a Reformed church and thus was never in a position to introduce discipline.

While most of the time Vermigli defined the church with this three-mark formula, on occasion he used a two-mark formula instead, omitting discipline. In his commentary on I Corinthians, for example, he admits that local church members in early Corinth behaved in scandalous ways, and certainly displayed no discipline. And yet, because the Corinthians saw to it that 'the word of God was openlie published and the Sacraments were soundlie administered' among them, their assembly remained a genuine church.⁷ It is a little hard to know what to make of these occasional exceptions. Perhaps they simply reveal that Vermigli could be quite flexible.

MINISTRIES

Once Vermigli had defined the church, he then turned to analyzing its ministry. He distinguished four different types of ministers: preachers who proclaimed the Word of God; teachers who studied and taught the Word of God; elders who helped enforce discipline within the church; deacons who distributed charity on behalf of the church. The order of teachers was furthermore divided into two types. There were doctors who obtained their knowledge of the meaning of Scripture through formal study, perhaps in a school or college. And there were prophets who obtained their knowledge through direct inspiration from God.

The orders of prophets and deacons, furthermore, were open both to women and men. Vermigli pointed to prophetesses scattered about in the Bible, most often in the Old Testament, the most prominent of whom was Deborah. And he said in briefly discussing the administration of charity that 'widows and olde men' were charged with taking care of strangers and the sick thus making them a kind of deacon.⁸ He knew that the apostle Paul had said several times that women should not speak in church, and that Paul had elaborated this view in arguing

⁷ CP IV.6.49.

⁸ CP IV.1.11.

at some length that women must remain subordinate to their husbands. And yet he also notes that Paul provided that male prophets should have their heads uncovered and female prophetesses should have their heads covered. The very fact, Vermigli thought, that provision is thus made for the dress appropriate to each sex in the act of prophesying, reveals that women were expected to speak in church if they were prophetesses.⁹ It is curious that Vermigli makes these explicit provisions for roles of women in the ministry. It was certainly not a widespread concern in the period, which after all was thoroughly patriarchal. One is tempted to wonder whether Vermigli knew of women who were actually of service in Reformed churches. Might he have been thinking of someone like Katharina Zell who was active if controversial in the Strasbourg Reformed church while he was there?

Vermigli then proceeds to elaborate at some length on the order of the preaching ministry. Every preacher needs to show some evidence that he has convinced himself and can persuade others that he has been called by God to the ministry. Normally a call was openly acknowledged by the community in a formal way through a ritual of ordination, often including the laying on of hands by ministers already ordained and an anointing with oil. Neither, Vermigli felt, however, is always necessary. Even ordination itself is not always necessary. There are examples of extraordinary calling and they must be accepted. The examples he cites are mostly from Scripture, but he could well have been thinking as well of contemporaries like John Calvin who had never been ordained.

The main responsibility of a preacher, Vermigli says, is to proclaim the truth, a truth, which he insists can only be found in the canonical books of Holy Scripture, the word of God. He will not buy the argument that the canon of Scripture was created by the early church, and thus depends on the support of the church for its authority. He insists it was inspired directly by God Himself. He also will not accept as equally authoritative any supplements to Scripture, drawn from traditions, even of the early church. While some of them might be useful, they are the creations of men, not of God, and can never claim the same authority as that granted to Scripture. When we look at Vermigli's own preaching, we find he followed the *lectio continua* method, of picking a book of the Bible, and then systematically going through it, chapter by chapter and verse by verse. He also includes a good deal of exotic philology,

⁹ CP IV.1.10.

identifying and explaining key words in the Hebrew and Greek original texts of the Bible. In doing so, to be sure, he was acting more as a teacher than as a preacher. These exercises should probably be regarded more as classroom lectures than as sermons. Whether he would require the same method of all preachers seems to me doubtful.

As for the style of preaching, Vermigli strongly recommended simplicity. A sermon must be in a form of language accessible to average listeners, not weighted down with elaborate rhetorical devices and ornamentation. He obviously expected of a preacher some knowledge of rhetoric, but not of a very advanced or complex kind. He notes that good preaching is a lot of work. For that reason and because of its intrinsic importance, preachers deserve payment. The policy of the early Apostles of combining proclamation of the Gospel with a paying job—like catching fish or making tents—is not one he recommends for contemporary preachers. On the other hand, he notes that some church leaders of his own day are overpaid, if not just for their preaching then for their other activities. They should be paid more modestly. In fact many of them should be required to preach more frequently. That would be particularly true of bishops.

He notes that ministers also have pastoral duties. He compares those duties to those of a husband to his wife, of parents to their children, of lords to their servants. He adds that ministers have a special obligation to care for the poor. He is generally opposed to non-resident clergymen, even if they have given up residence only temporarily for laudable reasons like going to a university to gain an advanced education, having arranged for their parishes to be covered in their absence by vicars who are qualified, if less fully. But he would permit a clergyman to flee his parish if he is physically threatened, is in danger of losing his life.

DISCIPLINE

Finally Vermigli gives to ministers additional duties in administering discipline. These were duties he assigned both to the preaching ministers who presided over religious services and to lay elders. Discipline, he explains, can take the form of teaching true doctrine, of admonitions, of correction, and finally of punishment.¹⁰ The form of punishment he

¹⁰ CP IV.5.1.

explores most fully is excommunication, a minister's refusal to admit a church member to a communion service and serve him (or her) the elements of bread and wine, symbolizing the body and blood of Christ. This was a far more serious form of punishment then than it would be now. It not only denied people the special benefits of sharing in a ritual designed to bring people in closer contact with God and with each other. It also kept them from participating in other sacraments like baptism. Baptism and its accompanying ritual of god-parentage were important in the period. Communion also tied people together socially in important ways. Excommunication thus tended to disgrace people socially, in the eyes of their acquaintances and even of their families. It also could disturb business dealings considerably.

The basis for excommunication, for Vermigli as for almost all his Christian contemporaries was a passage in Scripture, specifically in Matthew 18:15–17, in which Jesus instructs his disciples in how to correct sinners.¹¹ If some one has committed a sin against you, he says, go see him as an individual and reproach him face to face. If that works, you have corrected the sin and won a friend. If that does not work, go to see him again with two or three others, so that there are witnesses to your reproach. If he is still not willing to repent, 'tell it to the church.' And if that won't work, simply ignore him from then on as if he were a Gentile or a tax collector. The greatest problem in interpreting this passage is explaining what the phrase 'tell it to the church' means. After all when Jesus said this there was no church, unless one counts the informal group of disciples as a church.

There were basically three interpretations of this verse that were advanced in the sixteenth century. For Catholics, 'tell it to the church,' meant 'tell it to a bishop.' Bishops each had been granted full administrative power over their dioceses, and that included plenary powers of excommunication. It included both 'minor' excommunication, simply denying to an individual the right to receive communion, or 'major' excommunication, barring an individual from participating in most community activities. The Anabaptists, incidentally, practiced a form of 'major excommunication.' They placed sinners within their communities under a 'ban,' urging everyone else in the community to

¹¹ For a longer and more fully documented analysis of these views, see Robert M. Kingdon, 'La discipline ecclésiastique vue de Zurich et Genève au temps de la réformation: l'usage de Matthieu 18:15–17 par les réformateurs,' *Revue de théologie et philosophie* 13 (2003): 343–355.

‘shun’ them, not even to speak with them, even within the confines of a family. Among Catholics, furthermore, the pope had extra powers of excommunication. He could excommunicate not just individuals but entire communities, even countries, ordering that no communion be administered by any priest to any individual living within a given community that had sinned. This was called an interdict. Protestants, including Vermigli, reacted violently against this interpretation. They insisted Jesus’ words clearly do not give the power of discipline to individuals, no matter how eminent they may be. Huldrych Zwingli, the Reformer of Zurich, was particularly vehement on this point, insisting that Jesus meant when he said these words that we must report the sinner to a community, obviously not to an individual like a bishop or abbot. The very word one finds attributed to Jesus in Scripture is *ekklesia*, which in the original Greek meant a community, never an individual leader. Zwingli was particularly concerned, of course, to deny the authority to excommunicate to the bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zurich had been located, but he generalized to include all individual church leaders. Vermigli agreed but went even farther. He insisted that all popes not only have no right to excommunicate, but deserve excommunication themselves, since they all promulgate false doctrine.

For many Protestants, most emphatically Zwingli, ‘tell it to the church,’ meant ‘tell it to the Christian government.’ Now that Christianity had been generally established all throughout the civilized world, we have no pagan governments. We have governments that are Christian. They have been given by God the duty to maintain civil order, and that can be generalized to include the maintenance of ecclesiastical order.¹² Thus in Zwinglian Zurich, the government was permitted to issue an order of excommunication but the ministers did not have that right. Heinrich Bullinger, Zwingli’s successor as ecclesiastical leader of that community, was very explicit in defending this practice. He noted that Jesus Christ himself, at the Last Supper, the very first communion service, tendered the elements of consecrated bread and wine to Judas Iscariot, the disciple who was about to betray him to the authorities. If Jesus served Judas, observed Bullinger, how could a modern minister

¹² *Huldreich Zwinglis Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1925), Bd. III, 879 and II, 280.

refuse to serve any sinner, no matter how notorious?¹³ There was some clerical involvement, to be sure, in decisions involving problems of marriage and morals in Zwingli's Zurich. A court titled the *Ehegericht*, consisting of four (and later six) men, including two clergymen, took the place of the bishop's court in handling cases in these fields, and the clerical members were often the most prominent.¹⁴ But only the city's governing councils could order excommunication.

Other early Protestants, however, rejected this interpretation. Oecolampadius, the Reformer of Basel, explicitly attacked Zwingli on this point. He insisted that when Jesus said 'tell it to the church,' he could not have meant a secular government; he must have meant an ecclesiastical institution.¹⁵ Other Protestants joined Oecolampadius on this point. The best known is John Calvin. In interpreting this verse, he noted that there was no Christian church in existence when Jesus said it, and that Jesus, as a practicing Jew, must have meant some Jewish institution. After considering the possibilities, he decided Jesus was referring to the Sanhedrin, a semi-ecclesiastical body made up of both priests and lawyers, a body he significantly called 'the Jewish Consistory' (*Institutes*, French version, IV:8:15). He was obviously interpreting the phrase 'tell it to the church' to mean 'tell it to the consistory.' In this he was defending the arrangements he himself had helped establish in Geneva, in creating a semi-judicial body called the Consistory made up of both ordained ministers and elected lay elders to maintain discipline by issuing admonitions and remonstrations and also, when necessary, by excommunication. Like Zurich's *Ehegericht* it took the place of the pre-Reformation bishop's court. But it was much larger, with about twenty-five members, compared to Zurich's four (and later six); it had a much wider jurisdiction, covering all sorts of cases of bad behavior and incorrect belief, not only those connected to marriage; it was, fur-

¹³ J. Wayne Baker, 'In defense of magisterial discipline: Bullinger's *Tractatus de excommunicatione*' of 1568, in in Ulrich G  bler und Erland Herkenrath, eds., *Heinrich Bullinger, 1504-1575, Gesammelte Aufs  tze zum 400. Todestage*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 1:148.

¹⁴ On the *Ehegericht* and the role of its clerical members, see Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers of the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy, 1535-1575* (Bern; New York: P. Lang, 1991).

¹⁵ *Huldreich Zwinglis S  mtliche Werke*, Bd. XI, 129-130.

thermore, in practice thoroughly dominated by Calvin, Geneva's most prominent clergyman.¹⁶

In spite of the fact that Vermigli concluded his career in Zurich, in close association with Bullinger, he did not follow the Zwinglian line of interpretation on this particular point. He noted that it was an interpretation supported by many, but he could not join them. Secular governments, he said, are not rigorous enough. They are likely to 'wink' at sins they regard as minor, like sexual deviances such as fornication and drunkenness. Secular governments also, he said, simply punish, most often with a monetary fine, but do not make sure a sinner is truly repentant before allowing him to regain full membership in the Christian community (*Common Places*, IV:5:12). So Vermigli said excommunication should be levied by a group of church members, including both preaching ministers and lay elders. He insists that they must first take the preliminary steps recommended by Jesus of warning the sinner by an individual and then by a small group. But once they were excommunicated, they must make sure that a sinner is truly repentant before permitting him to receive communion again. Vermigli does not specify an actual institutional agency of excommunication, like the Consistory in Geneva. In fact one could interpret his exegesis to be an advocacy of excommunication by an entire Christian congregation. But that is not clear.

In any event to Vermigli discipline, in the form of excommunication, remains a fundamental duty of churches and thus an integral part of church life. This comes as something of a surprise. It makes him closer, in thought, to the Calvinists and Puritans who were his contemporaries than to the Zwinglians and Anglicans who were also his contemporaries. Yet in actual practice he lived among Zwinglians and kept in close touch with Anglicans. This discrepancy between thought and action remains a continuing problem for specialists on Vermigli to resolve.

¹⁶ For an extended comparison of the Zurich and Geneva arrangements, see Walter Köhler, *Zürcher Ehegericht und Genfer Konsistorium*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1932–1942), in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte*, which considerably exaggerates the similarities of the two institutions.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

EUCCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

Peter Opitz

SEARCH FOR THE MAIN ROOTS OF VERMIGLI'S EUCCHARISTIC THEOLOGY

Vermigli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is probably the most-investigated field of his entire theological *œuvre*. Although several articles and studies have touched upon this subject from different angles in recent decades,¹ two older monographs on this topic still hold a prominent place. The first of these is Joseph McLelland's *The Visible Words of God*,² an in-depth study which places Vermigli's understanding of the Eucharist in the context of his theological thought, as well as in the context of the Protestant theology of his time. A main conclusion of McLelland's study is that Vermigli's closest ally as far as the doctrine of the Eucharist is concerned, was none other than John Calvin, and this was owing chiefly to the fact that both Vermigli and Calvin were students of Martin Bucer: 'Martyr and Calvin teach the same doctrine of the Lord's supper'.³ And even more than this: precisely because 'Bucer, Calvin, and Vermigli represent a unified theology of ecumenical dimensions and purpose'⁴ they 'must be considered as holding an essentially identical doctrine of the Eucharist'.⁵

¹ See e.g. Donald Fuller, 'Sacrifice and Sacrament: Another Eucharistic Contribution from Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215–237.

² John C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli, A.D. 1500–1562* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1957).

³ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 280.

⁴ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 280.

⁵ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 281. But the consequences are drawn much further: 'not Wittenberg or Zurich, but the Strasbourg of Bucer, from which both Calvin and Martyr went forward to a massive and powerful theology' is the place where had 'emerged a positive theology which was in a profound sense the true gravitational centre of the Reformation', McLelland, *Visible Words*, 278.

The argument of Salvatore Corda's *Veritas Sacramenti* does not differ in any fundamental way from McLelland's.⁶ With explicit reference to the latter, Corda emphasizes the 'ecumenical' dimension of Vermigli's teaching on the Lord's Supper.⁷ As far as the shaping of this doctrine is concerned, Corda like McLelland points to Calvin's and Bucer's teaching. However, by adding Bullinger as another close ally, he points beyond the Strasbourg circle, indicating thereby a plurality of sources, and thus emphasizes Vermigli's independence as a theologian:

He independently developed his personal doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but drawing from all available sources... His mature doctrine shows a striking affinity with that of Calvin and his environment, is more elaborate but nevertheless very close to that of Bullinger, differs in terminology, emphasis, and internal coherence, though not much in basic thrust, from that of Bucer.⁸

It is interesting that both Corda and McLelland mention quite often Vermigli's relationship with Bullinger, whom he met personally first in 1543, before going to Strasbourg, without drawing much consequence from this as far as his theology is concerned. McLelland points, for example, to the fact that Martyr consciously identified his doctrine of the Eucharist with Bullinger's, and quotes from a letter of Vermigli to Bullinger:

You congratulate me upon the happy result of the disputations, which however is rather to be attributed to you than to me, since you have for so many years both taught and maintained that doctrine which I there undertook to defend.⁹

This is in agreement with a second quotation from Vermigli's first Zurich *Oratio* of 1556: 'the orthodox opinion of the Eucharist, which also you men of Zurich, as the prime and in one sense the only patrons, always defended most constantly.'¹⁰

⁶ Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975).

⁷ Quoting McLelland, Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 190.

⁸ Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 190.

⁹ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 277; quoted from H. Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written during the Reign of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary*, PS 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846–47), vol. 2, 478.

¹⁰ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 277 (emphasis added).

These quotations from Vermigli reveal not only his fundamental agreement with the *Consensus Tigurinus*, and in this respect the fundamental agreement both with Calvin and Bullinger. They also appear to indicate the role of the Zurich sacramental theology as the primary point of reference for Vermigli's formulation, even prior to the *Consensus*, and amidst the internal Swiss and Upper German struggles which preceded it. Are there any other signs to confirm this assumption? To give a definitive answer, a thorough investigation of Vermigli's theological biography as well as a look at all of his writings on the Eucharist would be necessary, a task which exceeds the possibilities of a single essay. Nonetheless, at least one step in this direction can be made by offering some observations on Vermigli's commentary on I Cor. 11:23–34 from 1548/49, read against the background of the following: the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549¹¹ (a text Vermigli could not have known at the time of his commentary); Calvin's doctrine of the Eucharist from his Strasbourg period, especially his 'Short treatise on the Sacraments' from 1541¹² and his commentary on I Cor. 11:23–34 from 1556;¹³ Zwingli's late writings on the subject,¹⁴ part of the Edition of 1536;¹⁵ as well as Bullinger's commentary on I Cor. 11 from 1537,¹⁶ and his treatise concerning the sacraments from 1545 which had been printed first in England in 1551 by John à Lasco¹⁷ without Bullinger's knowledge. It goes without saying, that such a comparison is not a question of finding indisputable characteristics of Vermigli's Eucharistic theology in opposition to Bucer, Calvin or Bullinger, but rather of determining where Vermigli placed his primary emphasis and which precise terminology he preferred.

¹¹ CO 7, 689–748. (CO = *Ioannis Calvini Opera quæ supersunt omnia*, ed. G. Baum; E. Cunitz; E. Reuss (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1863–1900).

¹² CO 5, 433–460.

¹³ CO 49, 483–496.

¹⁴ *Fidei ratio*: Z VI/II, 790–817; *Fidei expositio*, Z VI/V, 50–162; Z = Huldreich Zwingli, *Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin: C.A. Schwetschke; Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1905–1963).

¹⁵ *Opera d. Huldrychi Zuinglij, partim quidem ab ipso Latine conscripta, partim uerò à uernaculo sermone in Lat. tr.: omnia recogn.*, ed. R. Walther, 4 vols. (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1544–5).

¹⁶ Heinrich Bullinger, 'Commentarius in I. epist. ad Corinthos', *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1537).

¹⁷ Johannes à Lasco, ed., *Absoluta de Christi Domini et Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Sacramentis tractatio* (London: Stephanus Myerdmannus, 1551), in *Heinrich Bullinger Sermonum Decades quinque...* [Heinrich Bullinger, *Werke*. 3. Abt., *Theologische Schriften*, vols. 3.1 and 3.2], bearb. Peter Opitz (Zurich: Theologische Verlag, 2008).

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON VERMIGLI'S COMMENTARY ON
I COR. 11:23–34

Vermigli arrived in England on 20 December 1547 and began his lectures on First Corinthians in Oxford early in 1548.¹⁸ His exegesis of chapter 11 took place in the first months of 1549.¹⁹ Vermigli's commentaries were subsequently published in Zurich in 1551.²⁰ What Vermigli primarily has in mind when he speaks about the Eucharist, is to cleanse the Christian religion (*repurgare religionem*) by returning to the sources (*ad fontes*) of the Eucharist's original meaning, but not so much to show that the Sacrament is a gift of God to assure forgiveness to the sinner. His first marginal to the paragraph on the Eucharist in I Cor. 11 states: 'In order to cleanse religion, it is necessary to go back to the institution of the Lord, as going back to the sources.'²¹

Corda mentions that Vermigli had already read Zwingli's *De vera et falsa religione* in Italy. Caracciolo tells us²² that Vermigli was looking at that time for a 'true and pure religion'. According to Corda, this is evidence that Vermigli was not really concerned about external things in religion but rather seeking 'piety springing from the heart and inner conviction'.²³ In the 16th century, '*religio*' does not signify what Schleiermacher meant, but rather something quite the opposite: religion was understood as the public, manifest aspect of a belief. This can already be shown from Vermigli's use of the term mentioned before. His views seem to have been shaped by Zwingli's distinction between true religion defined according to the scriptures and superstition. Since this is the first point Vermigli addresses in his commentary on the Pauline text in I Cor. 11, why should this distinction not have served as his basic presupposition in the area of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper?

Paul's account of the Eucharist in I Cor. is not without reason and context: it is the misuse of the sacrament by the Corinthians which causes him to remind them of the words uttered at Christ's last Supper

¹⁸ Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 62.

¹⁹ Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 63.

²⁰ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *In Selectissimam S. Pauli Priorem ad Corinth. Epistolam... Commentarii doctissimi...* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1551) [cited hereafter as COR].

²¹ 'Ad repurgandam religionem oportet ad institutum domini, ut ad fontes, recurrere', COR fol. 296r.

²² Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 24, 194.

²³ Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 24.

with his disciples: 'I have accepted by the Lord what I now pass on to you, that the Lord, in the night he has been betrayed...' (I Cor. 11:23). In his commentary, Vermigli seizes the opportunity to compare the misuse of the sacrament by the Corinthians with the latter abuses by the Romans: in order to cleanse 'religion', the first step must always be to go back to the sources, namely the scriptures. Bullinger and Calvin do the same in their respective commentaries on this passage. While Calvin mentions in a few sentences that it is important to go back to the institution of Christ (*ad fontes*), Vermigli dedicates much more space to this topic. He quotes examples where Christ himself points to the original institution of God's law and to the living God himself, in contrast to all human customs, in order to restore true religion. The *distinction* between God and humanity, and the emphasis on the *first* word of God as God's pure word, including the Old Testament tradition, are much more clearly delineated by Vermigli than by Calvin.

Accordingly, when Paul says 'on the night in which Jesus was betrayed,' Vermigli connects the Lord's Supper to the Passover of the Jewish tradition. Jesus observed the Passover tradition very carefully; this is surely not unimportant. By doing so, he took up the ancient tradition of the sacraments and transformed them into the Christian sacraments.²⁴ Vermigli stresses that in doing so Jesus did not create something new, but was rather the authorized interpreter of the original will of God expressed in the Hebrew Scriptures. We can find similar thoughts in Bullinger's exegesis, but not in Calvin's. In his explanation of these first words of the Pauline account of the Lord's Supper,²⁵ Calvin points to the '*scopus*' and goal of the Eucharist in its entirety. This goal first and foremost is that the benefit of Christ's death is sealed within us.²⁶ The then-current debate about the soteriological aim of the Eucharist permeates Calvin's exegesis from the beginning. There is no mention of the Passover tradition. When Paul speaks of the 'night', it is important only that Jesus had instituted the Eucharist immediately before his death. By contrast, for both Vermigli and Bullinger the Lord's Supper has two points of reference: on the one hand, it is celebrated because Jesus had instituted it in remembrance of his death and passion. On the other

²⁴ 'cum voluerit post antiquum sacramentum legis in novum inducere, tempus illud cogeatur observare', *COR* fol. 297v.

²⁵ 'nocte qua traditus est', *CO* 49, 484.

²⁶ 'ut in nobis sanciatu mortis Christi beneficium' *CO* 49, 484.

hand, it constituted a reinterpretation of an already well-established Jewish tradition, namely the Passover.

The interpretation is similar with respect to the passage where Paul reports that Jesus 'took the bread in his hands and gave thanks'. Calvin only draws a general rule from this: it is important to thank God for everything we as human beings receive. Jesus is here a model for all humans. In contrast, Vermigli explicitly mentions the Hebrew tradition of the Passover. The way Christ acted that night was explicitly '*more Hebræorum*', as the marginal comment states. Vermigli follows here the footsteps of Bullinger rather than Calvin's.

This becomes much more obvious when Vermigli, with Bullinger, connects his interpretation of the Eucharist in the tradition of the Passover with a description of the '*testamentum*' as a '*fœdus*', a '*pactio*' in the form of a 'mutual obligation' consisting of God's promise and of men's faith and obedience. Interestingly, the whole terminology of Bullinger's covenant theology is present in Vermigli's exposition of 1 Cor 11:24.²⁷

Moreover, Vermigli mentions numerous Church Fathers in this connection. It is obvious that this approach is due at least in part to his education and the first period of his theological teaching in different places in Italy. Nonetheless, when we compare Vermigli's citations of the Church Fathers in his commentary on I Cor. 11 with Bullinger's commentary in 1537, we see a substantive overlapping: indeed a considerable number of the essential texts cited by both are in fact identical. Both Vermigli and Bullinger seem to be Augustine scholars to a high degree, while Chrysostom, Jerome, Cyprian, Tertullian and several other less famous are quoted besides. Vermigli's quotations are not as lengthy as Bullinger's, but they are more numerous. In contrast, Calvin's references to the Church Fathers are quite rare and brief. The most important witnesses from the Ancient Church Vermigli points to—e.g.

²⁷ 'Testamenti, seu fœderi hic mentio fit, quod per mortem et sanguinem Christi fuit initum. Ad quod adumbrandum in Exodo habemus victimarum sanguine populum fuisse aspersum, quando fuerunt cum deo confœderati... In omni autem fœdere sive pacto et aliquid ipsi promittimus, et aliquid vicissim requirimus. In eo quod habemus cum deo per Christum, et remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per mortem eius nobis promittitur; nos autem vicissim tenemus ista credere atque suscipere... quia cum per spiritum sanctum regeneramur... ut dei cooperatores appellemur', COR fol. 308v.

Cf. Heinrich Bullinger, *De testamento seu fœdere Dei unico et æterno... expositio* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1534), fols. 11v–16v. This treatise was added to Bullinger's *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii*.

Ambrosiaster, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine (e.g. *Ad Dardanum*, *De trinitate*, *Contra Faustum*, *In Ioannem*) and Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem*—are the same who had already occupied an important place in Zwingli's and Bullinger's arguments.²⁸

Not only does Vermigli mention the Church Fathers, important later figures of church history who stand for the abuse of the Eucharist are present as well. The Roman bishops Leo, Sergius, Pope Julius and Pope Innocent III are mentioned, for example.²⁹ Vermigli's commentary bears traces of a history of decline, an historiographical approach Bullinger employed in several places, for example in his *De origine erroris* from 1529 and 1539.³⁰ For Vermigli, as for both Bullinger and Zwingli, the Lord's Supper is in the first place a celebration of the Christian community which gives thanks to God.

From the outset, Vermigli underlines the Pauline reproach to the Corinthians, viz. that they do not really celebrate the Lord's Supper as a *common* celebration. Yet commonality is a necessary condition of a truly genuine Eucharist. As a consequence, Vermigli can apply the Pauline reproach to the Roman mass which excludes the laity from the cup, and claim moreover that for exactly this reason the mass cannot be regarded as a true sacrament. Vermigli does not focus specifically on the distribution of the elements, but considers all together the entire action of distributing, remembering, receiving, sharing, and giving thanks. The reception of the elements is not less important than their distribution: only by 'accepting' and 'eating' the bread, and only by sharing it with all participants, does the element *become* Christ's body.³¹ The Lord's Supper is preeminently an *act* of the Christian community which is faithful to God's order. And in the first instance it is a commemorative celebration which is in essence an act of thankful remembering

²⁸ See for example à Lasco, ed., *Absoluta de Christi... Sacramentis tractatio* (London: Stephanus Myerdmannus, 1551), in *Heinrich Bullinger Sermonum Decades quinque...*, passim. For Zwingli cf. for example Z III, 809, 810, passim.

²⁹ COR fols. 297r, 300r.

³⁰ Heinrich Bullinger, *De origine erroris in divorum ac simulachrorum cultu*, (Basle: Thomas Wolf, 1529); Heinrich Bullinger, *De origine erroris libri duo...* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1539).

³¹ 'Dicunt se habere cœnam dominicam et corpus Christi, cum tamen cibum et potum sacrum non distribuunt, ut Christus fieri iussit. Non debent ista disiungi, hoc est corpus meum, et accipite et edit. Intelliguntur coniunctim. Quando accipitis et editis, tum corpus Christi et sacramentum habetis. Ut unum impleri vultis, ita et alterum locum habeat oportet.', COR fol. 298.

what Christ has accomplished for us and without our aid.³² This is the approach Zwingli had initially formulated and which Bullinger had defended and developed.³³

As for Calvin, it is certainly the case that he tries to do justice to all of these aspects too. Calvin emphasizes much more the vertical dimension of the Eucharist as a gift from God and a seal of God's promise, and as such as a benefit to strengthen the faith of the individual believer. It is a common characteristic of the reformed tradition to point to the difference between *signum* and *res* in interpreting the Eucharist. Vermigli agrees with Bullinger and Calvin in doing so, and all three in this respect follow Zwingli's lead. Vermigli holds the opinion that only the Holy Spirit in his sovereign freedom makes of the elements efficacious instruments for the salvation of the believer by 'connecting' the *res* (Christ's heavenly body), the *signum* (the bread), and the believer. These three combined constitute the actuality of the sacrament.

Vermigli's starting point, however, is always the *difference* between God and his spirit on the one hand, and the Eucharistic elements as part of the creation on the other. It is from this indisputable evidence from which he moves to show how God can use the Eucharistic elements in order to manifest his spiritual truth. The clear distinction between creator and creation is always fundamental to this approach, and indeed this is the first thing to be said concerning Vermigli's hermeneutic as indeed it is for Zwingli's. Like Zwingli, Vermigli explains the connection of the *res* and the *signa* in the sacrament with the term '*analogia*'.³⁴ Like Zwingli, he explains the Eucharistic signs by referring to the rhetorical terms '*tropus*' and '*metonyma*'.³⁵ Also like Zwingli in his *Fidei ratio*, Vermigli uses the image of the sun to illustrate the physical absence of the body of Christ and at the same time the full presence of Christ's effects, benefits, and power in the sacrament.³⁶ Bullinger does the same in his commentary,³⁷ whereas Calvin does not. And exactly like Zwingli in his *Fidei ratio*, Vermigli then goes on to challenge the metaphysical objection that God can do everything, even to the point of becoming a human body in the sacrament and being everywhere (*ubique*) by his

³² COR fol. 303r.

³³ See Bullinger *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii*, 204f.

³⁴ COR fol. 299r; cp. Zwingli, *Fidei expositio*, Z VI/V, 157f.

³⁵ COR fol. 299r; cp. Zwingli, *Fidei expositio*, Z VI/V, 161.

³⁶ COR fol. 302r; cp. Zwingli, *Fidei ratio*, Z VI/II, 807.

³⁷ Bullinger, *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii*, 207.

insistence that the decisive point is not what God *could* do, but what he *has decided* to do as declared in the scriptures.

We can find the words '*metonymia*', '*symbolum*' and '*signum*' in Calvin's exegesis as well.³⁸ Yet his emphasis is somewhat different. During his time in Strasbourg, Calvin did not change his refusal of a Lutheran 'local' presence of the body of Christ in the Eucharist. Nevertheless he increasingly stressed that Christ *himself*, and not only the *effects* of Christ's work, is present in the Eucharist. This interpretation of the Eucharist becomes a fundamental to the approach taken in the *Consensus Tigurinus*. Calvin feared that a 'Zwinglian' understanding of the sacrament as a mere 'memory' of Christ's deeds on our behalf leaves nothing but 'empty signs' in the Lord's Supper. Indeed, Zwingli preferred expressions like *fruits*, *effects* and *goods* of Christ's work which become present in the Eucharist to expressions preferred by Calvin which speak of a 'personal' presence of Christ.

Calvin refers to this view in his commentary on I Cor. 11:24. As he states there, 'memorial' is an acceptable, but not completely satisfying way of speaking of the Eucharist.³⁹ In Calvin's opinion, it is not enough to believe what *Christ did for us*; instead we must be 'so to speak be in one substance' with Christ *himself*.⁴⁰ As an illustration that the elements are not mere 'empty signs', Calvin points to Matthew 3:16 where the Spirit of God is described as descending like a dove. It is the spirit who arrives from above, but we can see only a dove.

The dove is called spirit because it is a sure sign of the invisible *presence* of the Spirit. Therefore the bread is the body of Christ because we are assured that the same body which is symbolized is also *offered* to us.⁴¹

³⁸ See e.g. CO 49, 455, 486, 487.

³⁹ 'Quidam nobis dari exponent, dum participes efficimur omnium bonorum quæ nobis Christus in corpore suo adquisivit: dum fide, inquam, amplectimur Christum pro nobis crucifixum et a mortuis excitatum: eoque modo efficaciter omnibus eius bonis communicamus. Qui sic sentient, fruantur sane illo sensu.' CO 49, 487.

⁴⁰ 'Ego autem tunc nos demum participare Christi bonis agnosco, postquam Christum ipsum obtinemus. Obtineri autem dico, non tantum quum pro nobis factum fuisse victimam credimus: sed dum in nobis habitat, dum est unum nobiscum, dum eius sumus membra ex carne eius, dum in unam denique et vitam et substantiam (ut ita loquar) cum ipso coalescimus.' CO 49, 487.

⁴¹ 'Columba autem Spiritus vocatur, quia certa sit tessera invisibilis Spiritus *præsentiae*. Ergo panis est Christi corpus: quia certo testetur exhiberi nobis corpus illud quod figurat.' CO 49, 486.

Vermigli, however, does not refer to Matthew 3 in explaining why the sacramental signs are not merely 'empty signs'. He contents himself with illustrations of figural language in the Bible already used by Zwingli and Bullinger: 'Christ is our Passover', 'the lamb is our victory', 'the rock was Christ'. The temporal connection between eating the bread and being nourished by the spirit is much looser. Thus Vermigli: 'Therefore *it is certain to the same degree* that our souls are nourished by the body and the blood of Christ as it is certain for our senses that we eat bread and drink wine.'⁴² Like Zwingli and Bullinger before him, Vermigli is much more careful to avoid the misunderstanding of the elements as 'means of transport' for the spirit than Calvin is. In Vermigli's view, there is a parallel between Christ's redeeming work and the celebration of the church as community, but the two levels must be clearly distinguished.

In addition, Vermigli likes to speak of the 'benefits' of Christ which are present in the Lord's Supper, and his terminology is often quite close to Zwingli's here.⁴³ He describes the presence of Christ⁴⁴ in the Eucharist with the expression '*frui mente atque intelligentia per fidem spiritualiter*'.⁴⁵ This is certainly not far from Zwingli's constant expression of '*fidei contemplatio*'.⁴⁶ Bullinger explicitly uses Zwingli's expression in his commentary on I Cor. 11 in 1537. He also quotes from Zwingli's *Fidei ratio* as well as from his *Fidei expositio*, and interprets it the way Vermigli does a decade later.⁴⁷

In line with Zwingli and Bullinger, but contrary to Calvin, Vermigli describes the process in which the 'communion' between a believer and Christ comes about as a 'bipolar' process: the word of God and the institution of the signs come from one side. But in order to profit from them, a move from the human side is necessary as well, namely the '*contemplatio fidei*'. This is by no means a possible action of the

⁴² 'ideo tam certum est nos animo atque spiritu vesci corpore et sanguine Christi, quam sensu patet nos panem et vinum edere.' COR fol. 299r. (emphasis added).

⁴³ 'In cœna domini non solum memoria Christi quoad eius mortem refricatur, sed omnia beneficia quæ inde sequuta sunt, et quæ illam præcesserunt, repeti debent.' COR fol. 303r.

⁴⁴ Marginal: 'De præsentia Christi in cœna', COR fol. 305v.

⁴⁵ COR fol. 305v.

⁴⁶ E.g. *De convitiis Eckii*, Z VI/III, 265,1ff; 281,4; *Fidei ratio*, Z VI/II, 806.

⁴⁷ Bullinger, *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii*, p. 209. Zwingli's *Fidei expositio* and *De conv. Eckii* are also mentioned in à Lasco, ed., *Absoluta de Christi... Sacramentis tractatio*, in *Heinrich Bullinger Sermonum Decades quinque...*, 939f.

'natural' human mind, because it is God's spirit alone which can create faith. It is nevertheless an activity of the human mind and will. The faculties of memory, knowledge, and will of the believer are taken into account, in a manner parallel to Vermigli's and Bullinger's description of the Eucharist as a celebration of the Christian community.

Calvin's emphasis is slightly different. When he describes the elements as 'visible signs' and the dwelling of Christ himself in the heart of the believer, he rather tends to describe a double act of God in which the human is merely passive, as distinct from a 'bipolar' process which involves God and a human will within the circle of the spirit. As a consequence of Calvin's emphasis on the 'personal' communion with Christ, he uses the term '*substantia*'. In the Lord's Supper we are in communion with Christ's real 'substance', Calvin writes in the *Institutio* of 1543.⁴⁸ Calvin redefines this term in comparison with Luther, but he retains it in the *Institutio* of 1559.

In Vermigli's description of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the technical term '*substantia*' is not relevant. His emphasis of the difference between *res* and *signum*, between spiritual and physical, seems to be too strong, and too close to the Zurich theology. On the other hand, his interpretation of the Sacraments as 'visible words',⁴⁹ a formula borrowed from Augustine, can be found also in Bullinger's Commentary on I Cor. 11 as well as in his treatise published by à Lasco.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

On 2 March 1549, after hearing Vermigli's lecture on I Cor. 11 one of his students wrote to Bullinger:

Martyr has openly declared to us all on this very day on which I write this letter, what was his opinion upon this subject and he seemed to all of us not to depart even a nail's breath from that entertained by yourself. Nay more, he has defended that most worthy man, Zwingli, by the testimony of your opinion, and taken part with him against his adversaries.⁵¹

⁴⁸ 'participes substantiæ eius facti', CO 1, 1003 (*Inst.* IV.17.11).

⁴⁹ McLelland, *Visible Words*, 133; see COR fol. 309v.

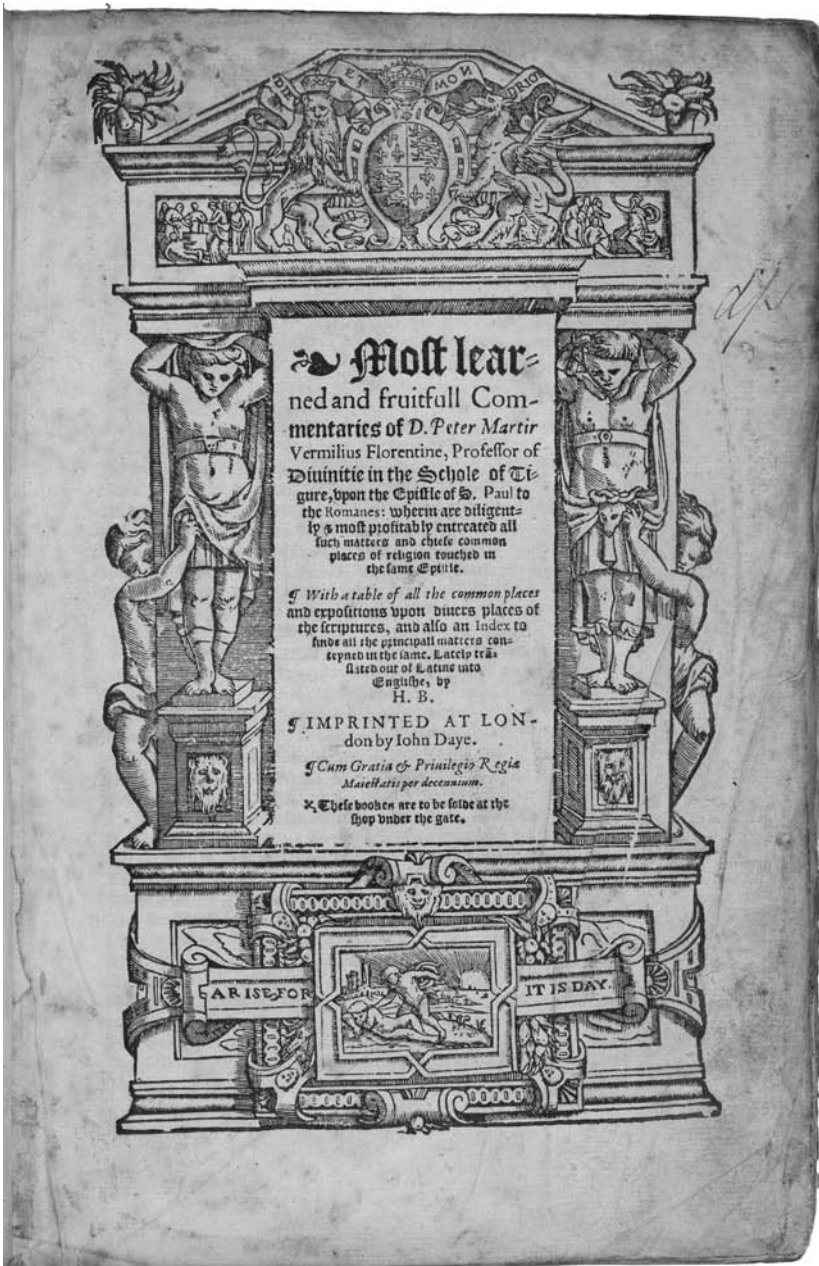
⁵⁰ Cf.: 'tamqua, visibile verbum', Bullinger, *In omnes apostolicas epistolas... commentarii*, p. 205; 'S. Augustinus eadem appellavit verba visibilia', à Lasco, ed., *Absoluta de Christi... Sacramentis tractatio* (London, 1551), in *Heinrich Bullinger Sermonum Decades quinque...*, 935.

⁵¹ OL 1.388, quoted by Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti*, 68.

As there is no reason to assume a fundamental change in Vermigli's understanding of the Eucharist after having left Strasbourg, McLelland seems to be right: 'Bucer had some cause to suspect Martyr's liking for the Zurich doctrine'.⁵²

So, should we replace Strasbourg by a more important place when it comes to the question of the genuine sources of Vermigli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper? This is not what I would suggest. It is necessary to place Vermigli in the Swiss and Upper German reformation movement. This was a complex phenomenon, a net of communication which encompassed much more than Strasbourg and Geneva, geographically, temporally, and theologically. It is a common mistake to generalize differences which occurred at some points during the sacramental struggle with the Lutherans to fundamental theological differences among this Swiss and Upper German reformation. While the textual grounds presented here are too small to build a completely convincing argument, and a comparison with Oecolampadius certainly would add a further important angle, there are nonetheless clear signs which point to the late Zwingli and Bullinger as the principal points if not the sole points of reference for Vermigli's Eucharistic theology.

⁵² McLelland, *Visible Words*, 278.



5 [In librum Iudicum commentarii doctissimi.]

Most fruitfull [and] learned co[m]mentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil
Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Vniuersitye of Tygure: with a very profit-
able tract of the matter and places... Set forth & allowed, accordyng to thorder
appointed in the Quenes maiesties iniunctions. London: John Day, 1564.

CHAPTER TWENTY

POLITICAL THEOLOGY: THE GODLY PRINCE

Torrance Kirby

Professor Robert Kingdon has provided us with an excellent *prolegomenon* to the study of Peter Martyr Vermigli's political thought in his introduction to a selection of *scholia* drawn from his biblical commentaries.¹ Kingdon makes a strong case on several grounds to justify further critical study of Vermigli's political writings. First, the proportion of his *œuvre* devoted to political concerns is substantial. Consequently, if one is seriously to address Vermigli's thought as a whole, one simply cannot neglect his extensive writings on such topics as the authority of princes and magistrates, civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, exile and banishment, treason, sedition, tyranny, rebellion, and war. An easily accessible gauge of the relative importance of these writings is the sheer length of the fourth part of the *Loci Communes* 'wherein is intreated of the outward meanes which God useth for the salvation of his people, and preservation of mans societie.'² Vermigli devotes several times as much space to the treatment of these and related questions as compared with the equivalent sections in the final versions of Calvin's *Institutes* (1559) or Philipp Melancthon's *Common Places* (1559).³ By far his most influential publication in England, Vermigli's *Loci* were compiled posthumously by his editor Robert Masson, minister of the French congregation in London, and went through fourteen editions between 1576 and 1656. An English translation by Anthony Marten, 'Sewer of the Chamber' to Queen Elizabeth,⁴ took Masson's edition as its base with a minor rearrangement of the topics, and included a large

¹ Robert M. Kingdon, *The Political Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1980), i–xxiii.

² *Loci Communes*, ed. Robert Masson (London: John Kingston, 1576). See Joseph C. McLelland's 'A Literary History of the *Loci Communes*', chapter 25 below.

³ Kingdon, *Political Thought of Peter Martyr*, iii.

⁴ The Sewer or 'scutellarius' was responsible for keeping the utensils and setting the royal table. Marten was appointed before 1560 and retired some time after 1590. He latterly had the privilege of appointing a vicar to perform his duties which no doubt allowed him the necessary leisure for the task of translating.

appendix of letters and *opuscula*. Many of the letters were Vermigli's correspondence with such returned Marian exiles as Thomas Sampson, his close confidant John Jewel, and Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford. The treatise adheres explicitly to an order and arrangement closely analogous to that of Calvin's *Institute of the Christian Religion*.⁵ Vermigli's heavier weighting of selected *topoi* in favour of matters political is arguably attributable to a shift in theological focus at the time of editing, however, and therefore not necessarily representative of Vermigli's theological emphasis. After all, the first edition of the *Loci Communes* appeared less than four years following the watershed event of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572.⁶ Consequently, the selection of *topoi* might well reflect the more pressing political concerns of Protestants in the early 1570s (and of Vermigli's Huguenot editor then living in London in exile) rather than the reformer's own theological agenda. On closer examination of his biblical commentaries themselves, however—especially those on the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings—the relative emphasis on political questions in Masson's edition of the *Loci Communes* actually reflects very accurately Vermigli's sustained scholarly interest in political questions.

There are several possible explanations for this preoccupation with political concerns. As all of his biographers from Simler on point out, Vermigli's career was shaped to a considerable degree by his repeated exposure to political forms of religious persecution.⁷ The experience of fleeing Lucca in 1542 under pressure from the papal curia, and of having to move repeatedly from one academic appointment to another throughout the remainder of his career owing to differences with the host establishments in Strasbourg and England, doubtless raised acute questions for Vermigli concerning the relation between religion and political power.⁸

⁵ Robert le Maçon, Sieur de la Fontaine, was formerly minister in Orléans. See McLelland's 'Literary History of the *Loci Communes*,' 489 below.

⁶ Robert M. Kingdon, *Myths about the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres, 1572–1576* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁷ Josiah Simler, *An Oration of the life and death of that worthie man and excellent Divuine d. Peter Martyr Vermillius, professor of Diuinitie in the Schoole of Zuricke, in Another Collection of certeine Diuine matters and doctrines of the same M.D. Peter Martyr*, translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten (London: John Day, 1583). See also the recent excellent biography of Vermigli by Mark Taplin in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

⁸ Vermigli was compelled to leave his first appointment in Strasbourg in 1547 owing to fallout of the Imperial defeat of the Schmalkaldic League. Charles V sought

In many respects, the content and general formulation of Vermigli's political ideas is not notably original. Unlike other leading representatives of the Reformed tradition formed largely by urban and republican circumstances (as were Zwingli and Bullinger in Zurich, for example, or Calvin and Beza in Geneva), his writing shows that Vermigli owed much to his academic, ecclesiastical, and political experience of the monarchical institutions of England. This influence came, moreover, at a decisive turning point in his career as a theologian and biblical scholar—i.e. immediately preceding the period of his most intensive writing on political matters, which was to occupy him almost entirely from the time of his flight from England in 1553 until his death ten years later in Zurich. Kingdon points out that 'Vermigli's political thought was in many subtle ways more appropriate to the needs of a principality, to a monarchical government seeking to control a somewhat larger religious establishment...'.⁹ Consequently in his lectures in the free Imperial city of Strasbourg and in the republic of Canton Zurich, Vermigli's close attention to political themes acquires added significance. This is especially the case for their subsequent influence on political theology in England. The large proportion of his political writings to the corpus as a whole, his sustained critique of papal claims to jurisdiction (and related questions concerning the right relation between religious and political power), and his decisive emphasis upon monarchical constitutional structures all testify to Vermigli's substantial contribution to later-sixteenth century English political theology.

The political *scholia* scattered throughout Vermigli's biblical commentaries include expositions of passages in the Epistles to the Corinthians and the Romans, and especially of Romans 13, the *locus classicus* for Christian political theory going back to the early Church Fathers.¹⁰ Vermigli's lectures on Romans belong to his Oxford period (1547–1553),

to impose a Catholic regime throughout the empire, and so Vermigli gladly accepted Thomas Cranmer's invitation to take up an appointment at Oxford. Similarly, the demise of Edward VI compelled Vermigli to flee again to the continent and return to Strasbourg in 1553. Owing to differences with the newly re-entrenched Lutheran establishment there, he finally found his way to Zurich in 1556 where he remained until his death in 1562.

⁹ Kingdon, *Political Thought*, iv.

¹⁰ See the *scholium* on 1 Cor. 6 'Whether it be lawful for a Christian to go to law,' CP IV.16 and 'Of Nobilitie,' on Rom. 9:4, CP IV.20. See also my translation of a portion of his Romans commentary: 'The Civil Magistrate: Peter Martyr Vermigli's Commentary on Romans 13' in J.P. Donnelly, Frank James III, and J.C. McLelland, eds., *The Peter Martyr Reader* (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999), 221–237.

and were published in Basle in 1558, five years after his ejection from the Regius Chair.¹¹ An English translation by 'H. B.', most likely Sir Henry Billingsley—a classicist perhaps best known for his translation of Euclid's *Elements* of 1570—appeared ten years later 'cum gratia & priuilegio regia' with a dedication to Sir Anthony Cooke, the evangelical humanist scholar who attended Vermigli's lectures in Strasbourg as a Marian exile.¹² By far the largest proportion of the political *scholia*, however, derives from Vermigli's extensive Old Testament commentaries, specifically on the history of ancient Israel in the Books of Judges,¹³ Samuel, and Kings.¹⁴ As with his other major exegetical works, all three commentaries were based on lecture series: the lectures on Judges were given at the College of St. Thomas in Strasbourg during Vermigli's second period there (1553–1556) following his expulsion from England, while his lectures on Samuel and Kings were delivered at Zurich (1556–1562). Thus, three major Old Testament commentaries occupied Vermigli's scholarly attention for much of the final decade of his life. Of the three, the Judges Commentary weighs in most heavily with political concerns. It too went through several Latin editions and appeared in an anonymous English translation in 1564.¹⁵ There is a lengthy summary of

¹¹ *In Epistolam S. Pauli Apostoli ad Romanos... Commentarii* (Basle: P. Perna, 1558; repr. 1568), and republished by A. Gesner in Zurich, 1559 with two further editions by J. Lancelot in Heidelberg, 1612 and 1613. The commentary was published in English translation a decade later in 1568. *Most learned and fruitfull commentaries of D. Peter Martir Vermilius Florentine, professor of diuinitie in the schole of Tygure, vpon the Epistle of S. Paul to the Romanes wherein are diligently [and] most profitably entreated all such matters and chiefe common places of religion touched in the same Epistle* (London: John Day, 1568).

¹² See BL Add. MS 29, 549, fols. 16–17, dated 15 October 1558. OL I: 139–140; ZL II:13–14. See Anita McConnell, 'Billingsley, Sir Henry (d. 1606),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2392>, accessed 31 Aug 2007].

¹³ Initially a select portion of the Judges Commentary on the right of resistance to tyrants was first published in Strasbourg under the title *A Treatise of the cohabitacyon of the faithful with the unfaithfull* (Strasbourg: W. Rihel, 1555). The complete commentary was prepared by Vermigli himself for publication in Zurich: *In librum Iudicum D. Petri Martyris Vermilij Florentini... commentarij doctissimi* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1561; repr. 1565, 1571, 1582; republished Heidelberg: J. Lancelot, 1609).

¹⁴ *In Duos Libros Samuelis Prophetarum... Commentarii* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1564; repr. 1567, 1575; and by J. Wolf, 1595); *Melachim id est, Regum libri duo posteriores cum Commentariis* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1566; repr. 1571, 1581; Heidelberg: Andreas Cambier, 1599).

¹⁵ *Most fruitfull & learned cōmentaries of Doctor Peter Martir Vermil Florentine, professor of deuinitie, in the Uniuersitye of Tygure, with a very profitable tract of the matter and places* (London: John Day, [1564]) [hereafter *CJ*]. This edition has prefatory letters by the publisher, John Day, addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester

the argument of this commentary by Francis, Second Earl of Bedford in a commonplace book in the family archive at Woburn Abbey.¹⁶ This was the same 'Prince in England' who not long after Elizabeth's accession, was instrumental in persuading the young Queen to invite Vermigli to return to his post as Regius Professor at Oxford—a generous offer very politely declined.¹⁷ Vermigli's preoccupation with the concrete ethical, political, and historical concerns of ancient Israel in this final, mature phase of his growth as an exegete of the Hebrew Scriptures is surely significant, especially for his preoccupation with questions related to kingship. Of particular interest is the fact that Vermigli delivered lectures on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* in Strasbourg at the same time that he embarked on his great exegetical odyssey into the history of the emerging kingdom of ancient Israel.¹⁸ Was there any intrinsic connection, then, between his study of Aristotle's practical philosophy and his exegesis of the political history of Israel?

There is no question that Vermigli's obviously thorough training in Aristotelian logic and methodology while studying at the University of Padua between 1519 and the mid-1520s influenced him throughout his career.¹⁹ From the late fourteenth century, Padua had been renowned for its strength in the areas of philosophy and law, and in the traditions of Aristotelianism and the canon law in particular.²⁰ Marsilius of Padua, Nicholas of Cusa, Nicolaus Copernicus, Pietro Pompanazzi, and Sir Francis Walsingham were just a few of the distinguished alumni.²¹ While

and by Vermigli to the 'scholarchs' of the Academy at Strasbourg where he delivered the lectures.

¹⁶ 'The Comentary of Master Peter Martyr upon the Booke of Judges', *Commonplace Book of Francis, second Earl of Bedford*, Bedford Estate Archive, HMC 10, fols. 20. There are also marginal notes on this text in the hand of Francis the fourth Earl (d. 1641).

¹⁷ See CP (1583), Part IV 'Divine Epistles', 127–128; ZL II.57. See also G.C. Goreham, *Gleanings of a few scattered ears during the period of the Reformation in England, and of the times immediately succeeding: A.D. 1533 to A.D. 1588* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 420–422.

¹⁸ *In Primum, Secundum, et Initium Tertii Libri Ethicorum Aristotelii ad Nichomachum* (Zurich: C. Froschauer, 1563). See also the recent annotated English translation by Joseph McLelland and Emidio Campi, eds., *Commentary on Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics*, Peter Martyr Library, vol. 9 (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2006).

¹⁹ Vermigli received his doctorate from Padua in 1526. See Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy: an anatomy of apostasy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 116–117.

²⁰ See Jonathan Woolfson, *Padua and the Tudors: English students in Italy, 1485–1603* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

²¹ Lucia Rossetti, *The University of Padua: an outline of its history* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint, 1983).

a student at Padua, Vermigli had contact with the humanist circle of Pietro Bembo. There he made the acquaintance of Reginald Pole who, thirty years later as a prince of the Church and at the apogee of both their careers, was to become Vermigli's nemesis in England following the accession of Queen Mary.²² In Padua Vermigli probably acquired the rudiments of the very distinctive hermeneutical method prominent throughout much of his biblical commentary, namely an etymological approach to interpretation based on the humanistic method of the *trilinguū* combined with scholastic syllogistic argumentation and employing the Aristotelian formulation of definitions based on the classification of the four causes—formal, efficient, material, and final cause.²³ This blending of humanism and scholasticism, combined with a powerful command of Hebrew is the hallmark of his distinctive hermeneutics (equalled in sophistication perhaps only by Richard Hooker in the next generation).

Let us look at this method in action on a question at the heart of sixteenth-century political theology, namely the religious authority of princes and magistrates. This is one subject where Vermigli's judgement played a defining role in both England and Zurich. While Vermigli was composing his lectures on the Book of Judges he had before him one of the most famous and influential of all definitions of the task of political science in the opening chapter of the *Nicomachean Ethics*:

If, then, there is some end of the things we do, which we desire for its own sake (everything else being desired for the sake of this), and if we do not choose everything for the sake of something else (for at that rate the process would go on to infinity, so that our desire would be empty and vain), clearly this must be the good and the chief good. Will not the knowledge of it, then, have a great influence on life? Shall we not, like archers who have a mark to aim at, be more likely to hit upon what is right? If so, we must try, in outline at least, to determine what it is, and of which of the sciences or capacities it is the object. It would seem to belong to the most authoritative art and that which is most truly the master [architectonic] art. And politics appears to be of this nature...²⁴

²² On Vermigli's early career in Italy see McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*.

²³ See, e.g., his definition of the 'Magistrate' in the *Romans Commentary*. *ROM* fol. 640. For Aristotle's teaching concerning the 'four causes' see *Physics* 2.1 (192b8–193b22) and *Metaphysics* 5.2 (1013a24–1013b28).

²⁴ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, translated by Sir W.D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), Bk.1, cap. 2. The passage continues... 'since politics uses the rest of the sciences, and since, again, it legislates as to what we are to do and what we are to abstain

Aristotle's claim that politics as an architectonic art 'uses the rest of the [practical] sciences' as instruments in order to achieve its 'end' (that is, something to be desired 'for its own sake') provides a useful point of reference for interpreting Vermigli's notable preoccupation with matters ethical, political, and historical at the most mature phase of his exegetical career. Arguably biblical hermeneutics for Vermigli find some sort of completion, fulfilment, actuality—ἐντελεχεία, as Aristotle put it—in his interpretation of the history of Ancient Israel and thus in the exposition of the organisation of practical, social life with the end in view both to know and to achieve the good, analogous to Aristotle's science of politics. In his commentary on the *Ethics* Vermigli observes that 'in philosophy action [πρακτικόν] precedes contemplation [θεωρητικόν] because, as it is said, we can contemplate neither God nor nature by human powers unless our emotions are first at rest, while in Scripture speculation comes first, since we must first believe and be justified through faith. Afterwards, good works follow, which occur more abundantly the more frequently we are renewed by the Holy Spirit.'²⁵ In this regard, Aristotle's approach to the practical is very much at odds with the principles revealed in Scripture. It is important to recognize nonetheless that Vermigli's careful attention to the question of the order of *theoria* and *praxis* lies at the heart of his distinctively 'reformed' variety of scholasticism, and that the general nature of the question is such that Aristotle may be of some positive assistance in the exegetical enterprise. Vermigli interprets the revealed theology of Scripture as an inversion of the received order of action and contemplation classically formulated in the natural theology of the Aristotelian metaphysics; yet both ancient practical philosophy and the revelation of the history of God's ancient elect people present the concreteness of social and ethical life in some fashion synthetic of knowledge and action. This, at least, is the comparison that I would

from, the end of this science must include those of the others, so that this end must be the good for man. For even if the end is the same for a single man and for a state, that of the state seems at all events something greater and more complete whether to attain or to preserve; though it is worth while to attain the end merely for one man, it is finer and more godlike to attain it for a nation or for city-states.'

²⁵ Moreover, in his treatment of the topic '*De Naturale Cognitione Dei*' in his *Commentary on Romans* (1:18), Vermigli observes that 'the truth we have by faith is stronger for proceeding to action than the truth perceived by nature.' See LC I.2.

like to pursue in addressing the question of Vermigli's preoccupation with the political history of Israel in his exegetical prime.

McNair and Donnelly, among others, have observed that Vermigli was under the influence of certain aspects of Thomist scholasticism. Indeed, some have suggested that this influence was considerably greater in his case than with almost any of his Reformed contemporaries.²⁶ While it would be fallacious to point to the posthumous construction of the *Loci Communes* as evidence of Vermigli's scholastic bent, he nonetheless employs scholastic sources and logical methods with great frequency.²⁷ Alexandre Ganoczy's examination of the extant portion of Vermigli's personal library now housed at the Genevan Academy has shown that the reformer was familiar with Roman law, perhaps not all that surprising in an epigone of the *Studio* at Padua.²⁸ Kingdon has gone further still in accounting for Vermigli's broad acquaintance with the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, cited directly in several of his political *scholia*, and frequently used by him as a somewhat less than reliable source of his references to the early Church Fathers.²⁹ Yet, aside from such accidental considerations of sources and methodology, a certain substantively scholastic tendency on Vermigli's part may be detected in the broad implication of his late exegetical endeavours, namely that theology be understood as 'practical science'. Thomas Aquinas argues at the outset of the *Summa Theologiæ* that the science of *sacra doctrina* is simultaneously speculative and practical; it is concerned with both knowing and doing.³⁰ This Thomistic view that the science of theology embraces theoretical and practical aspects within a single perspective

²⁶ See Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy*, chapter 4. John P. Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's doctrine of man and grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976). See also Frank James, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: At the Crossroads of Late-Medieval Scholasticism, Christian Humanism and Resurgent Augustinianism,' in *Protestant Scholasticism: Essays In Reassessment*, ed. Carl R. Trueman and R. Scott Clark (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 62–78.

²⁷ See McLelland, *Literary History*, 8–10.

²⁸ Alexandre Ganoczy, *La Bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 273. Copies of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the *Codex* and *Digests* all contain marginal annotations in Vermigli's hand. See Kingdon, viii.

²⁹ See Kingdon, *Political Thought*, ix, where he observes that Vermigli employs glosses prepared by anonymous Parisian juriconsults that appear in sixteenth-century editions of the *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, but not in the modern editions.

³⁰ *Summa Theologiae*, 1a, q. 1, art. 4, *Obj. 1*: It seems that sacred doctrine is a practical science; for a practical science is that which ends in action according to the Philosopher (Metaph. ii). But sacred doctrine is ordained to action: 'Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only' (James 1:22).

can be discerned in Vermigli's theological approach to the phenomena of 'human acts', viz. government, constitutionality, and history in his exegesis of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. As with Aquinas's sacred science, Vermigli's exegesis is concerned simultaneously with both the practical and the theoretical, that is to say, with knowledge of right action, and even more importantly with right knowledge of God as the foundation of right action.

One helpful example of Vermigli's close association of the knowledge of God with political action may be found in his Commentary on Judges 8 where he devotes a *scholium* of moderate length (at least by his standard) to Israel's disregard for divine law in seeking Gideon to rule over them as their king.³¹ 'Then the men of Israel sayd unto Gideon: Reigne thou over us, both thou and thy sonne and thy sonnes sonne, bycause thou hast delivered us out of the hand of Madian [sic]. And Gideon aunswered them: I will not raygne over you, neither shall my child reigne over you, the Lord shal raigne over you.'³² The kingdom of Israel is not the Israelites' to give. In Vermigli's view, Gideon's refusal of the kingdom is based on his better discernment of the law. Unlike the men of Israel, Gideon recalls Deuteronomy (17:15): 'it is written, that he should be a king whom god has chosen.' According to the exegesis, the question is whether the law of God or the law of men will rule, and thus whether the divine sovereignty is duly recognized. Unlike the nations, it was the case with the tribe of Israel that 'the right to appointe a king, belonged to god, and not unto men.'³³ From this

Obj. 2 Further, sacred doctrine is divided into the Old and the New Law. But law implies a moral science which is a practical science. Therefore sacred doctrine is a practical science.

Respondeo. Sacred doctrine, being one, extends to things which belong to different philosophical sciences because it considers in each the same formal aspect, namely, so far as they can be known through divine revelation. Hence, although among the philosophical sciences one is speculative and another practical, nevertheless sacred doctrine includes both; as God, by one and the same science, knows both Himself and His works. Still, it is speculative rather than practical because it is more concerned with divine things than with human acts; though it does treat even of these latter, inasmuch as man is ordained by them to the perfect knowledge of God in which consists eternal bliss. This is a sufficient answer to the Objections.

³¹ *CJ* fols. 147 r°–150r°.

³² Judges 8:22, 23. *CJ* fol. 147 r°.

³³ *CJ* fol. 147 r°. On this passage, Francis Russell reveals a degree of discomfort with the argument that 'the estate of the hebrews was far better under the judges than under the kings.' He remarks further that 'the people was never led away captive under the Judges although they were often times oppressed by outward tyrants, for their wickedness...there were very few good and godly kinges, but almost all

starting-point of matter-of-fact exposition Vermigli proceeds to open wide the hermeneutical gates. Assuming the traditional hermeneutical view that the Old and New Testaments convey a common, continuous, and coherent teaching, Vermigli compares Gideon's refusal of the kingdom to Christ's rejection of the crowd's offer in the Gospel of John. 'When Jesus therefore perceived that they would come and take him by force, to make him a king, he departed again into a mountain himself alone (Jn 6:15).' Like Gideon, Christ 'wayghed the maner of his vocation, and for that his kingdome was not of this worlde.'³⁴ By their refusal both Gideon and Christ sought to preserve a clear distinction between the human and divine sources of right. In this respect, at least, Gideon is portrayed by Vermigli as a 'type' of Christ. Vermigli moves swiftly to the substance of the *scholium* with his introduction of the institution of the Papacy as a corresponding 'anti-type':

Gideon refuseth not the principality, as though he would not labour in the publike wealth: but because he understode that it was no lawful vocation: which the Popes also ought to regard... The Pope ought also to loke upon the words of Christ: Kinges of the nations (sayth the Lord) bear rule over theyr subjectes: but ye shal not do so... This is to govern the church, not to command, but to serve.³⁵

Unlike Gideon and Christ, the Bishops of Rome have come to confuse human right with divine right, the kingdom of this world with the heavenly kingdom, earthly authority with spiritual authority.

The *scholium* on Judges 8 provides Vermigli with an opportunity to address the nature of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and to explore the sticky question of its relation to civil governance. Underlying these political and ecclesiological concerns, Vermigli's interpretation never moves far from the question of the right knowledge of God. Failure to recognize the rightful source of ecclesiastical power in the divine gift rather than in human tradition, precedence, and ambition, where 'there is no regarde had to the graces and giftes of God, but onely to the place and seate... This undoubtedly was the fountayne, of[s]pring,

the Judges were good and godly. Yet the kinges are not condemned at any time by any testimony or iudgment of the Scripture as far as I can tell...' See Bedford Estate Archive, HMC 10, fol. 2.

³⁴ *CJ* fol. 147 r^o.

³⁵ *CJ* fol. 148 r^o; Kingdon, 19.

and beginning of al evils and superstitions.³⁶ This is a radical claim on Vermigli's part. It is not simply doctrinal error—e.g., concerning Christology or the Trinity, or soteriological distinctions regarding the priority of forensic justification to sanctification—that leads to the corruption of religion, although some of these primary doctrines are deeply implicated in the ecclesiological issues. The converse is *also* the case. The practical organisation of the Church, the constitutional arrangements of power within and beyond it in relation to the commonwealth, are here understood as a complex source promoting and compounding the corruption of both doctrine and practice. The political and the theological—'τὸ πρακτικόν' and 'τὸ θεωρητικόν'—are bound closely together. Institutional corruption breeds faulty theological discernment and *vice versa* in a vicious cycle of ever increasing confusion.

In the course of his argument, Vermigli takes issue with the received interpretation of ecclesiastical history by the Canon lawyers. In particular, he cites the *Epistles* of Gregory the Great as evidence that the early Christian bishops were in fact, like Gideon, benefactors of their community who rightly distinguished between the divine and human sources of power. Their exhibition of holiness, their constancy of faith, fervent charity, and willingness to embrace martyrdom, all contributed to cultivating the common weal. Having eventually delivered the Church from Roman persecution, just as Gideon had done for Israel out of the hand of Midian, 'supreame power and kingdome in the church was in a manner offred... which they like Gideon refused with a greate spirite and singular modesty.'³⁷ Gregory deplored the pretension of John of Constantinople to the title of 'universall Patriarch', and he maintained that such a title impinged upon the dignity of the Emperor.³⁸ Vermigli is not persuaded, however, by Gregory's claim it was this John 'who did first usurpe unto himself the title of universality.'³⁹ The reformer

³⁶ *CJ* fol. 148 v^o; Kingdon, 19.

³⁷ *CJ* fol. 148 r^o; Kingdon, 16.

³⁸ 'But oure men now a dayes thinke it necessaraye that Cesar should be subject to him: yea they have often times resisted emperors, many times wearied them, and sometimes moved them out of theyr place. And yet Gregory theyr father detesteth and inveigheth against it...' Gregory the Great, 'Letter to Constantinus Augustus,' *Epistles* lib. V, ind. xii, no. 21; *PL* 77.749.

³⁹ Vermigli also points out that the emperor Justinian attributed the title of 'universality' to diverse patriarchs. He quotes from the fourth portion of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, viz. *Novellæ constitutiones*, authenticum collatio 1, Tit. 3, Novell. 3 and 5. When Justinian issued new laws they were added to the *Corpus* under a fourth division, the

cites one of his favourite authorities, Theodoret, who refers to Nestorius by the name of 'universall patriarke.'⁴⁰ Gregory's objection was that 'if the universal head be so ordeyned of men, by the ruine and corruption of such a head, the church also shall perishe together.'⁴¹ John of Constantinople's assertion of his universal episcopal jurisdiction was also an affront to the imperial dignity. This Gregory 'counted for an absurdity... a thinge unjust and not to be suffred... the same belongeth unto Antechrist' in a letter to Constantinus Augustus.⁴² In this respect Vermigli's approach to the imperial office is thoroughly consistent with the standard contemporary Tudor apologies for the Royal Supremacy.⁴³ In a formulation that would sit well both in England and Zurich, Vermigli argues that 'Kinges and magistrates when they are godlye, in my judgemente oughte to have the chiefe place in the church: and to them it pertaineth, if religion be il administred, to correcte the defaultes. For therefore they beare the sword to maintayne Gods honor.'⁴⁴ While the Council of Chalcedon acknowledged the pre-eminence of Rome, again by Gregory's account, no man used the title 'because our elders being men most holy, saw it was not meete for any mortal man. Onely Christ is universal hed of the Church.'⁴⁵

The thrust of Vermigli's argument is to drive a wedge between the pristine practice of the early Church and the later corruption of the papacy, and furthermore to identify the ecclesiology of Reform with the former, combined with a spirited defence of Royal Supremacy. The papal claim to universal headship 'cannot be meete for any man.' *Solus Christus*, on this account, was just as important a formulation for

'Novellæ', quoted here. See Gregory the Great, *Epistles*, lib. V, ind. xii, nos. 18; *PL* 77.740. Kingdon, 18.

⁴⁰ Theodoret, *Haereticarum Fabularum Compendium*, IV.12, 'De Nestorio,' *PG* 83.1156.

⁴¹ Gregory the Great, 'Letter to Sabianus the Deacon,' *Epistles* lib. V, ind. xii, no. 19; *PL* 77.744; and 'Letter to Mauricius Augustus,' *ibid.* no. 20; *PL* 77.745–746. Kingdon, 17.

⁴² 'Letter to Constantinus Augustus,' *Epistles* lib. V, ind. xii, no. 21; *PL* 77.749. See Vermigli's *scholium* on 1 Sam. 28.3, 'That the charge of Religion belongeth unto Princes,' *CP* 4.14.2, 246–248.

⁴³ See chapter two, 'The Godly Prince,' in W.J. Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007), 59–74.

⁴⁴ Kingdon, 20. See W.J. Torrance Kirby, 'The Charge of Religion belongeth unto Princes: Peter Martyr Vermigli on the Unity of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction,' *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 94 (2003), 131–145.

⁴⁵ Gregory the Great, *Epistles*, lib. V, ind. xii, nos. 18, 20, and 43; *PL* 77.740, 747, 771.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction as it was for orthodox soteriology. 'It belongeth onely to Christe, to distribute unto his members spiritual mocions, illustration [i.e. 'cleansing'] of the minde, and eternall life.'⁴⁶ In his Epistle to the Ephesians Paul 'sayth this of Christe, that god had geven hym to be the head of the body of the church.'⁴⁷ Vermigli's implication is that the violation of Christ's sole headship by papal claims to universal jurisdiction leads in turn to soteriological corruption and, indeed, to epistemological as well as hermeneutical confusion: the papal claim to a universal patriarchy 'undoubtedly was the fountayne, of[s]pring, and beginning of al evils and superstitions.'⁴⁸ Disorder in the sphere of the practical breeds confusion concerning first principles. 'Wherefore if [the universal patricarchy] were eyther for lacke of knowledge or of some rashness, or by the people, or by flaterers geven to any bishop of Rome, it should by the example of Gideon, Leo, and Gregory have bene refused.'⁴⁹ Having invoked '*solus Christus*' Vermigli then challenges his adversaries to produce a persuasive scriptural justification for the papal claim—*solus Christus* is tied to *sola scriptura*, and thus political theology to the hallmark of Reformed hermeneutics.

Vermigli the church historian seeks to demonstrate conclusively that the Roman primacy came into existence through the agency of human ambition and cumulative tradition rather than by divine appointment and scriptural sanction, and consequently that divine rule over the Church and its spiritual character has been obstructed. Human custom decreed that in the principal cities 'where merchandises were traded, and where Proconsuls or Presidentes governed' the bishops had precedence of honour. Custom here stands for a concept of 'right' of human origin, analogous to the invitation extended to Gideon by the tribe of Israel. While the most able bishops—men like Augustine and Gregory Nazianzus—were relegated to 'small and abjecte bishoprikes', conversely the secular status of cities gave consequence to 'Churches and chayres,' i.e. to episcopal seats. It was owing to Rome's pre-eminent civic dignity within the Empire that 'the bishop of Rome began to be preferred above other.'⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *CJ* fol. 148 v^o; Kingdon, 20.

⁴⁷ Eph. 1:22. See *CJ* fol. 148 v^o; Kingdon, 20.

⁴⁸ *CJ* fol. 148 v^o; Kingdon, 19.

⁴⁹ *CJ* fol. 148 r^o; Kingdon, 19.

⁵⁰ *CJ* fol. 148 v^o; Kingdon, 20.

At this point in his commentary, Vermigli reviews the classic scholastic justification of the tradition of papal primacy through the concept of a 'two-fold' headship, that is by means of a distinction between a visible, earthly headship and an invisible, spiritual rule, the former exercised by Peter and his successors and the latter by Christ himself. Intriguingly he takes up the argument as formulated by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in a sermon preached in 1521 'Agayn[st] the Pernicyous Doctryn of Martin Luther' at the behest of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, then Archbishop of York, papal legate, and Chancellor of England, not to mention the original founder of Vermigli's own college—Christ Church, Oxford.⁵¹ Vermigli's choice of authority for this scholastic argument was certainly apposite. Fisher, it should be remembered, had been executed in 1535 for his refusal to acknowledge Henry's title of headship of the Church of England, while Wolsey had been deprived of the Chancellorship for his failure to secure Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Fisher's argument for a two-fold headship of the Church is based on a distinction between a metaphorical and a natural head, appealing to the Pauline observation that as the husband is head of the wife, yet every wife also has beside her husband her own natural head.⁵² According to Vermigli, Fisher falls into the 'false Sillogismus of equivocation', for 'if we looke upon the natural head in the church,

⁵¹ John Fisher, *The sermon of Ioh[a]n the bysshop of Rochester made agayn the p[er]nicious doctryn of Martin luther: w[i]t[h]in the octaues of the asce[n]syon by the assigneme[n]t of the most reuerend fader i[n] god the lord Thomas Cardinal of Yorke [and] legate ex latere from our holy father the pope* ([London]: Wynkyn de Worde, [1521]). First established by Wolsey in 1526, Cardinal's College was refounded by Henry VIII and named Christ Church in the reformed statutes promulgated in 1546.

⁵² For modern critical edition of Fisher's sermons, see *The English works of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469–1535): sermons and other writings, 1520–1535*, edited by Cecilia A. Hatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 81: 'So as saynt Paule maketh many hedes, sayenge *Caput mulieris vir, caput viri Christus, Christi vero deus*: Se[e], here be thre heedes vnto a woman, God, Chryst, and hyr housband, and yet besyde al these she hath an heed of hyr owne. It were a monstrous syght to se a woman withouten an heed. What comforte sholde hyr housbande haue vpon hyr? Yf than one woman, not withstandynge she hathe an heed of hyr owne to gouerne hyr accordynge to the wyl and pleasure of hyr housband, yet she hath hyr housband to be hyr heed and Chryst to be hyr heed, and God to be hyr heed: how moche rather our mother holy chirche, which is the spowse of Christ, hath an heed of her owne, that is to say, the pope. And yet neuerthelesse Chryst Iesu hyr housbande is her heed, and almyghty God is hyr heed also. But now let vs retourne to our instruccyon. Thus than ye vnderstande how that in the vnyuersal chirche of Chryste remayneth the spyryte of trouthe for [sig. B]iv)* euer. And that the heed of this chirche, the pope, is vnder Chryst. Bi this breuely it may appeere that the spyryte of Christ is not in Martyn Luther.'

we shal finde that it is not one head: but looke how manye men there be in it, so many [natural] heades shal there be.' 'When we speake of the head of the Church, we must keepe our selves in the Metaphore', says Vermigli, 'and as it should be absurde and monstrous, for one man to have two natural heades, so shal it be judged as portentous, for the Church to have two Metaphorical, that is spiritual heads.'⁵³ In the final analysis, Fisher could not have wished to claim that Peter was merely a natural head while Christ was the spiritual head since the force of papal claims to *universality* of jurisdiction depended upon Peter's being a spiritual head as well. This tendency to confuse the natural with the spiritual source of authority lies at the very heart of the problem of kingship in the episode of Gideon as interpreted by Vermigli. The right knowledge of God and his law is indispensable to a theologically justified constitutional plan of action.

Whence, then, did this tortuous confusion (both institutional *and* syllogistic) of divine and human authority arise? How does the fateful transition from Gregory the Great, whom Vermigli admires, to Boniface VIII, whom he excoriates, come about?⁵⁴ Vermigli traces the crucial origins of papal tyranny back to the middle of the 8th century, specifically to the notorious 'False Decretals' of Pseudo-Isidore, known as Isidore Mercator.⁵⁵ He cites in particular the *Clementine Epistles*, part of a *collectanea* of supposed papal letters contained in a compilation of canon laws composed between 847 and 852, and purported to be the authentic writings of Clement I, apostolic Bishop of Rome (88–97). As was the famous 'Donation of Constantine', the so-called Isidorian Decretals were accepted as authentic from the time of their initial appearance until the early Renaissance.⁵⁶ Nicholas of Cusa was

⁵³ *CJ* fol. 149 r^o; Kingdon, 21.

⁵⁴ See Vermigli's extended discussion of Boniface VIII's claims to papal lordship in the Bull 'Unam Sanctam' in his *scholium* on Judges 19, 'Of a Magistrate, and of the difference between Civill and Ecclesiasticall power,' *CP* IV.13.7–10, fols. 229–231 and IV.13.14, fol. 233. See Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 59–74.

⁵⁵ The *Clementine Epistles* are included among 58 out of 60 apocryphal letters or decrees attributed to the popes from St. Clement (88–97) to Melchiades (311–314) and are now known to be forgeries. See the excellent account by E.H. Davenport, *The False Decretals* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1916), xxii. Cf. also William Shafer, *Codices pseudo-Isidoriani: a palaeographico-historical study*, *Monumenta iuris canonici*, Series C: Subsidia vol. 3 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1971).

⁵⁶ With the possible exception of Hincmar in the 9th century and the guarded expression of the Synod of Gerstungen, no one raised his voice against the forgeries till the

among the first to raise serious and specific doubts concerning their authenticity.⁵⁷ Discussion of the authenticity of the Decretals gained steam in the sixteenth century in the context of the debate over the ecclesiastical authority of Princes and Magistrates. They were debunked by William Marshall in his English translation of the *Defensor Pacis* of Marsilius of Padua, published under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell in the year of John Fisher's execution.⁵⁸ The publisher, Thomas Godfray, also printed Marshall's English translation of Lorenzo Valla's famous refutation of the authenticity of the 'Donation of Constantine'.⁵⁹ Following the lead of Cusanus, Valla, Marshall and several others, Vermigli dismisses the entire edifice of the traditional arguments in support of the papal claim to *plenitudo potestatis* as grounded upon the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries.⁶⁰ 'Our adversaries,' he says, 'bring the Epistle of Clemens, which is a fained Epistle, as a thing certaine.'⁶¹ For the sake of argument, Vermigli allows the authenticity of the forgeries in order to show that in any case they fail to provide the required support for

fifteenth century. See Philip Schaff, *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. IX (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1953), 347.

⁵⁷ Nicholas of Cusa, *De Concordantia Catholica*, Bk. III, chap. 2, ss. 309–312; see *The Catholic Concordance*, ed. and transl. Paul Sigmund (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 221–222. Cusanus also debunks the 'Donation of Constantine': *De Concordantia*, III.2.294–308 (Sigmund, 216ff.).

⁵⁸ Marsilius of Padua, *The defence of peace: lately translated out of laten in to englysshe, with the kynges moste gracyous priuilege* (London: Robert Wyer, 1535). Although completed in 1324 and circulated in manuscript, the original Latin text was not printed until 1522 in the Basle edition by Beatus Bildius Rhenanus, *Opus insigne cui titulum fecit autor [Marsilius] Defensorem pacis* (Basle: [Valentino Curio?], 1522). Marsilius himself appears not to have been aware of the forgery. See Shelley C. Lockwood, 'Marsilius of Padua and the case for the royal ecclesiastical supremacy,' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6.1 (1990): 89–119.

⁵⁹ Lorenzo Valla, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione libellus* (Strasbourg, 1506); translated by William Marshall and published by Thomas Godfray under the title *A treatyse of the donation or gyfte and endowme[n]t of possessyons, gyuen and graunted vnto Syluester pope of Rhome, by Constantyne emperour of Rome* (London: Thomas Godfray, 1534).

⁶⁰ Although attacked relentlessly throughout the sixteenth century by Erasmus, the Centuriators of Magdeburg (1559), and Charles du Moulin, editor of the Canon Law (1554), the authenticity of the Decretals was upheld in the officially sanctioned 1580 edition of the Canon Law. See *Corpus iuris canonici: emendatum et notis illustratum / Gregorii XIII. Pont. Max. iussu editum; nunc indicibus nouis, & appendice Pauli Lanceloti Perusini adauctum* (Paris: [s.n.], 1587). The coup de grace was finally delivered by David Blondel in his *Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus Vapulantes: seu Editio et censura noua epistolarum omnium: quas piissimis vrbis Romae Praesulibus à B. Clemente ad Siricium &c. Petri Chouët*, 1628).

⁶¹ CJ fol. 149 v^o; Kingdon, 22.

papal claims. In a putative Letter to James, brother of the Lord, Clement acknowledges him the superscription 'by the providence of God ye bishop of bishops, governour of the Church which is at Jerusalem, and of al the Churches every where.'⁶² Even a literal reading of the forged Decretals 'maketh verye muche agaynste those, which have unto the Churches obtruded this Epistle for true, and ratefied. But that can nothing hurt us,' Vermigli insists, 'which is taken out of that epistle, against our doctrine. For we know that it is a fayned thing, as that which was never alledged by any of the fathers...these thinges have I rehearsed, onely that we might understand, howe much Gideon is to be preferred before the Antechristes of Rome.'⁶³

Once again Gideon re-emerges at the surface, although Vermigli implies throughout his exegesis that Gideon has never really been far absent. Indeed, he frames papal claims to a universal patriarchate and to jurisdiction over Christian princes entirely within the exegetical context of Judges 8. Gideon's refusal to reign over the tribe of Israel as their king rests on the testimony of Scripture, viz. Deuteronomy 17, with its clarity of distinction between divine and human authority. He only should be king whom God has chosen. Vermigli's exposition of Scripture, the Fathers, and of Gregory the Great in particular (whose authority was much admired by the canon lawyers), combined with his debunking of the Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore are all marshalled to highlight the central concern of Judges 8—namely, what constitutes a valid measure of authority lawfully given? Through the forged Decretals the canon lawyers had effectively rewritten the pre-Constantinian Patristic record in a manner suited to the early-medieval attempt to assert ecclesiastical independence of and indeed primacy of jurisdiction over royal and imperial power. The magnitude of this rewriting of the Patristic record ought not to be underestimated: scholars now recognize that fully 58 out of 60 apocryphal letters or decrees attributed to bishops of Rome between the apostolic period and the conversion of Constantine, i.e. from Clement I (88–97) to Melchiades (311–314), are forgeries. The presence of the occasional authentic document was doubtless a ruse to lend credence to the rest, and thus they serve to compound the forgery.⁶⁴

⁶² Clement of Rome, *Opera dubia, epist. Decretales*, I, ad Jacobum fratrem Domini, PG 1:463.

⁶³ *CJ* fol. 149 v^o; Kingdon, 22.

⁶⁴ Davenport, *False Decretals*, xxii.

How, then, is the medieval flexing of the papal muscle an overturning of divine rule? According to Vermigli's interpretation of Judges 8, by submitting to a ruler whose right derived demonstrably from men rather than directly from God, the medieval Church plainly stands as the analogue of the tribe of Israel. In effect, in opposition to the godly example set by Gideon, the papacy had failed to weigh whether such jurisdiction had in fact been lawfully established, and in that failure confused the sources of right proper to the heavenly and the earthly kingdoms.⁶⁵ Moreover, in the passage in question Gideon not only refuses to rule on his own part, he also refuses a dynasty: 'Reigne thou over us, both thou and thy sonne and thy sonnes sonne,' to which he replied 'I will not raygne over you, neither shal my child reigne over you.' No merely natural, human succession of authority can displace divine appointment, whether it be a dynastic succession of kings in the case of the tribe of Israel, or an apostolic succession of lordly bishops in the case of the Church. Universal spiritual dominion is Christ's, and Christ's alone. As Gideon refused the offer of the tribe of Israel, so also 'Christ rejected Sathan, when he promised hym all the kingdoms of the world.'⁶⁶ And this, Vermigli concludes, 'the Pope considereth not.'

What, then, becomes of the authority of Princes themselves? This was doubtless an equally pressing question to both the Council of Zurich and to a young Queen and her Parliament. If Christ alone is head of the Church, and if Gideon justifiably refused the kingship of Israel, then is all earthly kingship done away? Can there be any earthly rulers of either Church or Commonwealth? Vermigli asks rhetorically, will 'the rule and government of God be therefore excluded, because the Magistrate of a publike wealth, or of Aristocratia, or of a kingdome, is geven unto a man?'⁶⁷ This was the Anabaptist inference, but most assuredly not Vermigli's, nor indeed that of any of the magisterial Reformers. For the Florentine the authority of the godly civil magistrate does not inherently conflict with the due elevation of divine rule. On the contrary, the magistrate's exercise of jurisdiction in matters of religion exhibits the right relation of human and divine sources of power as expressed through such passages of Scripture as Judges 8: 'forasmuch as the administration, wherewith God governeth publike wealthes, hindreth

⁶⁵ *CJ* fol. 147 r^o; Kingdon, 16.

⁶⁶ Matt. 4:8–10; Luke 4:5–8.

⁶⁷ *CJ* fol. 149 v^o; Kingdon, 22.

not the Magistrate, which is his Vicar and Minister. And assuredly God reigned together with David and Josias: and the Israelites at that tyme had a certaine Magistrate, and one of their own, with whom also God himselfe also governed.⁶⁸ This passage is significant, for it suggests that it is possible to unite rule by human right and rule by divine right cooperatively yet distinctly, and without the confusion of one with the other, a confusion which Gideon endeavoured to avoid. The problem of kingship as Vermigli formulates it mirrors, in this respect, the logic of Chalcedonian Christology: the difficulty is not so much in the conjunction of the natural or human with the supernatural or divine sources of right. Error arises when there is a failure to distinguish clearly between these two sources of power when they are conjoined, as did the Israelites who offered the kingship to Gideon, or the people in John 6 who offered Christ an earthly kingdom, or the Church in upholding the papal hegemony. Vermigli tersely sums up the *confusion* of these two natures or sources of power by the name of 'Antechryste'. Once again Vermigli quotes Gregory against the canon lawyers: 'Wherefore let not our men mervayle, if we sometime cal the bishop of Rome Antechrist, for asmuch as their Gregory, calledth him by that most goodly title, which wilbe universal bishop.'⁶⁹

Vermigli does not allow that the Anabaptist affirmation of *solus Christus*—Christ's sole claim to spiritual authority over the universal church—annihilates the sovereignty of Princes. Quite the contrary. The institution of magistrates, whether of a monarchy, a republic, or 'Aristocratia'—the latter most nearly approximating the constitutional arrangement under the regime of the Judges—such authority in the civil realm of the 'publike wealth' is plainly ordained of God and is thus a lawful mode of rule. 'There was a publike wealth then in Israel, they had Senatours, and in al places ther wer Judges appointed: wherefore the forme of the publike wealth could not by men be changed, without great offence.'⁷⁰ In short, the civil constitution in force has divine sanction, and, as Augustine had argued before him, Vermigli proceeds to affirm the lawful authority even of such tyrants as Nero, Domitian, Commodus, and others. He invokes Augustine's theodicy of the authority of magistrates as a penalty and remedy for sin (*pœna*

⁶⁸ *CJ* fol. 149 v^o; Kingdon, 23.

⁶⁹ *CJ* fol. 147 v^o; Kingdon, 17.

⁷⁰ *CJ* fol. 149 v^o; Kingdon, 23.

et remedium peccati)—‘God useth them to punish the wickedness of the people: for, for the synnes of the people, he maketh an hypocrite to raygne, and in his fury he geveth kinges.’⁷¹ When princes are corrupt they must be obeyed ‘*usque ad aras*’—that is, ‘so farre as religion suffreth.’⁷² And may subjects or ‘private men’ take it upon themselves to resist a tyrant and to alter the constitution? On this point Vermigli invokes no less an authority in support of passive obedience than Cæsar Augustus who reprimanded Strabo for speaking ill of Cato: ‘he was a good Citizen, which contended that the present state of thinges should not be changed.’⁷³

Implicit in Vermigli’s exegesis of Judges 8, we would propose, is the Aristotelian dictum that the end of the science of politics is the good for man, and the end of the city to live well and virtuously (εὖ ζῆν). The political science of the canon lawyers undermines the pursuit of this end by promoting the confused rule of the Anti-Christ. ‘If so be thou wilt demaund, when it is to be thought that God doth govern and rule in other Magistrates? I answer: Then, when this is onely provided for, that Citizens may live virtuously. And forasmuch as piety is of al virtues ye most excellent, the Lord doth then raigne, when althings ar referred unto it. Farther, as touching civil actions, when to every man is rendred his own, and Magistrates governe not for their own commodity, but for the publike utility.’⁷⁴ It was for the sake of piety and the public good that Gideon refused the offer of a crown. It is also for the sake of piety and the public good that Vermigli urges rejection of the ‘unlawful Supremacie’ of the papacy. Piety recognizes what belongs to God and what to men, and how to act on that recognition both privately and politically. In his introduction to the *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle claims that government is the principal and architectonic art of all practical activity.⁷⁵ It is the ‘master art’ that aims at the knowledge and the enjoyment of the Good, and through that aim seeks the goal of beatitude (εὐδαιμονία). By means of his implied identification of

⁷¹ *CJ* fol. 150 r°; Kingdon, 23. See Vermigli’s *scholium* on 2 Sam. 3, ‘Of Warre’, *CP* 4.17, fol. 282. For Augustine, war is frequently the ‘remedy for sin’ in human history. *De civitate Dei* XIX.12, 27.

⁷² *CJ* fol. 150 r°; Kingdon, 23.

⁷³ Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, II.4.18. *Macrobij Ambrosij Theodosij, uiri consularis & illustris, In Somnium Scipionis lib. II. Saturnaliorum lib. VII* (Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius, 1542). *CJ* fol. 150 r°; Kingdon, 24.

⁷⁴ *CJ* fol. 149 v°; Kingdon, 23.

⁷⁵ Aristotle, *Ethics* I.2 (1094a17–1094b10) According to Aristotle, the art (*techne*) which aims at the highest good ‘is most truly the architectonic art.’

the Christian commonwealth with Aristotle's community of virtue, Vermigli attributes the care of religion to the sovereign power of the godly Magistrate. Like Gideon, the Magistrate as benefactor directs the life of the commonwealth towards its highest appointed end and it is through the instrumentality of the Magistrate that the divine purpose of the human enjoyment of God is promoted. It is through the agency of this godly Magistrate that a right distinction is maintained between the divine and human sources of authority, and the community delivered from the confusion of the two that is 'the fountayne, of[s]pring, and beginning of al evils and superstitions.' Constitutional clarity contributes to a clearer understanding of the principles conducive to piety. It is very much in the spirit of Vermigli's exegesis of Judges 8 that Richard Hooker would later claim in his Dedicatory Epistle to Book V of his treatise *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*:

*By the Sword of God and Gedeon, was sometime the cry of the people of Israel, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful Song of innumerable multitudes, yea, the Emblem of some Estates and Dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confest even with tears of thankfulness) the true Inscription, Stile, or Title of all Churches as yet standing within this Realm, By the goodness of Almighty God, and his servant Elizabeth, we are.*⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Richard Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical / Politie*, in *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, vol. 2, ed. W. Speed Hill (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), V.Ded.10; 2:7.21–28.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

PRAYERS AND SERMONS

John Patrick Donnelly, SJ

Peter Martyr's *Sacred Prayers*—*Preces sacrae ex Psalmis Davidis*¹—are not very original. Prayers based on the Psalms, in both prose and poetry, were a popular literary genre in the sixteenth century.² The *Preces sacrae* is probably the least important of all his major works, except for his commentary on Lamentations. Still, we should not downplay the *Preces sacrae*. Aside from his massive and famous *Loci Communes*, which had fourteen editions, the *Preces sacrae* was his most popular work; it had nine editions and was translated and published in English, French, German and Czech, and hence was available in more different languages than any other of Vermigli's works. Truman State University Press told me it has outsold the other volumes in the *Peter Martyr Library*. That did not surprise to me since spirituality always outsells theology. Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* has been published in more than 5000 editions in dozens of languages. Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* has attracted more readers than Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*. Most Reformation scholars have read at least part of John Calvin's *Institutes*. But I suspect many of them have never heard of Luis de La Puente's *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra santa Fe*;³ the first English translation of 1619 was in six volumes, longer than Calvin's *Institutes*. There have been more than 400 editions, considerably more than *The Institutes*. Again, spirituality outsells theology.

Vermigli was primarily a theologian. The *Preces sacrae* is his only work of spirituality. The first edition was published in Zurich by

¹ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Sacred Prayers Drawn from the Psalms of David*, translated and edited by John Patrick Donnelly, SJ (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1996) [cited hereafter as *SP*].

² I suspect Professor Kirby requested me to deal with Vermigli's prayers and sermons because I had previously edited and translated *Sacred Prayers* for the third volume of the *Peter Martyr Library*, as well as *Life, Letters, and Sermons*, vol. 5 (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999) [cited hereafter as *LLS*]. Inevitably this essay draws on those two books, especially their Introductions, but it adds new material.

³ (Valladolid, 1605).

Froschauer in 1564, two years after his death. Vermigli's disciple and successor at Zurich, Josiah Simler, probably edited the manuscripts; at any rate he wrote the Introductory Letter which is our main source of information about the prayers. He tells us that as he was going through Vermigli's library after his death he found a mass of tiny sheets of paper in Vermigli's autograph which contained his prayers on the psalms. He sorted them out and decided to have them published, even though Vermigli himself never intended them for publication. Simler fills in the context of their first use: the Council of Trent had just begun and war over religion had broken out in Germany. 'Martyr had read these prayers in public at the end of his lectures at the Strasbourg Academy.'⁴ At first glance, this seems to make it easy to assign them a date. But all three of the events Simler sites are ambiguous. Vermigli had two periods at Strasbourg, December of 1542 to October of 1547 and November 1553 to July 1556. Simler says the prayers were written shortly after the Council of Trent began. The Council of Trent had three phases: the first at Trent from December of 1545 to March 1547, then the Council moved to Bologna for almost a year. The second phase of the Council at Trent was May 1551 to April 1552. The third phase was 1561–1563 when he was at Zurich. Simler also links the date of the prayers to religious war in Germany, but there were two Schmalkaldic Wars: the first in 1546–1547 and the second in 1551–1556. The two Schmalkaldic Wars overlap Vermigli's two Strasbourg periods. In my translation of the *Preces* I assigned the prayers to Vermigli first Strasbourg period. Why? The *Preces* contain some references to war and have a distinctly sad tone,⁵ which fits better with the Protestant defeat during his first Strasbourg period than his second when the Protestant princes allied with Henry II of France and defeated the Catholics and Charles V. This led to the Emperor's abdication, the Peace of Augsburg, and the legalization of Lutheranism in the Empire—*cuius regio, eius religio*.⁶ The most insightful article on the *Preces* is Emidio Campi's 'Le *Preces sacrae* di Pietro Martire Vermigli.'⁷ He agrees that Simler meant that

⁴ SP 3.

⁵ SP xix.

⁶ Charles V declared Protestants rebels on 16 June 1546; he won a decisive victory at Mühlberg on 24 April 1547.

⁷ Emidio Campi, 'Le *Preces sacrae* di Pietro Martire Vermigli' in *Oratio: Das Gebet in patristischer und reformatorischer Sicht*, edited by Emidio Campi, Leif Grane and Adolf Martin Ritter (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 197–210.

the *Preces* were written during Martyr's first stay at Strasbourg.⁸ But he also suggests an important argument that I missed in my introduction to the *Preces sacræ*. Campi suggests here may be echoes in Vermigli's prayers of the tensions between the clergy led by Martin Bucer and the civil authorities at Strasbourg during the mid 1540s.⁹

Let us turn to the prayers on the Psalms themselves. Vermigli would have been very familiar with the Psalms from his Italian years. They made up the most important part of the Divine Office which as an Augustinian Canon he recited in common every day. At Lucca he gave public lectures on the Psalms.¹⁰ Simler tells us that he decided to publish these prayers largely because 'These prayers partly explain briefly and clearly the theme of many Psalms and partly explain many obscure and difficult passages with a lucid paraphrase.'¹¹ I can say that the *Preces* were clear and succinct, and they proved easier to translate than Martyr's four other works I have wrestled with. There is no prayer for Psalm 87—its little sheet of paper probably got lost. Seventy-nine of the Psalms have two prayers, thirty-nine have one prayer, and twenty-seven have three prayers; Psalms 18 and 105 have five prayers each. Much the longest psalm is Psalm 119. Vermigli broke its 179 verses into nineteen parts: an introductory prayer followed by eighteen groups of prayers linked to the eighteen parts of Psalm 119 whose verses begin with eighteen letters of the Hebrew alphabet. In this he is following the Hebrew text of Psalm 119.

If people were asked to identify their favourite Psalm, most would choose Psalm 23, 'The Lord is my Shepherd.' Vermigli has only two prayers on it. My favourite Psalm is 139: 'O Lord, you have searched me out and known me.' Alas, he has only one prayer on it. Obviously tastes down the centuries change. I am currently translating Vermigli's Genesis commentary.¹² His exegesis of Genesis is filled with words in Hebrew and frequent references to rabbinical scripture commentaries.

⁸ Campi, 'Le *Preces sacræ*', 210.

⁹ Campi, 'Le *Preces sacræ*', 200–02. Campi also has some very insightful reflections on theological themes in the *Preces*, 206–09. The essay of Herman Selderhuis in this current volume also probes the theology behind the *Preces*.

¹⁰ Salvatore Caponetto, *The Protestant Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, translated by Anne and John Tedeschi (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1999), 278.

¹¹ SP 3.

¹² *In primum librum Mosis, qui vulgo Genesis dicitur, commentarii...* (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1569).

There are none of these in the *Preces sacrae*, but this is to be expected in prayers ending a lecture. Virtually all the prayers end with 'Through Jesus Christ, our Lord,' almost always followed by 'Amen.' The prayers in English usually run about sixteen lines in typescript, perhaps too long for modern tastes, but we have to remember that Vermigli was trying to embody the meaning of a whole psalm in a Christian prayer, not always an easy task.

The villains in Martyr's prayers are almost always the pope and Roman Catholics; thus his prayer on Psalm 58 begins, 'The Antichrist and all his minions, O great and good God, now desire nothing else in their hearts against your Church but iniquities and unjust plans since they put on a show for themselves of wanting a council to be held about piety and religion, but in fact they are engaged in nothing else but lies. They have been far from you from their early manhood and have always up to now taken delight in their errors. Now at last they want to vomit out the poison which they have kept ready like an asp.... Smash to pieces the efforts, power, and might of the enemies of your name and of your teaching; destroy them and make them completely ineffective so that the just may take solid delight when they see that you have taken up their cause.'¹³ At the end of the prayers on the Psalms Simler prints a free-standing prayer—I know of only two in Vermigli's writing. Its title is 'Prayer of Doctor Peter Martyr against Bread Worship and All Superstition.' The theme is summed up in one of its sentences: 'Do not permit any longer that the honour that is owed to you alone be paid wickedly and sinfully to bread, wine, pictures, statues, and the bones of the dead.'¹⁴

Book III, Chapter 13 of Martyr's *Loci Communes*, deals with prayer, the role of Christ as intercessor, and the use of foreign languages, music and hymns in our prayer.¹⁵ As far as I know, no modern scholar has examined this chapter. It deserves more investigation than time permits here. The chapter reprints passages from Vermigli's scripture commentaries on Romans, Judges, First Samuel, First Kings and First Corinthians. He distinguished two kinds of prayer: public prayer with others and private prayer. He urges that prayer should be enjoyable and points out that Paul urged us to pray both for ourselves and our

¹³ SP 58–59.

¹⁴ SP 162.

¹⁵ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Loci Communes* (London: Vautrollerius Typographus, 1583) 666–77; *Common Places* (London: [H. Denham and H. Middleton], 1583), 300–314.

neighbours.¹⁶ Vermigli devotes considerable discussion to why God sometimes seems to be answering our prayers and sometimes not.¹⁷ Public prayer should be out loud, but private pray may be quiet and in our heart. Our posture should be respectful, but one may stand, sit, and even lie down in private prayer. Christians can pray anywhere, and there is no need of special places to pray, for Christ is with all Christians wherever they gathered for prayer. Still, public prayer should use fixed prayers.¹⁸

Martyr also discusses Christ's role as our only intercessor and mediator with God, for he is God and has divine power. While we can and should pray for one another in this life, that ceases with our death. The Roman Catholic role of the saints as intercessors is not based on scripture. We should not call on them for help since there is no evidence in scripture that they hear our prayers or know our doings.¹⁹

Next, Vermigli turns to practical aspects of public prayer. He insists that public prayers be in the local vernacular.²⁰ The choice of language, however, is not the only hindrance to the congregation's understanding. 'Sometimes there be sermons so intricate and difficult that they can be understood only by a few.'²¹ He also attacks the Roman church for discouraging vernacular translations of the Bible and urges a vernacular liturgy.²²

He then turns to the use of music, songs and poetry in worship. He approves of music and singing; indeed, prayers in verse are more delightful, but he also launches a passing attack on lewd poems.²³ He opposes what I call choir master imperialism: the temptation to allow religious music and hymns to overshadow the liturgy of the word and of the sacrament. Music can enhance but must remain subordinate to the liturgy of word and sacrament. Music is for the sake of the word, not vice versa.²⁴

I regret that Vermigli fails to teach anything about the practice of meditation. This was popularized by the *Devotio moderna* movement in

¹⁶ LC 67; CP 300.

¹⁷ LC 668; CP 301.

¹⁸ LC 670–71; CP 304–05.

¹⁹ LC 671–73; CP 306–08.

²⁰ LC 674; CP 309.

²¹ LC 675; CP 311.

²² LC 674–75; CP 310–11.

²³ LC 675; CP 312.

²⁴ LC 677; CP 313–14.

the fifteenth century and spread even more in Catholic countries in the sixteenth century. It peaked in the seventeenth century. This was not a Catholic monopoly: the most popular seventeenth century Lutheran book was probably Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae*.

Let us now examine Vermigli's sermons. I suspect that we have fewer sermons from him than any other major sixteenth century Protestant theologian. Back in Italy he was famous as an excellent preacher,²⁵ but he probably had to leave his Italian sermons behind when he fled to Switzerland in 1542. During the twenty last years of his life, nearly fifteen were spent in German speaking cities, Strasbourg and Zurich, and five and a half years at Oxford. Simler in his biography of Martyr tells us that he never acquired much German.²⁶ There is no reason to think he learned English during his years at Oxford. Strasbourg, Zurich and Oxford did not have large Italian communities. Early in 1557 John Calvin invited him to become pastor of the Italian community at Geneva.²⁷ He declined the invitation. With the exception of a few letters in Italian, all his extant writings were written in Latin, as were his lectures to students.

Almost all his extant sermons were delivered in an academic context. In *Life, Letter and Sermons* I translated all ten of the sermons found in the *Loci Communes*. They are not on subjects one hears on Sunday in an ordinary church. Five are on the study of theology and vocation to the ministry. Three explain scripture passages: Chapter 20 of John's Gospel, a passage of Paul's Letter to the Philippians, and a passage of Haggai. Two are on doctrinal subjects, Christ's resurrection and the use of the Eucharist.

My three homiletic principles are: 'Be clear, be brief, be gone.' Martyr's writings are almost always clear and well organized. But were his sermons brief? Some were, some were not. Notably absent from his sermons were humorous remarks or the stories and anecdotes which many preachers used to catch the congregation's attention. In stark contrast to the *Preces sacrae* where I included only thirteen footnotes, there are 409 footnotes in my translation of his ten sermons. The vast majority are references to the scriptures, testimony to his mastery of the Bible, but many others reveal the erudition of both Vermigli and his

²⁵ Caponetto, *Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, 76.

²⁶ *LLS* 45.

²⁷ *Corpus Reformatorum*, vol. 44, cols. 403–04.

academic audience. The length of his sermons varied, dependant on the subject and the audience. How long did his sermons take? Any answer is a bit speculative: I suspect that each page in my English translation would take about three minutes. Seven of his eleven extant sermons print to twelve pages or less. His longest sermon, that on chapter 1 of Haggai, runs to twenty-four pages, so it must have taken more than an hour to deliver.

His shortest sermon is entitled 'Exhortation to the Mystical Supper of the Lord,' which is only one and a half pages. What devotional practice did Luther, Calvin, Vermigli and Ignatius of Loyola all advocate in the face of strong opposition? Frequent communion. Most medieval Christians received the Eucharist once or twice a year. In his sermon Vermigli starts, 'We now come to partake in the Lord's Supper, to which in God's name I invite all of you who are here present.' He then refutes two objections and invites all to come forward.²⁸

His inaugural oration when he took up his Chair at the Zurich Academy was probably given on 24 August 1556 and runs to fourteen printed pages. It is unique among his sermons because it contains personal reflections on his life.²⁹

The topic that most dominates four of Martyr's surviving sermons is the need for ministers to preach the scriptures and the dignity of their vocation. Three of these were his formal annual lectures at Oxford.³⁰ In one of them he attacks the colleges of University for not paying good salaries to professors and preachers committed to evangelical

²⁸ LLS 274–75. This sermon was probably written in England at the request of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. With minor omissions it was printed in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer. Many of those reluctant to take communion were probably crypto-Catholics, but Vermigli does not touch on that. On this, see Alan Beesley, 'An Unpublished Source of the Book of Common Prayer: Peter Martyr Vermigli's *Adhortatio ad Cœnam Mysticam*,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19 (1968), 83–88.

²⁹ For the autobiographical remarks, see LLS 321–27.

³⁰ Respectively LLS 277–86, 287–99 and 300–308. Martyr's dwelling on the dignity of the ministry was not an abstract problem. Many Protestant churches felt a severe shortage of ministers, none more than England during the reign of Edward VI when Martyr was at Oxford. There were no ordinations in dioceses of York or Exeter 1547–51. No doubt the government's takeover of much church wealth and the changes of theology during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I discouraged vocations. At the same time vocations to the Catholic priesthood, particularly to the new Jesuit and Capuchin orders, were booming: Geoffrey Parker, 'Success and Failure of the First Century of the Reformation', *Past and Present* 136 (1992), 54–55.

godliness.³¹ Vermigli also dwelt on the need to study theology in his inaugural lecture when he returned to Strasbourg in 1553.³²

The first of his three sermons on scripture passages takes up chapter 20 of John's gospel, which describes the appearance of the risen Christ to the apostles on Easter night where he told them, 'Peace be with you.' Vermigli first deals with the meaning of that peace, then reflects on the Apostles' need to preach and on the power of the keys to bind and loose, which was given to the Apostles but also to all Christians. The keys are the word of God to all his people.³³

Martyr's sermon on Paul's Letter to the Philippians, chapter 2:5–11 is one of his longer sermons, sixteen pages, and probably was preached early in his stay at Oxford. It is his best early statement on Christology and attacks both heretics of the patristic age and the contemporary Roman Church. Martyr's longest sermon, on the first chapter of Haggai, exists only in an English translation.³⁴ It is perhaps the most polemical of all Martyr's sermons, contrasting the zeal of the Jews returning from their Babylonian captivity and their rebuilding Jerusalem and the house of the Lord with the sorry shape of religion in England. Roman superstitions are its main target.

Finally let us look at a sermon recently discovered by Professor Torrance Kirby in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He has kindly sent me the translation in English. The same Library has the original Latin manuscript in Vermigli's own hand.³⁵ The typescript runs thirty pages, so its delivery would have taken more than an hour. It is very different than Martyr's other sermons because it dealt with a major contemporary political event: the Devonshire rebellion in south-western England which took place in October, 1549, and was sparked by the first *Book of Common Prayer*. Martyr's sermon minimized the conservative religious motives of the rebels against the advisors of Edward VI who were moving away from the schismatic semi-Catholicism of Henry VIII

³¹ LLS 304.

³² LLS 309–320.

³³ LLS 228–33.

³⁴ LLS 251. The sermon runs to twenty-four pages, LLS 251–74. It was preached at Oxford and directly addresses the heads of the University and exhorts them to follow the example of the Jews returning from Babylon, 271.

³⁵ The Latin original is Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 340.4, *Sermo Petri Martir manu proprio scripta in seditionem Devonensium*, fols. 73–95. The translation is CCCC MS 102.29, *A sermon concernynge the tyme of rebellion*, translated from the Latin of Peter Martyr, fols. 409–499. A transcription of the latter is published as an appendix in Torrance Kirby, *The Zurich Connection and Tudor Political Theology* (Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007), 149–180.

toward the Reformed faith. In it Martyr insists that the magistrates are God's agents to advance good and punish evil. God has given them the sword; to rebel against them is to rebel against God. One cause of the rebellion is God's wrath in punishing the people for a wide range of sins.³⁶ 'It pleases [God] that his ministers should strike with the sword (which he has given them) all such that be transgressors against him.'³⁷ Another cause is greed: the rebels sought to restrict the greed of the rich so that poor people might be better provided for.³⁸ Also the Scots and French, traditional enemies of England, and the papists have persuaded the simple folk of Devonshire under the pretense of religion to resist the godly reformation. The pope takes great joy in hearing that Englishmen are killing one another.³⁹

Vermigli sees the Devonshire rebellion as partly a class struggle, the rich against the poor. His sympathies are more with the establishment, for it is not the office of subjects to reform the commonwealth without royal approval.⁴⁰ 'They to whom God has sent poverty in goods, let them also be poor and humble in spirit.... For no poverty can move them to do anything against God's commandment, or to disquiet the commonwealth.'⁴¹ Still, Vermigli is critical of how the rich were taking over the commons and enclosing them for their own sheep ranches.⁴² But he also criticizes the hatred of the poor for the rich and powerful.⁴³ 'For take away gentlemen and rulers, and straight way all order falls clearly away, and barbaric confusion follows.'⁴⁴ Martyr is effusive in his praise of the boy king, Edward VI. 'He is as careful of [his subjects'] health and life as it were possible if they were his own children.'⁴⁵ Martyr ends his sermon with a prayer⁴⁶ and reflects on the value of repentance: both Old Testament and New Testament show again and again how God punishes us so that we may repent and be welcomed again into his kingdom as his children.⁴⁷

³⁶ *Tyme of rebellion*, 417–18; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 152.

³⁷ *Tyme of rebellion*, 419; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 153. In quoting from this document I have modernized the spelling.

³⁸ *Tyme of rebellion*, 424–29; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 155–157.

³⁹ *Tyme of rebellion*, 433–35; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 158–59.

⁴⁰ *Tyme of rebellion*, 436; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 159–60.

⁴¹ *Tyme of rebellion*, 440; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 161.

⁴² *Tyme of rebellion*, 451–53, 459; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 165–67.

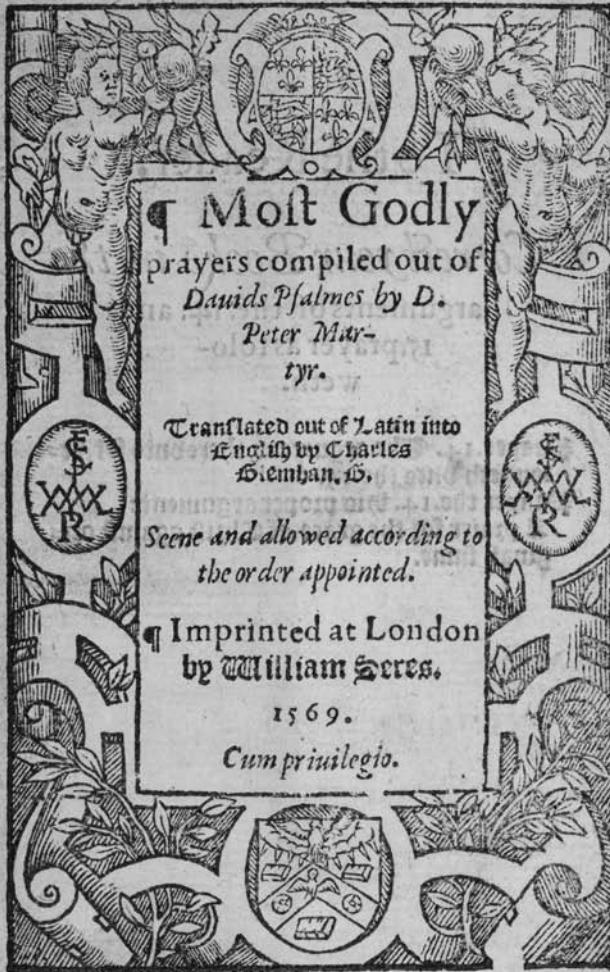
⁴³ *Tyme of rebellion*, 455; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 166.

⁴⁴ *Tyme of rebellion*, 456; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 166.

⁴⁵ *Tyme of rebellion*, 458; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 167.

⁴⁶ *Tyme of rebellion*, 483; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 174–75.

⁴⁷ *Tyme of rebellion*, 490–98; Kirby, *Zurich Connection*, 177–79.



6 [Preces sacræ ex psalmis Davidis desumptæ.]
Most godly prayers compiled out of Davids Psalmes by D. Peter Martyr.
Translated out of Latine into English by Charles Glemhan. London: William
Seres, 1569.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

EPISTOLARY: THEOLOGICAL THEMES

Christian Moser

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the letter as a means of communication during the time of Reformation cannot be over-estimated. All reformers employed written correspondence extensively as it enabled them to act and carry influence beyond their immediate environment. Through these missives they conducted tactical discussions in multiple directions, prevented misunderstandings, launched new ideas, or simply exchanged relevant news. By the same token they imparted encouragement, edification and advice as well as support in dealing with every-day problems and, of course, maintained valuable friendships.

Vermigli also was immersed in this epistolary flow and an active member of the cross-border network. While the reformers' letters, being so-called 'ego-documents'¹ that distinguish themselves by their proximity to their authors and associated events, have always been considered an excellent source of information and analysed intensively in historical research, detailed studies of Peter Martyr Vermigli's correspondence are rather thin on the ground.² The following discussion is an attempt to tackle this source of information by initially introducing the collection of preserved letters and exploring the methodological difficulties concerning their evaluation, before extracting the implication of the theological reflections contained in the letters and illustrating these by means of examples.

¹ See e.g. *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte*, ed. Wilfried Schulze (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1996) (Selbstzeugnisse der Neuzeit 2).

² Specific studies to be mentioned are: Marvin W. Anderson, 'Peter Martyr, Reformed Theologian (1542–1562): His letters to Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin' in *SCJ* 4.1 (1973), 41–64; N. Scott Amos, 'Strangers in a Strange Land: The English Correspondence of Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli', in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2004), 26–46.

In the absence of a critical edition, the principal point of reference for this evaluation of Vermigli's letters must be the 'Register epistolarum Vermilii' by Marvin W. Anderson, which first appeared as an appendix in 1975 in his ground-breaking monograph 'Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile'.³ It was subsequently embraced in an edited and expanded form in 1990 by John Patrick Donnelly and Robert M. Kingdon in their Vermigli bibliography,⁴ which records a total of 329 letters from and to Vermigli in the years 1542 to 1562. Even if this number should be amended at some point in the future, we get a fair indication of the volume of Vermigli's epistolary communications.⁵ The number of surviving letters may seem modest when compared with other correspondents of the 16th century—the preserved correspondence of Martin Luther and John Calvin each encompass some 4200 missives, that of Zwingli around 1300 and that of Erasmus about 3100. There are even larger epistolary collections relating to Philipp Melanchthon (ca. 10,000) and Heinrich Bullinger (ca. 12,000). These communication giants may outshine their colleagues, but further examples from the 16th century demonstrate that the preserved amount of Vermigli's letters represents a common standard. Theodor Bibliander, for instance—initially Vermigli's colleague in Zurich and later his opponent in the quarrel over predestination—left us with only 220 letters still intact, even though he was not forced to relocate several times, as Vermigli was, but taught in Zurich for over thirty years, where the recording conditions were particularly favourable.⁶

Vermigli does not appear to have taken much care to preserve the letters he received, as can be deduced from the fact that the vast majority of his correspondence consists of his own dispatches to others in whose

³ Marvin W. Anderson, *Peter Martyr: A Reformer in Exile (1542–1562). A Chronology of Biblical Writings in England and Europe* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1975) (Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica 10), 467–486.

⁴ *BIB* 155–197.

⁵ The letter count may vary depending on inclusion of letters written by and addressed to groups including Vermigli. There is also the possibility of further letters being found in the future. Anderson clearly did not personally scrutinize all the letters he listed, thus the danger of duplications or 'phantom letters' cannot be eliminated. The letter of 17 October 1542 (Vermigli to Heinrich Bullinger), for instance, is logged as no. 3 but does not exist, or rather, is identical with no. 4 (19 December 1542).

⁶ For Bibliander's correspondence see Christian Moser, 'Ferngespräche: Theodor Biblianders Briefwechsel' in *Theodor Bibliander (1505–1564): Ein Thurgauer im gelehrten Zürich der Reformationszeit*, ed. Christine Christ-v. Wedel (Zurich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2005), 83–106, 156–159.

legacies they were subsequently handed down. The circumstances are thus quite the reverse to e.g. the largest reformer correspondence of all—of the total of some 12,000 letters contained in Heinrich Bullinger's correspondence only some 2000 actually flowed from Bullinger's own pen, while the remaining 10,000 letters were addressed to, and carefully retained by him. Such diverse ratios between dispatch and receipt may be explained by the greatly varying lifestyles of these two figures. While Bullinger spent his entire life in Zurich and barely set foot beyond his own territory, Vermigli found himself repeatedly forced to move, sometimes under turbulent circumstances, which did not exactly vouch for the letters addressed to him actually reaching their destination or indeed, render an orderly collection of missives convenient.

The surviving letters of Vermigli's correspondence originate from a somewhat limited number of authors, the main ones being Heinrich Bullinger and John Calvin with 50 and 46 letters respectively, followed by Martin Bucer with 21 and Jan Utenhove with 17 letters.⁷ Further individual contacts of considerable epistolary volume were Bucer's secretary Conrad Hubert (12 letters) and Theodore Beza (9 letters). The correspondence with Zurich's theologians Konrad Pellikan, Rudolph Gualther, Johannes Wolf and Ludwig Lavater consists of 13 letters. A further significant group of correspondents in Vermigli's exchange of letters were the English bishops Thomas Cranmer, Stephen Gardiner, John Hooper, Edmund Grindal, John Jewel, Edwin Sandys and Richard Cox, 38 of which letters have been secured. At least half of those were directed to or received from John Jewel. Another English correspondent was Thomas Sampson, of whose correspondence with Vermigli nine compositions have survived. Around two thirds of Vermigli's retained correspondence thus relate to the correspondents mentioned and groups thereof. The remaining third is spread across single or occasional contacts, such as Francisco de Enzinas (Dryander),⁸ Philipp Melanchthon,⁹

⁷ The numbers of letters are based on the data in the 'Register epistolarum Vermilii' (see fn. 4) and are to be regarded with the necessary caution (see fn. 5).

⁸ Letters of 22 August 1547 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 14); 5 October 1547 (ibid., no. 15); 3 January 1549 (ibid., no. 19); 1 February 1549 (ibid., no. 22).

⁹ Letters of 14 July 1543 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 7); 29 May 1554 (ibid., no. 97); 26 June 1554 (ibid., no. 98); 20 October 1557 (ibid., no. 174).

William Cecil,¹⁰ Walter Haddon,¹¹ John Cheke,¹² John Foxe,¹³ Wolfgang Musculus,¹⁴ Johannes Sleidan,¹⁵ John à Lasco,¹⁶ Celio Secondo Curione¹⁷ or Pierre Viret.¹⁸ We must not fail to mention the letters—some in the form of dedicatory prefaces—addressed by Vermigli to King Edward VI¹⁹ and Queen Elizabeth I.²⁰

As to the time span of Vermigli's correspondence, unfortunately not a single letter from the time prior to Vermigli's flight from Italy has been passed down to us. The archived correspondence starts on 24 August 1542 with a letter to his former brethren in San Frediano in Lucca, in which Vermigli justified his departure.²¹ A month later Vermigli was already writing to Heinrich Bullinger from Basle.²² Following the six missives from 1542, only one to three letters a year remain from Vermigli's first stay at Strasbourg. The volume does not increase until 1549, when Vermigli was already working at Oxford: in the years 1549 to 1553, between thirteen and nineteen letters have survived from each year, with the exception of 1552. During Vermigli's second stay at Strasbourg the frequency of missives increased yet further: we are left with 20 letters from 1554, 14 from 1555 and 29 from 1556. The highest numbers of preserved letters stem from Vermigli's time in Zurich, 1557–1562, each year producing over 20 letters,²³ 1559 impressing with 34 and 1561 excelling with 46.

¹⁰ Letters of 13 August 1549 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 26); 7 March 1552 (ibid., no. 70); 7 March 1553 (ibid., no. 77).

¹¹ Letter of 18 April 1553 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 78).

¹² Letter of 10 March 1551 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 58); possibly also the letter addressed 'to a friend' of 1 July 1550 (ibid., no. 41).

¹³ Letters of 12 October 1554 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 102); [1554] (ibid., no. 103).

¹⁴ Letters of 29 October 1554 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 105); 11 September 1556 (ibid., no. 150).

¹⁵ Letter of 14 August 1556 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 149).

¹⁶ Letters of 28 November 1556 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 151); 5 August 1558 (ibid., no. 187).

¹⁷ Letter of 16 June 1557 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 163).

¹⁸ Letter of 18 January 1559 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 203).

¹⁹ Letter of December 1547 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 16); January 1551 (ibid., no. 52; Dedicational preface to *COR*).

²⁰ Letter of 22 December 1558 ('Register epistolarum Vermilii,' no. 200; translated in *LLS* 170–177); March 1559 (ibid., no. 208; Preface to *DES*).

²¹ The letter is printed in Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 287f.

²² See *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel, vol. 12: Briefe des Jahres 1542*, ed. Rainer Henrich et al. (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2006), no. 1674.

²³ Excepting the year 1562 with 19 letters.

Following this brief overall view of Vermigli's preserved correspondence and before embarking on further discussion, one must call to mind the methodological problems of analysis. The terminology hitherto applied, which constantly refers to Vermigli's *preserved* correspondence, in itself highlights the main problem: our object of research does not tally with the circumstances of the 16th century. In other words: the source accessible to us today differs widely from the original body of epistles, which fact, if ignored, may lead to grotesque errors of interpretation. When dealing with collections of early modern communications, one must always consider the losses, whether due to an existing volume having been passed down incomplete,²⁴ or, because there once were correspondents and correspondence of whose existence we are altogether ignorant today. Comments on original volumes of source material can only be made cautiously, by constructing a kind of phantom image of the original circumstances gleaned from references in surviving letter and from secondary mentions within the social network, as well as from considerations of the respective recording situations. This image must be applied as a corrective to the factual evidence we still have access to nowadays.

Conscious of these difficulties, we shall take a closer look at the *theological* discussion in Vermigli's correspondence. It goes without saying that only a monograph could deal with this topic comprehensively. The point of this essay is rather to address the focal points of this theological discussion—in particular between Vermigli and the main correspondents listed above.

HEINRICH BULLINGER

As already mentioned, Vermigli began to communicate with Heinrich Bullinger²⁵ immediately after his flight from Italy to Switzerland. On 5 October 1542 Vermigli reported from Basle that Oswald Myconius and Bonifacius Amerbach were endeavouring to secure him a post there, which effort he believed to have been inspired by Bullinger's letter of recommendation.²⁶ As it happened, Vermigli did not acquire

²⁴ See the reconstruction of the lost letters to Bucer in Amos, 'Strangers,' 33, fn. 24.

²⁵ On the correspondence between Vermigli and Bullinger see Anderson, 'Peter Martyr, Reformed Theologian,' 43–55.

²⁶ *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, vol. 12, no. 1647.

an income in Basle, but rather in Strasbourg from where he wrote to Bullinger in December.²⁷ The tentative beginnings of a bonding between the Zurich reformer and Vermigli soon threatened to collapse again, however, on account of the theme which subsequently dominated the specifically theological discourse of their correspondence: the doctrine of the sacraments. What happened? In 1544, after a relatively quiet spell, when the quarrel over the Lord's Supper between Zurich's ministry and Luther erupted with renewed intensity, Bullinger sought the confirmation of Vermigli's stance in this dispute.²⁸ Twice he wrote to him to this purpose, but did not receive an answer.²⁹ Disconcerted and somewhat annoyed, Bullinger sent Vermigli a verbal message via Gerhard thom Camp, who was returning to Strasbourg, intimating that he did not know whether to regard Vermigli as a friend or foe.³⁰

Vermigli reacted alarmed, apologized for his silence by claiming that the letters had not reached him and protested that nothing could persuade him to alienate himself from his friend. On the specific subject of the Lord's Supper he reassured Bullinger: 'The outlook of your church, as far as I understand it, does not deviate from the truth.'³¹ Moreover: 'Others may become as heated as they please, I must not scorn nor judge such sentences as coincide with God's words. That your sentences are to be included amongst them, I am absolutely certain.'³² While Vermigli thus emphasised his agreement with Bullinger's sacramental

²⁷ *Heinrich Bullinger Briefwechsel*, vol. 12, no. 1706 (19 December 1542).

²⁸ See to the following also Klaus Sturm, *Die Theologie Peter Martyr Vermiglis während seines ersten Aufenthalts in Straßburg 1542–1547: Ein Reformkatholik unter den Vätern der reformierten Kirche* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971) (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche 31), 25–30.

²⁹ Neither of these two letters by Bullinger have survived.

³⁰ This can be deduced from Vermigli's writing of 7 July 1545 (Zurich, State Archive, E II 340, 157): 'Tuvenis natione Phrysus [Gerhard thom Camp] est apud vos aliquamdiu peregrinatus, cuius mores hic nos experti sumus integros et diligentiam in studiis non vulgarem; fuit enim hic nobiscum non parvo tempore. Is Argentoratum ad nos reversus mihi tuo nomine salutem dixit, quod mihi ut iucundum fuerit, non est quod in praesentia tentem exponere, quanti te faciam semperque fecerim, deus novit. Idcirco illud molestius mihi fuit, quod nunciari iussisti, te, inquam, valde mirari, cur nihil responderim, cum ad me vel bis litteras hactenus dederis, qui fiat, ut nescias, utrum in tuorum amicorum vel hostium albo sim recensendus.'

³¹ Vermigli to Bullinger, 7 July 1545 (Zurich, State Archive, E II 340, 157): 'Sententia vestrae ecclesiae, quantum ego illam intelligo, non aberrat a vero.'

³² *Ibid.*: 'Ardeant et infammentur alii, quantum velint; ego illas sententias vel aspernari vel damnare non debeo, quae cum verbo dei consentiunt, in quorum genere vestram reponendam esse apud me statui.'

doctrine, he did not hide his contempt for the heated controversy: 'I therefore pray with all my heart to God through Christ that the truth retains its authority as well as that the wounded minds on either side may be soothed and pacified by the oil of the Holy Spirit.'³³ The fact that Bullinger questioned Vermigli's viewpoint corresponds with the observation that, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Zurich generally cast a sceptical glance towards Strasbourg. This is evident in an exchange of letters of 1546, which involved Vermigli among others. When two students from Zurich, who were residing under Johannes Marbach's roof, in spite of being urged repeatedly, refused to partake in the Strasbourg communion, Caspar Hedio, Bucer and Vermigli reported the case in great detail to Zurich and requested that the affront was to be stopped.³⁴ Nothing more had been asked but that the students were to join them in the ceremony according to their own Basle profession.³⁵ Even though the missive had been composed in a conciliatory tone, Bullinger's reaction was of uncharacteristic harshness and uncompromising:³⁶ the students of Zurich were obliged to hold to their doctrine whilst abroad and only to partake in communion with those confessing to the same doctrine.³⁷ Therefore the students had acted appropriately, as the doctrine of Bucer and that of the church of Zurich were not

³³ Ibid.: 'Contendam itaque pro viribus a deo per Christum, cum ut veritas pondus suum retineat, tum ut animi, qui utrinque sunt offensi, spiritus sancti oleo et leniantur et reconcilientur.'

³⁴ CO 12, 437–442, no. 860 (6 December 1546).

³⁵ CO 12, 439: 'Nos nihil amplius petere quam ut communicarent nobiscum in fide confessionis Basiliensis'. The 'Confession of Basle' refers to the 'Confessio Helvetica prior' of 1536.

³⁶ CO 12, 462–466, no. 872 (10 January 1547).

³⁷ CO 12, 462f: 'De iuvenibus ita habete, fratres. Non aluntur hi ecclesiae stipendio sed sumptibus parentum, qui his, dum peregre proficiscerentur, in mandatis dederunt ut eam fidem fideique professionem, qua tunc instructi et confirmati abibant, redeuntés reportarent, aut ut redeuntés et aliam fidem profitentes alias quoque sibi aedes et alios parentes quaererent. Ad nos quoque illos ipsos valedicentes nobis pro officio nostro tanquam pastores et praeceptores adhortati sumus, ut in ea fide, quam didicerunt a primis annis in ecclesia nostra, quam denique deo inspirante sancti parentes ipsis instillarunt, perseverent, et quoniam communicatione sacramentorum palam profiteamur fidem nostram, admonuimus illos diligenter, ne cum illis communicent, quibus non eandem nobiscum in dogmatibus et sacramentis doctrinam et fidem esse intelligant. Iam quia illi hucusque vobiscum communicare detrectarunt, facile colligimus illos intelligere, non eandem esse doctrinam de coena domini, quam Tiguri didicerunt et hauserunt a parentibus et a nobis doctoribus suis et quam Argentorati audiunt praedicari. Proinde, ut candide agamus et simpliciter, non possumus illis authores esse ut istud modo faciant, quod ne facerent parentes ipsorum authores, et nos quoque suasores fuimus.'

compatible: 'Ours and Bucer's understanding of these words by Paul [1 Cor. 10:16] are not the same'.³⁸

There was no further mention of the dispute over the communion in the next surviving letter of the correspondence between Vermigli and Bullinger. Bullinger had expressed unmitigated satisfaction with Vermigli's Oxford Disputation on the Eucharist, as becomes clear in Vermigli's letter of 27 January 1550,³⁹ in which he modestly returned Bullinger's compliments by revering him as the founder of his own arguments: 'You congratulate me upon the happy result of the disputations, though that is rather to be attributed to you than to me, since you have for so many years both taught and maintained the doctrine which I there undertook to defend.'⁴⁰ Vermigli further reinforced their mutual understanding by congratulating Bullinger on the conclusion of the *Consensus Tigurinus*: 'I congratulate also your churches upon the agreement among your ministers; and I beg and implore God to make it perpetual, whereby we may at length see one spirit, one faith, one baptism, as there is one Lord, and ought to be one body, one church.'⁴¹ On 25 April 1551 Vermigli again referred to the *Consensus Tigurinus* and again corroborated his absolute agreement: 'What you have mutually agreed upon respecting the sacrament of the Eucharist is very gratifying to me; and I desire nothing more than that a plain and perspicuous statement upon that subject may be set forth in the churches of Christ; as far as my own opinion is concerned, I go along with you altogether, and scarcely deliver any other sentiments on this point, when any conversation or disputation takes place respecting the Lord's supper.'⁴²

Vermigli's call to the Committee of Thirty-two, which was to engage in a reform of the ecclesiastical laws and a revision of the *Book of Common Prayer* once more inspired Vermigli to hold forth on the sacra-

³⁸ CO 12, 463: 'Verum audite, fratres, non de verbis Pauli, sed de sensu verborum Pauli est nobis controversia. Et fidelis sacramentorum perceptio requirit veritatem et ingenuam eandemque confessionem, simulationem repellit. Non idem est d. Bucero et nobis de eo Pauli loco iudicium, non eadem sententia.'

³⁹ OL 2, 477–480, no. 227.

⁴⁰ OL 2, 478. See the contribution by Peter Opitz in this volume as well as John C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God: An Exposition of the Sacramental Theology of Peter Martyr Vermigli, A.D. 1500–1562* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1957), 277; Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: A Study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1975), 190.

⁴¹ OL 2, 479.

⁴² OL 2, 493.

ments in a letter to Bullinger. 'What a heavy task it is to bring back the pure truth into the church!' he wrote on 14 Juni 1552.⁴³ The sacraments, in particular the question, whether the sacraments conveyed salvation, were hugely controversial at the time. Vermigli rejected such a connection vehemently: 'Nothing more should be attributed to the sacraments than to the external word of God, for both kinds of the word signify and show to us the salvation gained for us through Christ. All those who believe in these words and signs partake of that salvation, not indeed through the power of the words and sacraments, but through the efficacy of faith.'⁴⁴ Faith was the prerequisite for the sacraments and therefore so was salvation. The sacraments did not convey salvation but sealed and symbolized a salvation already received.⁴⁵

Thus it is evident from their correspondence subsequent to the Oxford Disputation that Vermigli and Bullinger pursued the same line of argument with regard to the doctrine of the sacraments. When rumours emerged in 1555 that Vermigli's real opinion on the Lord's Supper did not really tally with his writings, Vermigli hastened to protest against these accusations to Bullinger.⁴⁶

Besides the doctrine of the sacraments, two other theological topics figure in the correspondence between Vermigli and Bullinger: the question concerning the permissibility of liturgical vestments and the doctrine of predestination. On 28 January 1551 Vermigli informed

⁴³ *LLS* 123–125.

⁴⁴ *LLS* 124.

⁴⁵ *LLS* 124: 'But if those who come to the sacraments are endowed with faith, through faith they have already taken hold of the grace which is proclaimed to us in the sacraments. The subsequent reception and use of the sacraments is then a seal and sign of a promise already received.'

⁴⁶ See *OL* 2, 517: 'It happened, moreover, some days since, that a certain pastor of the Grisons, who has a church in the Valteline, gave me to understand that an individual of some note, who wishes to seem to favour our religion, had given out at some entertainment, that I had written upon the sacrament of the eucharist contrary to my real sentiments, and that it was declared to him at Zurich that this was positively the case. This assertion, most excellent sir, and much beloved in Christ, exceedingly disturbs my mind, and that for two reasons: first, because in those places where my name and character, however undeservedly, are in a certain degree of estimation, the progress of pure doctrine might in some measure be impeded, if rumours of this kind should extend further; in the next place, because I should be grievously distressed, if (which God forbid!) I were to labour under such a suspicion in your church. Those indeed who either speak or think thus do me a most manifest injury: for I have ever taken the greatest possible care not to blow hot and cold out of my mouth; and as I have done this upon every occasion, how much the more should I exercise this caution when so great a mystery is concerned!'

Bullinger about the vestment controversy and John Hooper's vehemently proffered opinion that the use of ceremonial garments was in opposition to Scripture.⁴⁷ Many disagreed with Hooper, holding forth that this was a case of *adiaphora* and refuted ardently that this practise should be termed anti-scriptural. Vermigli duly explained his own opinion to Bullinger: Above all, he aspired to simplicity in the church and therefore was of the fundamental opinion that these vestments should not be used. However, in spite of this aspiration, he would not go so far with Hooper as to condemn the contemporary practise as ungodly or hostile to the Scripture. Most of all he was pained to find that the bishops who had fought so hard and at great peril for the benefit of the Gospel, should be divided upon a matter such as this.

Bullinger was also interested in Vermigli's doctrine of predestination. In contrast to the subject of the sacraments, however, Vermigli seemed a lot more reluctant to dwell on this one: 'I will now content myself with this reply—in teaching about this I have been as careful as possible to keep people from blaming God for their faults and sins and discovering in the will of God excuses for their sins. I treat the rest of the questions thus: I follow the divine letters as closely as possible. But this is not the place, nor have I the opportunity, to explain everything.'⁴⁸ It seems almost as if Vermigli, suspecting that he and Bullinger might disagree on some aspects of the question, deliberately avoided being drawn into a discussion. In any case, he ended his letter with the wish: 'Still I hope what will happen is that, given God's goodness and mercy, we will all in the end be thinking and saying the same thing.' This wish was not to be fulfilled, however, as Vermigli's quarrel with Theodor Bibliander in Zurich was to show.⁴⁹

MARTIN BUCER

Vermigli conducted his most intensive epistolary theological discussions with Martin Bucer.⁵⁰ It was Bucer who provided a position for Vermigli in Strasbourg in 1542 and a few years later the two reformers

⁴⁷ LLS 111–114.

⁴⁸ LLS 127.

⁴⁹ See Joachim Staedtke, 'Der Zürcher Prädestinationsstreit von 1560' in *Zwingliana* 9 (1953), 536–546.

⁵⁰ See Amos, 'Strangers' and Joseph C. McLelland, *The Visible Words of God*, esp. 273–278.

met again in England, which reinforced their already close connection even further. From his relocation to Cambridge in 1549 until his death in 1551, Bucer was Vermigli's most prominent correspondent.

On 15 June 1549 Vermigli sent Bucer the documents of his recently held disputation concerning the Eucharist, begging for the latter's opinion and summarizing his own viewpoint as follows:

I maintain that the Body of Christ becomes present to us by faith, and, by communicating, we are incorporated with Him, and are transformed into that [Body] [...] I admit that we verily partake of the Things of the Sacrament, that is, the Body and Blood of Christ; but so that I hold, that this is done by the mind and by faith; and in the Sacraments by force of the Spirit and institute of the Lord.⁵¹

Vermigli emphasised the true connection to Christ in the Eucharist, rejected a merely symbolic interpretation of the Lord's Supper and attributed the sacraments with as much as the Scriptures would allow.⁵² Bucer might possibly take exception to—as Vermigli put it carefully—his rejection of the doctrine of ubiquity, which in consideration of the human nature of Christ is rendered impossible.⁵³

Bucer was clearly surprised that Vermigli could possibly perceive him as a defender of ubiquity,⁵⁴ and with some irritation begged him to correct the misinformation should he have already conveyed it to third persons.⁵⁵ While Bucer shared Vermigli's rejection of ubiquity,

⁵¹ George Cornelius Gorham, *Gleanings of a few Scattered Ears during the Period of the Reformation in England and of the Times immediately succeeding* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1857), 80–82, no. 23, here 81. Modern edition in Jacques Vincent Pollet, *Martin Bucer: Études sur la correspondance*, vol. 1 (Paris: Presses Université de France, 1958), 263f, no. 40.

⁵² Gorham, *Gleanings*, 81: 'But that we ourselves are verily conjoined to Him, [is a point on which] I have no hesitation; nor do I desire that the Sacraments should be [considered as] Symbols without honour and dignity.' Ibid., 82: 'You will see, that I attribute to the Sacraments as much as the Word of God allows me'.

⁵³ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 81: 'One point only remains, respecting which, possibly, you may be displeased that I assert that it is impossible that the Body of Christ, even glorified, should be in many places. [...] the nature of the human body forbids it'.

⁵⁴ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 82–92, no. 24; here p. 91: 'One thing however, has very much astonished me; that you seem to fear I shall be offended at your denying, That Christ is at the same moment in many places; and that it has escaped you that I, with Master Philip [Melancthon], abominate from my whole heart that Ubiquity (as Philipp calls it,) of Christ as man which some have laid down [as a dogma].' Modern Edition of Bucer's reply in Pollet, *Bucer*, vol. 1, 265–275, no. 41. Concerning the letter see also Amos, 'Strangers', 39–44.

⁵⁵ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 92: 'And certainly if you have told any one that I maintain that Christ is at the same time in many places, I mean locally, [...] I intreat you to

he did not hide the fact that he would have phrased certain passages differently, in particular concerning Vermigli's second *quaestio*:

The body and blood of Christ are not in the bread and wine carnally and corporeally, nor as others say, in the species of bread and wine.⁵⁶

Bucer's suggestion ran thus:

The Body of Christ is not contained locally in the Bread and Wine, neither is it affixed or adjoined to those things by any manner of this world.⁵⁷

Bucer insisted that any kind of *local* presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper was to be rejected, but that the *nature* of Christ's presence was to be described as an enigma.⁵⁸ Vermigli's negative expression against both Catholic transubstantiation and Lutheran consubstantiation jeopardised the fact of Christ's *presence* being sufficiently emphasised, so that the Sacrament might be perceived merely as an empty symbol.⁵⁹ In order to prevent such a perception of the sacrament, Bucer suggested an addendum to Vermigli's third *quaestio*. The sentence 'The body and blood of Christ are united with the bread and wine sacramentally'⁶⁰ was to be supplemented by 'so that, to them that believe, Christ is here truly exhibited; to be seen, however, received, enjoyed, by

have the kindness to explain to such an one my sentiment more correctly: which is this: that Christ exhibits Himself at the same moment and truly, by the Word and by His Sacraments, present to us, although we are existing in many places; but that we see and apprehend Him, present, by faith only, without any idea of place.'

⁵⁶ OTD 133. Latin: 'Corpus et sanguis Christi non est carnaliter aut corporaliter in pane et vino, nec ut alii dicunt, sub speciebus panis et vini'.

⁵⁷ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 83; Pollet, *Bucer*, vol. 1, 266: 'Corpus Christi non continetur localiter in pane et vino, nec iis rebus affixum aut adiunctum est ulla huius mundi ratione.'

⁵⁸ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 85: 'A good number [i.e. Bucer and his followers] were of opinion, that the presence of Christ was exhibited to them, in the Sacrament, simply, for their salvation, if they received that [presence] with faith; and altogether withdrew their mind from [any speculation as to] the manner in which He is present.'

⁵⁹ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 88: 'I fear too many who may read the Acts of this Disputation will come to the conclusion that you maintain that Christ is absent altogether from the Supper, and that whatsoever is done in it has no further result than that faith, excited concerning Christ truly absent, is increased through the Spirit of Christ, by His benefits brought to mind and by meditation; and that you do not acknowledge that the very Christ [...] exhibits and communicates Himself present to His own by that communication, by which they verily are and remain in Him, and have Him being and remaining in themselves. To sum up: they will think you maintain the presence, not of Christ, but only of the Spirit of Christ, and of His influence; although I know that you acknowledge that Christ exhibits Himself present to faith.'

⁶⁰ OTD 133. Latin: 'Corpus et sanguis Christi uniuntur pani et vino sacramentaliter.'

faith, not by any sense or manner of this world.⁶¹ In keeping with the second *quaestio*, the explanation of the adverb ‘sacramentally’ would once more emphasise the true presence of Christ perceived through faith. Unfortunately, Vermigli’s reply to Bucer’s appraisal has not been handed down to us.

A year later it was Bucer who asked Vermigli for support. Bucer was caught up in a dispute about the doctrine of justification in Cambridge, which centred on the question whether there was such a thing as a ‘middle state’ between unrighteousness and justification.⁶² Bucer’s opponent, who answered this question in the affirmative, referred to the Roman centurion Cornelius (Acts 10) as having done good deeds already prior to justification and underpinned his argument with the authority of Augustine. It is not surprising to find that Vermigli was in absolute agreement with Bucer in the rejection of this ‘middle state’:⁶³ ‘As regards the head of this question, you have me consentient, and decidedly of your opinion, every point. For, to allow a “Middle State” between unrighteousness and justification, would be a fruitful source of infinite evils. Therefore you must attack, as indeed you do, this position with all your might.’⁶⁴ Vermigli concentrated in particular on gathering pieces of evidence to prove the reference to Augustine as invalid, as the latter ‘never dreamt of a “Middle State” of this sort’.⁶⁵ The attestation of the bible as well as Augustine’s writings made it perfectly clear that good deeds always followed justification and could not precede it, wherefore Cornelius must already have been justified: ‘It is clear what Augustine thought concerning good works; namely, that they do not go before, but follow Justification. Therefore Cornelius could not, before Justification, do what was pleasing to God.’⁶⁶

⁶¹ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 84; Pollet, *Bucer*, vol. 1, 266: ‘ita, ut credentibus Christus hic vere exhiberetur, fide tamen, nullo vel sensu vel ratione huius seculi intuendus, recipiendus, fruendus’.

⁶² A report by Bucer of the controversy can be found in Martin Bucer, *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia iis etiam, quae hactenus vel nondum, vel sparsim, vel peregrino saltem idiomate edita fuere* (Basle: Peter Perna, 1577), 797–808.

⁶³ Vermigli’s letter dates from 31 August 1550 and is printed in Gorham, *Gleanings*, 168–175, no. 48. Bucer’s enquiry has not been passed down.

⁶⁴ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 168.

⁶⁵ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 172.

⁶⁶ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 169. See also *ibid.*, 174: ‘Hence, if the comparison be just, it follows, that Cornelius was already justified.’

Already in November 1550 Vermigli had to answer a further question of Bucer's:⁶⁷ 'How long was a general, confused and implied faith sufficient for the salvation of men?'⁶⁸ An obvious solution appeared to Vermigli in the assumption that such an implied faith was sufficient for salvation, prior to the proclaiming of the Gospel.⁶⁹ Such an assumption, however, implied that contemporary people ignorant of the Gospel even now obtained salvation owing to their implied faith.⁷⁰ Not that this presented a problem to Vermigli, even though he was unwilling to promise such people salvation:

If, however, any persons can be found in the present day, who believe in Christ by an implied faith; and [yet] who have heard nothing of His advent, who [keep] themselves from impiety and superstition, and who strive to live purely (—though I think it would be exceedingly difficult to find such—) I think we ought not to abandon hope that the Divine compassion will be extended to such:—still I dare not, as I have said, [absolutely] promise them salvation.⁷¹

In the same letter Vermigli also reassured Bucer of his absolute agreement in the vestment controversy and corroborated this by sending him a copy of his letter to John Hooper of 4 November 1551.⁷² We shall contemplate this letter in the following paragraph.

JOHN HOOPER

A substantial number of Vermigli's correspondents were from England, among them—as already mentioned—a considerable number of

⁶⁷ Vermigli's reply dates from 11 November 1550, Gorham, *Gleanings*, 196–199, no. 54.

⁶⁸ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 197.

⁶⁹ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 197: 'It seems not unreasonable to adopt a similar decision concerning that implied faith which might have been sufficient for the salvation of men so long as the Gospel was not publicly preached.'

⁷⁰ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 197: 'I perceive, indeed, that speculative persons may cavil; [or they may argue,] that, according to this, those may obtain salvation who, even in our time, are altogether ignorant of the Gospel.'

⁷¹ Gorham, *Gleanings*, 198.

⁷² Gorham, *Gleanings*, 196f: 'I have perused, man of God, what you have written so learnedly and piously on the Vestment controversy; and with no small satisfaction; both because I acknowledge the truth of what you say; and, also, because your sentiments agree throughout with those which I had sent to Hooper himself at London, the day before your letter was put into my hands. In order that you may be the better assured that there is no distance between your and my opinion, you can read the copy of my letter, which I inclose.'

bishops, who had had to flee into exile or suffer repressions during the reign of 'Bloody Mary', before they obtained their offices following the accession of Elizabeth I. The correspondence between Vermigli and these English bishops served predominantly to exchange information. Indeed, thanks to his excellent English contacts, Vermigli became one of the most important propagators of information from England on the European continent. Specific theological problems were rarely discussed in these communications. An exception was made by Vermigli in a letter of 4 November 1550 wherein he proffered his opinion on the vestment controversy to John Hooper.⁷³ In this missive Vermigli argued along the exact same lines as in his later letter of 28 January 1551 to Henrich Bullinger—already touched upon above.⁷⁴ He would like nothing better, maintained Vermigli, than to reinstate the original simplicity in the Christian religion and would therefore also welcome the abolition of the vestments. He could by no means, however, tolerate Hooper's view that the use of these garments was anti-scriptural, as they represented an *adiaphoron*, which did not concern the premise of faith. Instead of Hooper's radical approach, Vermigli would rather see to it that the Gospel became more deeply entrenched in England, which in the course of time would inevitably lead to the abolition of the vestments. The decisive conflict between Vermigli and Hooper was rooted in their contrasting attitude to the vestments. To Hooper—as Vermigli clearly recognised—this question was anything but an *adiaphoron*, as it represented a relic of both Aaronic priesthood, which had been made obsolete by Jesus, and Roman Catholicism, which the reformers were determined to crush. Vermigli reminded Hooper that—with due caution—by no means all customs and habits from the times before Christ, or the Reformation respectively, had to be forgone: the early Christians, as well as the reformers, had made use of given entities—for instance the pagan temples—correcting their interpretation where necessary and adapting them to an appropriate use.

Hooper was not to be swayed by Vermigli's arguments and Vermigli became increasingly alienated by Hooper's rigidity. In his last two surviving letters to Bucer he no longer attempted to veil his disappointment in Hooper.⁷⁵

⁷³ *LLS* 102–109.

⁷⁴ *LLS* 111–114.

⁷⁵ It concerns letters from 10 January (Gorham, *Gleanings*, 227–231, no. 63) and early February 1551 (Gorham, *Gleanings*, 231–233, no. 64). See *ibid.*, 229: 'His cause lies in

JOHN CALVIN AND THEODORE BEZA

The Genevan theologians were of the same considerable significance to Vermigli as to Reformed Protestantism in general. With no other correspondent—except Heinrich Bullinger—did Vermigli exchange more letters than with John Calvin.⁷⁶ This correspondence is accompanied by nine further letters to or from Theodore Beza. The theological priorities of these exchanges are the doctrines of the sacraments and predestination. With regard to predestination the writers did not so much exchange actual arguments as confirm their dogmatic consensus. Thus Vermigli reported to Calvin on 9 Mai 1554 that he and Girolamo Zanchi would make a joint effort to defend Calvin and his doctrine of predestination at Strasbourg,⁷⁷ and barely a year later Vermigli described these exertions to Beza.⁷⁸ In July 1557 Vermigli again expressed his consent with Calvin's doctrine⁷⁹ and in April 1558 he praised him for

such a state, that it cannot be approved by good and pious men. I am grieved, I am grieved exceedingly, that such things should happen among professors of the Gospel. [...] May God give a happy issue to acts which cannot but be regretted'; *ibid.*, 232f: 'I grieve more for Hooper than I can express either by words or by writing. Nothing has happened to him which I had not foreseen and foretold before I left the Archbishop; when there, at Lambeth, I three times had a conference with him, and exerted every effort to break down his determination. And, certainly, at our first meeting, I entertained some hope of softening him, although I had not clearly [gained] his assent; and he requested me to return to him after dinner. In the meantime, another person had access to him—the leader of the farce—as both you and I well know. The result of his advice was that he was rendered far more obstinate, as I afterwards learnt, than ever before. Therefore, seeing that nothing could be done, I left him sufficiently admonished, if he would but have listened, of the dangers which hung over him. Ah! miserable condition of the church—not only troubled on every side by the persecutions of Antichrist, but so easily shaken by the offences of her own [members]!'

⁷⁶ On this exchange see Anderson, 'Peter Martyr, Reformed Theologian,' 55–64.

⁷⁷ CO 15, 136f, no. 1953; see *ibid.*, 137: 'Nec te postremo latere velim me una cum reliquis bonis viris id vehementer dolere, quod adversus veritatem ac tuum nomen adeo inepta et falsa spargant de aeterna Dei electione atque de haereticis extremo supplicio non afficiendis. [...] Nos hic, quoties rogamur, quum publice tum privatim, partes et veri et tuas pro virili tuemur, praesertim Zanchius et ego.'

⁷⁸ *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 1, ed. Fernand Aubert et al. (Geneva: Droz, 1960) (*Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 40), 153–155, no. 57 (March 1555); see *ibid.*, 153: 'Dogma praedestinationis ut in Ecclesia retineatur purum et vere simpliciterque doceatur, perutile ac necessarium esse intelligo, quod quia non videmus fieri, ut nostrum uterque optat, inde magnum acerbumque dolorem capio. Zanchius et ego hic pro viribus a Deo concessis officio non defuimus, verum et docendo et disputando, quod verum est dilucide atque aperte defendimus.'

⁷⁹ The letter dates from 1 July 1557 and is printed in Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Historiae ecclesiasticae Novi Testamenti*, vol. 8 (Zurich: Michael Schaufelberger, 1667), 829f.

his treatise on predestination, which was aimed against Castellio.⁸⁰ He would represent the same opinion in his forthcoming commentary on Romans. Calvin personally expressed his gratitude for Vermigli's support.⁸¹

Vermigli's epistolary discussion with the Genevans concerning the Eucharist was more intense.⁸² In November 1554 Calvin sent Vermigli his own defence statement against Joachim Westphal with the corrections demanded by Zurich's theologians.⁸³ Vermigli must have commented on this document at great length, as can be deduced from Calvin's reply.⁸⁴ In particular, Vermigli appears to have warned—presumably with Bucer in mind—against ambiguous terminology. As it happened, his suggestions arrived too late to be considered by Calvin. On 8 March 1555 Vermigli continued the discussion with lengthy deliberations on the nature and manner of the *communio* with Christ.⁸⁵ Beza also involved himself in the discussion with questions relating to this *communio*, and Vermigli responded promptly.⁸⁶ In his reply he distinguished between different aspects of the believer's communion with Christ: There was a natural *communio*, determined simply by being human, as well as an eternal *communio* of the resurrected. Between these two specified points of connection with Christ, Vermigli saw an additional kind of *communio*, which he termed the mystical one, manifested through faith and the sacraments.⁸⁷ Calvin once more expressed his agreement: 'I have but touched this deliberation, that you may see

⁸⁰ CO 17, 143–145, no. 2855.

⁸¹ CO 17, 175f, no. 2874.

⁸² See McLelland, *Visible words*, 278–281.

⁸³ CO 15, 322f, no. 2053 (27 November 1554).

⁸⁴ CO 15, 386–389, no. 2089 (18 January 1555).

⁸⁵ CO 15, 492–497, no. 2142. See McLelland, *Visible words*, 143–147.

⁸⁶ Vermigli's reply in *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 1, 153–155, no. 57 (March 1555).

⁸⁷ *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 1, 154: 'Proinde inter primam conjunctionem quam naturae voco, et postremam quam similitudinis jure appellaverim, hanc mediam pono, quae unionis, aut arcani mysterii dici potest, ea sane Christo jungimur ut capiti, sumusque carnes de carnibus ipsius, et ossa de ossibus ejus, siquidem toti quatenus credimus, in eo vivificamur, augemur, atque simul cum aliis membris jungimur, hujusque intimae conjunctionis cum baptismus tum Cœna Domini sunt certissima symbola, eaque non inania. Etenim communicationis hujusmodi, statim ut in Christum credimus, participes reddimur, et quia in sacramentis utiliter percipientibus fides adhibenda est, idcirco per eam conjunctio illa, dum Sacramentis utimur, et confirmatur, et augetur.'

that we feel the very same on all points.⁸⁸ Vermigli could also count on Calvin's consent when he conveyed to him in June 1556 a list of the central points of his understanding of the Lord's Supper, which he used in his endeavour to defend his doctrine in Strasbourg.⁸⁹

1. Rejection of a physical presence of Christ
2. Rejection of the *manducatio impiorum*
3. Figurative understanding of the words of consecration
4. Rejection of Christ's ubiquity

In matters theological, the correspondence between Vermigli and the Genevans exhibits great frankness and a mutual trust between the letter writers, nourished by the conviction that they shared the same basic principles, regardless of minor nuances.

LETTERS TO THE CONGREGATIONS IN FRANKFURT AND LONDON

Vermigli's theological advice was also sought by congregations caught up in internal theological wrangles. Thus in the mid-1550s, when the Reformed English congregation in Frankfurt, which did not appear to entertain its own minister, split into factions over the question: 'Is it permissible for people of the Gospel to receive baptism from Lutherans?'⁹⁰ Vermigli—also in the name of his colleagues of Strasbourg—delivered an assessment:⁹¹ as the Scriptures did not give explicit instructions on this subject, one was to argue 'according to what we can conjecture from the implications of the divine Scriptures.'⁹² Vermigli's personal answer to the question posed by the congregation was negative, not because a baptism performed by a Lutheran was invalid, but rather that

⁸⁸ CO 15, 722–725, no. 2266, here 724: 'Apud alium quempiam, qui mihi docendus esset, fusius prosequer quae breviter apud te hoc tantum consilio perstringo, ut nos idem prorsus sentire videas.' See McLelland, *Visible words*, 145f.

⁸⁹ CO 16, 193–197, no. 2479 (14 June 1556).

⁹⁰ LLS 130. In his letter Vermigli does not specifically name the community he's addressing, but it is likely to have been the English congregation in Frankfurt. A report on the events in Frankfurt can be found in William Whittingham, *A brieffe discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany anno Domini 1554* ([Heidelberg: M. Schirat], 1575).

⁹¹ A translation of the letter in LLS 129–133.

⁹² LLS 129: 'We do not read in God's word anything which exists as settled in explicit and definite words about the question that you bring up. Therefore on this question we should argue according to what we can conjecture from the implications of the divine Scripture.'

the implications advised against it. Baptism was a seal of faith. In the case of a child being baptised, the act sealed the faith of the parents.⁹³ The problem thus lay in the fact that the Lutherans and the Reformed did not bear witness to the same faith. Therefore to permit a Lutheran baptism would be synonymous to—or would at least be perceived as such—bearing witness to the Lutheran faith,⁹⁴ which not only was to be avoided, but would also cause perplexity in the weaker members of the congregation.⁹⁵ Vermigli backed up his argumentation by pointing to historical examples: the pious Israelites refused to have their children circumcised by followers of Jeroboam, and Theodosius the Great made certain before his baptism that it was not to be conducted by an Arian.⁹⁶ Vermigli concluded: ‘Even if the baptism of the Lutherans is permissible, still it is not expedient at this time and for your brethren.’⁹⁷

The Stranger Church in London faced different problems when they expelled their minister Adrian van Haemstede in November 1560 because of his tolerance of the Anabaptists. Yet even after his excommunication, Haemstede could count on a large following.⁹⁸ In this situation Vermigli was called upon to comment, which he did at great length in his letter of 15 February 1561.⁹⁹ The cause of the debate was Haemstede’s stance that the Anabaptists were to be recognised as brothers in faith, even though they denied that Christ assumed human flesh

⁹³ LLS 130: ‘First we assert that baptism is a certain sealing of the faith of the person being washed. If because of age the person is not yet endowed with faith, we understand that the faith of those bringing forward the child being baptized is sealed.’

⁹⁴ LLS 130: ‘Therefore since the Lutherans and our people have a different faith, we cannot hand over our faith to the Lutherans to be sealed. Since they utterly abhor our faith, it is out of the question that they would want to approve our faith by the sign of baptism. Therefore in doing this we will seem rather to be agreeing to their faith and to have transferred our heart and mind to their church and faith. Indeed, we do not think a given church baptizes in any other faith than in the one that flourishes and is passed on in it.’

⁹⁵ LLS 132: ‘We must also add to these considerations the fact that we consider this a stumbling block or scandal to the weak members of your church. [...] What profit or spiritual edification, I beg of you, is to be gained in the end from a baptism sought from the Lutherans?’

⁹⁶ LLS 131.

⁹⁷ LLS 133.

⁹⁸ See Judith Becker, *Gemeindeordnung und Kirchengesetz: Johannes a Lasco's Kirchenordnung für London (1555) und die reformierte Konfessionsbildung* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 269–271 and Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 164–181.

⁹⁹ LLS 184–197.

of his mother.¹⁰⁰ In Vermigli's view this was completely unacceptable, as it attacked one of the most important articles of faith: 'Nobody of sound religion doubts that Christ's birth from the Virgin Mary pertains to the most important articles of faith.'¹⁰¹ Thence Vermigli's conviction derived—and this was the decisive difference with Haemstede—that the rejection of the Virgin Birth simultaneously rejected Christ as mediator, which he illustrated with a political analogy:

But let us add this for those who deny what truly belongs to the mediator: they are wholly destroying the mediator, even though they swear with their mouth and words that they believe in and profess him. If somebody in any kingdom were to teach that the king was not to be obeyed for any reason and still confessed him to be a legitimate king and to hold the kingship by hereditary right—in my judgement he would be punished by death. It would do him no good to shout out and claim he does not see any connection between the conclusion and the premise.¹⁰²

According to Vermigli one cannot selectively accept or reject individual doctrines as one sees fit:

All of God's words, inasmuch as they flow out from him, carry equal weight and authority and therefore it is not right for a person by private judgement to accept this one and to refute and reject that one as false. James boldly says that the person who sins against one commandment is rendered guilty of them all.¹⁰³

Vermigli's sharp words leave no doubt that he supported unreservedly the expulsion of Haemstede by the London congregation. He nevertheless did not miss the opportunity to close his communication with an appeal for love and peace:

Hence after putting aside this novel doctrine, let us reflect that we should use every means to promote quiet and peace in the church. We have quite enough of intricate and vain questions. Therefore it will be your task to return as soon as possible to grace with the truth safe and unharmed.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ *LLS* 184: 'He has decided that the perverse opinion that Christ's flesh was brought down from heaven and not taken from the Blessed Virgin does not deprive the Anabaptists of salvation even if they obstinately cling to it; rather, in their profession they still belong both to Christ and to the Church.'

¹⁰¹ *LLS* 186.

¹⁰² *LLS* 187.

¹⁰³ *LLS* 192f.

¹⁰⁴ *LLS* 196f.

THE OPEN LETTERS TO POLAND

There are three open letters by Vermigli in which he turned his attention to the problems the reformed congregations were facing in Poland. The first one, dated 14 February 1556,¹⁰⁵ he wrote while still at Strasbourg and addressed it to the 'Polish lords professing the Gospel and to the ministers of their churches'. The second one is dated 27 May 1560 and addressed to the 'Polish churches',¹⁰⁶ and the third one was written in March 1561 to the 'illustrious Polish noblemen'.¹⁰⁷ The latter two letters were published by Christopher Froschauer in March 1561 under the heading *Epistolae duae ad ecclesias Polonicas*.

That Christology was the most controversial theological *locus* in Poland can be seen already in Vermigli's first missive. Besides general encouragement and advice for the establishment of a functional church, Vermigli also answered questions raised by Francesco Lismanni on behalf of the Polish church, of which three revolved around the problem of the two natures of Christ. On the one hand, Vermigli rejected the opinion that Christ's divine nature had suffered.¹⁰⁸ On the other, he emphasised that Christ's role as mediator concerned both his natures at once,¹⁰⁹ and urged avoidance of confusing the two natures.¹¹⁰ And finally, he distanced himself from Andreas Osiander's doctrine of justification.¹¹¹

Vermigli's directions could not prevent Christology in Poland from remaining an exceedingly disputed *locus*. When Francesco Stancaro limited Christ's mediation to his human nature, the theologians of Zurich were twice appealed to for counsel in the years 1560/61. In both cases it was Vermigli who, on behalf of the entire church of Zurich, informed the Poles and the public in general, of 'what we think about our Lord Jesus Christ as mediator, whether he is mediator according to his human nature only or according to both natures.'¹¹² As already

¹⁰⁵ LLS 142–154.

¹⁰⁶ LLS 178–183.

¹⁰⁷ LLS 198–220.

¹⁰⁸ LLS 151: 'I strongly deny that Christ suffered in his divine nature.'

¹⁰⁹ LLS 152: 'We also confess that the Lord is mediator in that he consists of both natures, divine and human.'

¹¹⁰ LLS 152f.

¹¹¹ LLS 153: 'We reject as foreign and alien to the Scriptures the "essential justice" which Osiander has invented.'

¹¹² Preface to *Epistolae duae ad ecclesias Polonicas*, LLS 198, fn. 271.

in 1556, Vermigli condemned Stancaro's viewpoint and explained why 'we may preach Christ as mediator as regards both his natures, that is, the divine and the human.'¹¹³ To this end he had to prove, among other points, that the quotation Stancaro particularly favoured in his armoury, i.e. 1 Tim. 2:5 ('There is one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus') could equally be interpreted to support Vermigli's understanding.¹¹⁴ He moreover insisted that any reference to the Zurich theologians by Stancaro was altogether impermissible and eluding reality. The Christology Vermigli outlined in his letters to Poland, must be regarded in close connection with his *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura* published in 1561.¹¹⁵

CONCLUSION

Explicitly theological questions were not the predominant theme in Vermigli's correspondence. The exchange of news about current affairs played a far greater part. In particular thanks to his close contacts in England, Vermigli was a much sought-after source of news for the continental reformers and thus epitomized a relay station of information exchange across the English Channel. Nevertheless, theological discussion was also an important aspect of his written communication. The overall view presented here of the theological themes in his correspondence shows two groups of addressees and two associated functions of these exchanges.

On the one hand, Vermigli consistently endeavoured in his contact with his fellow reformers to make his position transparent and to place it squarely within the spectrum of Reformed Protestantism, indeed to balance it out, by explication, clearing up misunderstandings and diffusing doubts. The predominant *locus* addressed was the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which comes as no surprise since it was at the root of the quarrel among the confessions. It was at this point where any differences or misunderstandings arising among them could be devastating and would lead eventually to shattering the fragile union of Reformed Protestantism. In this arena Vermigli's correspondence

¹¹³ LLS 181.

¹¹⁴ See LLS 182.

¹¹⁵ See William Klempa's treatment of Vermigli's 'Classical Christology' in chapter fifteen above.

took on the role of a safeguarding mechanism. On the other hand we see Vermigli as a theological critic and counsellor of the reformed communities of Europe. Representatives of the English congregation in Frankfurt, the Foreign Community in London and followers of the reformed doctrine in Poland sought Vermigli's advice and backing in complicated dogmatic questions, which could only be answered adequately by a comprehensive theological competence.

The overview of the theological subject matter in Vermigli's correspondence thus clearly demonstrates two facets of his life, work and influence: Vermigli was simultaneously an outstanding exponent of the Reformed theology of his time, whose word carried weight among the leading theologians, and a doctrinal authority, on whose advice his co-religionists could and did depend in cases of conflict.

PART FIVE

NACHLEBEN

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

JOSIAS SIMLER'S HAGIOGRAPHY

Michael Baumann

In this chapter I will discuss the significance of Josias Simler's speech *Oratio de vita et obitu P. Martyr Vermilii*¹ which has until now been considered one-sidedly as a purely biographical work.² As we will see, this work of Simler's turns out to be not only a most informative source, but also a document which anticipates *pars pro toto* Vermigli's reception and which may be categorized within the *genre* of Protestant hagiography.

Peter Martyr Vermigli died suddenly at the beginning of November 1562. It is true that his biographer Josias Simler as well as other contemporary sources and letters mention a sickness having lasted since his return to Zurich from Poissy, but little can be found with regard to any disease to which Vermigli might have fallen a victim, as mentioned for example by Rudolf Pfister.³ We may rather assume that besides suffering from the usual geriatric complaints, Vermigli was likely the victim of a common cold.⁴

Nevertheless, Vermigli's death left a painful void because the six years during which he had been active in Zurich had been too short a period for completing the projects for which he was principally responsible. Looked at in this way, it is not all that amazing to see that in Theodor Beza's and Wolfgang Haller's *epicedia* (in a letter to Zanchi) Vermigli is called not only a mainstay of the Reformed church but its light. How, then, did Josias Simler address Vermigli's death in his *Oratio* and what stylistic devices did he employ in painting his portrait of

¹ (Zurich: Christopher Froschauer, 1563).

² Fritz Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' in Emidio Campi et al., *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 203–204.

³ Rudolf Pfister, *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*, Bd. 1 (Zurich: TVZ, 1974), 290.

⁴ Michael Baumann, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli-Dieser Kylchen in der heiligen gschrift professor und laeser,' Th.Diss. in progress.

Vermigli?⁵ So far, Simler's speech has been understood as a retrospective of the life of an admittedly very special person.⁶ Fritz Büsser has already drawn attention to the fact that Simler was in fact a 'pioneer of biography'⁷ and that his *Oratio* uses the 'style of the funeral speech'⁸—but to what end? Büsser mentions that Simler portrays the last six years of Vermigli's life in such great detail that the account fills about one third of his biography. Büsser also alludes to the important fact that Simler wrote as a native of Zurich for his fellow citizens of Zurich.⁹ At the same time, Büsser notes that Simler added to his *Oratio* a whole armada—so to speak—of additional brief theological documents, some by Vermigli himself,¹⁰ and others dedicated to him and purporting to metamorphose him into 'a native of Zurich'.¹¹ It is worthwhile to follow this trail in order to investigate why Simler sought to transform Vermigli, both theologically 'and in general', into a native of Zurich.

Before proceeding in our examination of Simler's *Oratio*, however, it is necessary to sketch briefly the religious political climate characteristic of the years just before and after Vermigli's death. A formative element was that the Counter Reformation had gained in strength. It was a sign of the time that pope Pius IV bestowed the archbishopric of Milan on his nephew Charles Borromeo—Jesuit, jurist, Prothonotary of the Curia, and soon to be cardinal—and appointed him *Protector Helvetiae*. His 'function of protection' for the seven old (orthodox) cantons, and the symbolic function for the hardening but at the same time fracturing of the religious political structure of Switzerland, must not be underestimated.¹²

⁵ Hans Ulrich Bächtold, 'Josias Simler,' in Hans Ulrich Bächtold, *Schola Tigurina: Die Zürcher Hohe Schule und ihre Gelehrten um 1550* (Zurich: Pano, 1999); Fritz Büsser, 'Josias Simler Gedenkrede auf Petrus Martyr 1563. Vermigli in Zürich,' in *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1984*, 74; Josias Simler, *Oratio de vita et obitu clarissimi viri et praestantissimi Theologi D. Petri Martyris Vermiglii divinarum literarum professoris in Schola Tigurina [...]* (Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1563), 4^o; 49 Bl., Frontispiz mit Holzschnitt von Jos Murer (Petrus Martyr Anno Domini 1562), Zentral Bibliothek Zurich Sig. 5.165₂.

⁶ Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 203.

⁷ Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 204.

⁸ Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 209.

⁹ Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 210.

¹⁰ *Confessio de Coena Domini; Sententia de praesentia Corporis Christi in Eucharistia [...], Epistola de causa Eucharistiae [...]*. See Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 210.

¹¹ Büsser, 'Vermigli in Zürich,' 210.

¹² Pfister, *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*, 315–316. Cardinal Borromeo was the prototype of a renewed clerical culture: well-educated, clean-living, and with a high sense

At the same time, the Reformed community came under increasing pressure for legitimacy from within its own ranks as well as from other Protestant communities which led, in 1566, to the clarifying publication of the *Confessio Helvetica Posterior* in the creation of which Vermigli is thought to have been deeply involved, although so far this involvement cannot be adequately confirmed. The pressure from the Reformed community abroad, particularly in the Palatinate and France, to dissociate completely from the hierarchy as well as the Lutherans became palpable in Switzerland. The smouldering conflict in Zurich between Theodor Bibliander and Vermigli concerning the doctrine of universal atonement (divine election, predestination, etc.) became virulent, and eventually boiled up from outside. Regardless of whether this conflict was owing to Bibliander's provocations, his jealousy of Vermigli's enhanced status in the *Schola Tigurina*, or to Bullinger's enduring tolerance, or even to the accusation by outsiders that Bibliander was a 'Pelagian', the Council of Zurich decided to retire Bibliander officially for health reasons, but nonetheless to pay him his full salary for the remainder of his life. Thus, the Church of Zurich came to be officially 'homologized' with the predominant Reformed position, although not Calvinized, nor 'Vermigli-ized', but rather 'Beza-fied'! Decisive for this atmosphere was the increasing theological agreement, especially between Zurich and Geneva, concerning officially approved Reformed doctrine.¹³

The same goes for the continuing controversy concerning the Eucharist. Only in this case, the fronts were directed outwards. After the Swiss agreement in the *Consensus Tigurinus* of 1549, the confederate Reformed churches came into the field of fire of Joachim Westphal. It was not without strong external political pressure—for example, the inglorious consequences of this internal Protestant argument about the sacrament for Johannes à Lasco and his people—that Bullinger and Calvin started to take part in the common defence against Westphal's accusations. Although these quarrels dragged on, Lutherans and Reformed tried to have talks for the surmounting in the inner-Protestant schism. Unfortunately, these efforts were shattered after the religious colloquy in Worms in 1557, and the Protestant position remained fragile thereby having a lasting negative effect on their Upper Italian and French

of mission—in modern words *management skills*—and so Carlo Borromeo became a precarious counterpart of the reformation.

¹³ Frank James calls this the Bullinger-Vermigli axis. See *PMV*, 170.

co-religionists.¹⁴ Vermigli's position, which towards the end of his life defined itself increasingly against Brenz, had a longer history. Yet we must assume that during his stay in Oxford in his disputation with Stephan Gardiner, and in his second stay in Strasbourg against Marbach and Stancarus, and later against Lismanini, and finally in Zurich, his primary Christological topic was reiterated and gained increased topicality.¹⁵

Turning our attention once again to Simler's *Oratio*, we notice that not only did Simler want to preserve the remembrance of Vermigli and to save the commemoration of him for the next generation, but that he also had in mind to lay a foundation for the church of Zurich. What kind of foundation and according to what model? I propose the model of faith—specifically of the 'saint', according to the ecclesiastically well-established legends. The terms 'legend' and 'saint' must not be misunderstood. Already halfway through the sixteenth century, Martyrologies¹⁶ begin to emerge in Protestant regions in the form of biographical collections of 'models' of faith, as attested, for example, by John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*.¹⁷ This, however, is not the occasion for going further into this kind of writing. As a summarizing example I would like to mention Johann Heinrich Heidegger¹⁸ who in his *Heiliges*

¹⁴ Pfister, *Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz*, 302.

¹⁵ Hans Christian Brandy, *Die späte Christologie des Johannes Brenz* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1991), 74.

¹⁶ Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at Stake. Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Suzannah Breitzius Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Catharine Randall Coats, *(Em)bodying the Word. Textual Resurrections in the Martyrological Narratives of Foxe, Cresspin, de Bèze and d'Aubigné* (Bern: Lang, 1992); Carl I. Hammer, 'The Oxford Martyrs in Oxford: The Local History of their Confinements and their Keepers,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 50 (1999), 235ff.

¹⁷ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perillous dayes: touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and decribed the great persecutions [and] horrible troubles, that have bene wrought and practised by the Romishe prelates, speciallye in this realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, vnto the tyme nowe present* (London: John Day, 1563).

¹⁸ Johann Heinrich Heidegger (1633–1698), studied theology in Zurich under Johann Heinrich Hottinger and in Marburg under at Ludwig Crocius. He learned Hebrew in Heidelberg and filled the position for teaching *loci communes* and church history in Burgsteinfurt (Westphalia in Germany) in 1659. He was in contact with Johannes Cocceius from the Netherlands and returned 1665 back to Zurich. As successor of Hottinger he got the position as professor for exegesis and dogmatics in 1667. Heidegger taught in the tradition of Dordrecht with the ideas of the theology of covenant, but he was one of the authors of *Formula Consensus Ecclesiarum Helveticarum Reformatarum*

Martyrthum [...] of 1688¹⁹ puts Peter Martyr into the list of witnesses of the 'orthodox' church of Zurich²⁰—a long list which begins with Thecla and Stephen and leads through Cyprian and Tertullian down to the last two hundred years. The Anabaptist communities dealt equally with martyrology in their '*Täuferspiegel*'. There, martyrs and models of faith melt almost together.²¹

So Simler follows a well-known schema of Christian literature by stressing Vermigli's peculiarity regarding his education, his character, and his faith thus rendering him a faith model and depicting him as the person who, three hundred years later, could be regarded as a 'father and founder of the Reformed church'. At the same time, Simler points out consciously and unconsciously that at that time of his writing those 'fathers and founders' did not yet exist. It is true that the tradition of the '*ecclesia invisibilis*' ties onto the notion of the pristine church of antiquity—Simler himself does the same in his reference to Vermigli's entry into to the Augustinian Order by referring to the criticism of the church by Dante and Petrarch, and then to Basil, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Augustine himself. But then Simler had to describe the *vita* of Peter Martyr very thoroughly. Simler uses the hagiographical model of the typical legend of saints. Referring to Hans-Peter Ecker's enlarged term of legend,²² the following criteria can be applied to Simler's oration: legends must show a certain note of *discord* with respect to the present;²³ nonetheless, they seek to interpret this present or to propose an interpretation of it; they must provide a theological message—a question of truth—and thus create consonance with a previous pristine time which is regarded as exemplary; in this way they create a

1675, the Helvetic consensus against pietism and the theology of enlightenment. This consensus was never published officially while it was valid—but later at the beginning of the 18th century as document of Reformed orthodoxy codifying the complete inspiration of Greek and Hebrew biblical texts included the punctualization of the masoretic sources.

¹⁹ Johann Heinrich Heidegger, *Heiliges Martyrthum/das ist Kampf-Platz getreuer Blut-Zeugen Jesu Christi* [...] (Zurich: Johann Rudolff Rahn, 1688 [actually 1686]).

²⁰ Heidegger, *Heiliges Martyrthum*, 493.

²¹ See Peter Dettwiler, 'The Anabaptist Inheritance in Ecumenical Dialogue—A Reformed Perspective,' in Michael Baumann, ed., *Steps to Reconciliation: Reformed and Anabaptist Churches in Dialogue* (Zurich: TVZ, 2007), 39–46.

²² Hans-Peter Ecker, *Die Legende: Kulturanthropologische Annäherung an eine literarische Gattung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2004).

²³ 'Legenden produzieren symbolisch, und zwar auf narrative Weise, kognitive Distanz', so Klaas Huizinga, *Ästhetische Theologie, Bd. 2: Der inszenierte Mensch* (München: Kreuz Verlag, 2002), 153.

virtual axis or connection across time, and postulate its *relevance* for the present; thus they necessarily define a certain status, differentiate reality, and lead consistently to new conflicts; legends claim objectivity (in which respect they are similar to sacred texts), they show similar formal characteristics of a certain *routine*, distinguish schematically and sometimes simplifying right and wrong, marking off good and evil, and offer support even for simple questions for practical life.²⁴ Above all, the two terms 'consent' and 'dissent' turn out themselves to be worthy of interpretation. In a legend, consent is created between the reader and the portrayed theological conception of life and world while dissent exists with regard to non-compatible areas. This makes sense with regard to the emergence of the Reformed churches: consent had to be established, both controversially as well as in the self-image with the old church, and dissent had to be emphasized with regard to misled groups (also in the interest of self-protection).

Without calling the historical substance of Simler's biography into question it can be shown that *Oratio de vita et obitu* is far more than merely an early-modern biography. It is a biography indeed, but definitely in a legendary genre with the intention of not only preserving the remembrance of Peter Martyr, but at the same time posthumously incorporating him into the process of legitimizing the young Reformed church. This process included not only Simler's biography of Vermigli, but also the posthumous editions of his writings, in particular the publication of his highly influential *Loci Communes*.²⁵

With regard to the standpoint Vermigli prominently held as an official representative of Reform at the Colloquy of Poissy,²⁶ his unique formulation of the doctrine of the Eucharist indeed has the status of the theological foundation stone, or *caput angulum*,²⁷ which Brenz's attacks

²⁴ Based on Klaas Huizing, *Ästhetische Theologie*, Bd. 2, 153–158; Hans-Peter Ecker, *Die Legende*, 238 e.g. on Luther's *Lügend von St. Johanne Chrysostomo*.

²⁵ Christoph Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes* und Calvins *Institutio Christianae Religionis*', *PMV*, 77.

²⁶ Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 74 refers to the *Sententia D. Petri Martyris Vermilij de praesentia corporis Christi in Eucharistia, proposita ab ipso in Colloquio Poissiaci habito*, *Loci Communes* (Geneva: Pierre Aubert, 1627), 750; against the position of Andreas Mühling, 'Vermigli, Bullinger und das Religionsgespräch von Poissy,' *PMV*, 241.

²⁷ Salvatore Corda, *Veritas Sacramenti: a study in Vermigli's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper* (Zurich: TVZ, 1975), 96 called in this sense Vermigli 'the Champion of the Reformed view in the Lord's Supper'. See also Brandy, *Die späte Christologie*, 72.

forced Vermigli to make repeatedly the central theme of his theology. In this respect, all of Vermigli's writings about the meaning of the communion were imbued by the conviction that beside the meaning and exegesis of the Holy Scriptures on the communion there would always have to be the knowledge of God's salvific action in Christ and the pneumatological acquisition of this action on the part of the believer. It is nonetheless conceivable that this sharp and trenchant insistence on a single theological *locus* was already out-dated after the middle of the sixteenth century and was superseded by a more synthetic theological position of 'insemination' which was less geared to the personal salvific experience of the believer. A demonstration of this, however, would require a comprehensive history of the reception of the posthumously published edition of Vermigli's *Loci Communes*.²⁸

Similarly John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, 'Christological Currents in Vermigli's Thought,' in Frank James III, ed., *Peter Martyr and the European Reformations. Semper Reformanda* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 178.

²⁸ See Joseph McLelland's history of the *Loci Communes* in chapter 25 below, 479–494.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

VERMIGLI AND FRENCH REFORM

Jason Zuidema

INTRODUCTION¹

As part of his eight book history of the birth, progress, and decadence of heresy in his century, Florimond de Raemond, the catholic apologist, had to take up the history of Peter ‘Vermilly’ known by his supporters as Peter ‘Martyr’.² In writing his history De Raemond had a clear apologetic goal—to discredit Protestant heresy in France. One of the figures he needed to discredit was this heretical monk who was actually no martyr at all. Rather, he was fickle and morally repugnant. De Raemond notes that Vermigli was never able to keep a steady job or theology. He continually ran into problems with his employers and changed his Eucharistic theology at will.³ Such was typical of a man who was too curious and full of uncertainty. Martyr did not respect the importance of true orthodoxy, and too easily found licence to change that which had always been received by the church. In any case, he showed his true colours by giving into the lusts of the flesh and marrying a former nun, twice!⁴ De Raemond speculates that these nuns were no doubt important to comfort him during his long nights of hard work.⁵

De Raemond was not alone in his critique of the legacy of Martyr. In fact, a number of French Catholic apologists found it necessary to critique Martyr specifically. Noel Talepied wrote with Jerome Bolsec (who wrote about the scandalous life of Calvin) a refutation of the work of the four major heretical theologians of their time—Luther, Karlstadt,

¹ I thank several friends and scholars for help in locating, copying and purchasing the necessary documents for this study: Prof. Diane Desrosiers-Bonin (Montreal), Mr. Philippe deBlois (Montreal), Ms. Marianne Tisoli (Geneva), and Mr. Paul Fields (Grand Rapids, Michigan).

² Florimond de Raemond, *l’histoire de la naissance, progres et decadence de l’heresie de ce siecle*, vol. 1 (Rouen: Estienne Vereul, 1618), 296.

³ de Raemond, *l’Histoire*, 296.

⁴ de Raemond, *l’Histoire*, 296.

⁵ de Raemond, *l’Histoire*, 297.

Calvin, and Peter Martyr.⁶ Interestingly, his knowledge of Vermigli is based largely on the introduction to the French translation of the *Dialogue*—translated, he writes, by one of Vermigli’s ‘sect’.⁷ (Ironically, the translator, Claude de Kerquefinen, was probably by this time again a Catholic). Talepied argues that Vermigli’s pride in rejecting Catholic doctrine led to his nomadic life. ‘God,’ writes Talepied about Vermigli and his fellow heretic Ochino, ‘gives grace to the humble and brings down the proud.’⁸

A final example of Vermigli’s legacy is the late 17th century battle between Louis Maimbourg and Pierre Jurieu. In 1682 Louis Maimbourg, a disgraced Jesuit priest wanting to rebuild his reputation, wrote his pocket-sized *Histoire du Calvinisme* in which he traced the rise and proliferation of the Protestant sects in France and Europe.⁹ In his work he clearly criticised the work of Vermigli at the Colloquy of Poissy. Vermigli was well-educated, writes Maimbourg, but had a light and changeable spirit on anything dealing with religion—hence, his role at the Colloquy was a total failure.¹⁰

Maimbourg’s analysis is interesting, but more important for the present study is the way in which Vermigli’s memory was still alive among the French Protestant leaders. One year later, Pierre Jurieu took up his pen to defend point by point the criticisms of Maimbourg.¹¹ Martyr was not immoderate or an apostate, but rather a model to follow—

⁶ P.F. Noel Talepied and Hierosme Hermes Bolsec, *Histoire des Vies, Meurs, Actes, Doctrine, et Mord de Quatres, Principaux Heretiques de nostre Temps, à scavoir Martin Luther, André Carlostad, Pierre Martyr, and Jean Calvin, Iadis ministre de Genève* (Paris: Jean Parant, 1577). See also Irena Backus, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008), 65–78.

⁷ ‘Pierre Martyr Italien, natif de Florence (selon que i’ay trouvé en un liure intitulé, *Dialogue des deux natures de Christ*, translaté en François par un de sa secte)...,’ Talepied, *Histoire*, 15.

⁸ Talepied, *Histoire*, 18.

⁹ Louis Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, dernière ed. suivant la Copie imprimé (Paris: Sebastien Mabre-Cramois Imprimeur du roy, rue Saint Jacques, aux Cicognes, 1682).

¹⁰ ‘homme docte à la verité, et grand Prédicateur, mais d’un esprit si peu arresté si leger et si changeant, sur tout en matiere de créance, qu’il estoit tantost Lutherin, tantost Calviniste, et puis Zuinglin, comme il l’estoit alors à Zurich où il enseignoit la Theologie à la Zuinglienne, et d’où la reine Catherine et le Roy de Navarre le firent venir, l’ayant obtenu des Magistrats de ce Canton, comme un homme d’un sçavoir extraordinaire pour assister à ce Colloque.’ Maimbourg, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, 216.

¹¹ Pierre Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en Parallele: ou Apologie pour les Reformateurs, pour la Reformation, et pour les Reforme; Divisée en Quatre Parties: Contre le Libelle intitulé l’Histoire du Calvinisme Par Mr. Maimbourg* (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1683).

never has there been, says Jurieu, a man wiser, more moderate, and in whom the passions were better regulated than Peter Martyr.¹² Most of all, Jurieu argued against the alleged fickleness of Martyr: 'There has never been a less-grounded accusation, for there was never a mind so firm, better regulated, or more solid.'¹³ Jurieu writes that when one actually knows about Martyr's life and reads Martyr's writings, which Maimbourg apparently has not, it is clear that he was firm in his theological opinions.¹⁴ What is obvious from Jurieu's response, that he too is engaged in an apology for his side of the Protestant/Catholic divide. Whatever the merits of any of these writer's particular arguments, it is interesting that we are dealing with a polemical battle within the French reformation.

This leads to an important question. Why was it so important to establish or discredit the legacy of this 'Martyr'? Specifically, why was Vermigli's legacy so important in France? It seems, on the surface, that Vermigli had very limited contact with French reform. His knowledge of French was limited, at best,¹⁵ and his physical presence in French

¹² Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, 76.

¹³ Jurieu, 82. 'Il n'y eut jamais d'accusation moins fondée, car jamais esprit ne fut plus ferme, mieux réglé et moins inconstant.'

¹⁴ Jurieu, *Histoire du Calvinisme*, 83.

¹⁵ Although a great scholar in the ancient languages Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, Vermigli has not been known to be very adept in contemporary modern foreign languages. After fleeing his native Italy in 1542, he must have (this apart from his intimate contact with his *familius* Julius Santerenziano) spoken mostly Latin. Indeed, it seems his knowledge of German and English were very weak. It is important, however, not to assume too little in regards to the French language. Although he clearly admits that he could not *speak* French fluently, he could actually *understand* it quite well. This understanding was important in at least two important junctures in his life. First, Philippe Denis reports in his work on the Stranger's church in Strasbourg that Vermigli was one of the examiners of the French-student's practice sermons at the Strasbourg academy. In fact, Vermigli was an elder in the French Stranger's Church during his time in Strasbourg: 'Les examinateurs, au nombre de cinq, comme le prévoyait la législation, étaient tous professeurs à l'Ecole: Jean Sturm, Jean Günther d'Andernach, Emmanuel Tremellius et Pierre Martyr. Chacun d'eux connaissait le français. Ils étaient assistés de Bucer et de ses collègues. A la réunion du 12 janvier [1544], il fut convenu qu'à tour de rôle les cinq candidats feraient un sermon d'essai à l'Eglise française.' Philippe Denis, *Les Eglises d'Etrangers en Pays Rhénans (1538–1564)*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1984), 73. See also 454, 507, and 555.

Further, his knowledge of the French language is confirmed in his own comments during the Colloquy of Poissy. Although usually noted to say Vermigli did not know French, a careful reading of a letter to Bullinger in October 1561 clarifies his abilities: 'Yet since I cannot speak that language, although I understand it, I said nothing: neither was I requested to speak.' 'Henricho Bullingero,' *Locī Communes*, 1140. 'Quamobrem cum ego ea lingua nequeam loqui, licet illam intelligam, nihil dixi, neque ad dicendum

Reform was limited to his participation in the failed Colloquy of Poissy. Yet, when looking deeper, when looking at the available sources, one sees a much more comprehensive picture. Certainly Vermigli's influence is much clearer in England or in Zurich, but he was yet a very important Reformed voice in French Protestantism.

VERMIGLI AND FRENCH REFORM DURING HIS LIFE

During his successive academic appointments Vermigli kept up a vibrant epistolary relationship with the leaders of the French Reformation. Starting in about 1553 Vermigli corresponded regularly with Calvin and Beza on a host of different political and theological matters.¹⁶ These letters are in Latin, but suggest a real interest in the happenings of the movement of French Reform. Further, Vermigli is very interested in theological agreement with Calvin and Beza. Such desire is strikingly illustrated in his letters to Calvin and Beza on subjects such as union with Christ.¹⁷ He even describes to Calvin his desire to go to Geneva. Although he could not at that present time go to Geneva, he writes that he would go if there were a feasible opportunity and an honest means.¹⁸

His interest soon took him into contact with French Reform directly in his presence at the Colloquy of Poissy. Vermigli's role in the colloquy of Poissy is the most studied aspect of his participation in French Reform.¹⁹ A detailed portrait of his actions there are thus presently

sum inuitatus.' When he finally did speak he did so in Latin and his native Florentine, but he could nonetheless follow the conversation.

¹⁶ Marvin Anderson, 'Register Epistolarum Vermilii,' in: *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli*, eds. John Patrick Donnelly, SJ with Robert Kingdon (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1990), 172ff.

¹⁷ 'Ioanni Calvino,' *Loci Communes*, 1094ff; 'Teodoro Bezae,' *Loci Communes*, 1108–09.

¹⁸ 'Ioanni Calvino,' *LC*, 1096. Vermigli had up-to-date information on happenings in the French Reformation. His remarks in a letter to John Jewel speak of this: 'De rebus Gallicis nihil scribo, quod illas non minus tibi quam mihi notas esse considam.' 'Ioanni Iuello, Episcopo Salisburiensi,' *LC*, 1147.

¹⁹ The literature on the Colloquy of Poissy is quite extensive: Benjamin F. Paist, 'Peter Martyr and the Colloquy of Poissy,' *Princeton Theological Review* 20 (1922): 212–231, 418–447, 616–646; Alain Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518–1563)* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1997), 301ff; Donald Nugent, *Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation: The Colloquy of Poissy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974); Emidio Campi, 'Streifzug Durch Vermiglis Biographie,' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism Republicanism, Reformation*, eds. Emidio Campi, Frank A. James III,

unnecessary. Several pertinent details, however, should be noted. First, Vermigli's appointment to serve at the Colloquy was not by chance, but clearly calculated by Bullinger and the Zurich Church.²⁰ He was sent to represent the Zurich Church and Zurich theology before the French Crown. Interestingly, his letters to Bullinger are often far more detailed than those to Calvin. Certainly Bullinger had a great influence on the French Reformation, and in this case through the presence of Vermigli. Additionally, when closely studied it could be (and has been) argued that Vermigli's sacramental theology approaches that of Geneva more than Zurich.²¹ Indeed, some would say that Vermigli would probably have read the *Consensus Tigurinus* more on the Calvinist side and not the Zurich reading. It seems that Vermigli gives much more place to the instruments of salvation. How interesting then is it that Vermigli is sent at Bullinger's behalf to represent Zurich? Some indications are that he was more theologically contentious than even Beza—it seems that they did not always have the best of relationships during the Colloquy. Nonetheless Beza had a cordial relationship with Martyr and good things were said of them upon their return from Poissy.²² Some of this is speculation, but suffice it to say that Martyr was not simply

and Peter Opitz (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 17–36, esp. 34 n. 63; Thierry Wanegffelen, *Ni Rome ni Genève. Des fidèles entre deux chaires en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997).

²⁰ See Andreas Mühling, 'Vermigli, Bullinger und das Religionsgespräch von Poissy,' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism Republicanism, Reformation*, eds. Emidio Campi, Frank A. James III, and Peter Opitz (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 241–250; also Mühling, *Heinrich Bullingers europäische Kirchenpolitik* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 204–215; Mühling, 'Heinrich Bullingers politische Beziehungen nach Frankreich,' in *Reformierte Retrospektiven: Vorträge der zweiten Emder Tagung zur Geschichte des reformierten Protestantismus*, eds. Harm Klueting and Jan Rohls (Wuppertal: Foedus, 2001), 25–36.

²¹ Shortly before the colloquy Beza visited Zurich to encourage the participation of Peter Martyr at the colloquy. See Karin Maag, 'Recteur, Pasteur et Professeur: Théodore de Bèze et l'éducation à Genève,' in *Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605)*, ed. Irena Backus (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 34.

²² Despite the failure of the Colloquy as a whole and a moderate conflict with Beza, Vermigli nonetheless received accolades from an anonymous French writer after his return to Switzerland:

Huitain.

Messieurs de Valence, et de Sees,
Ont mis les Papistes aux ceps.
Salignac, Boutellier, Despence,
Pour servir Dieu quittent la pance.
Marlorat, de Besze, Martyr,
Font mourir le Pape martyr.
Saule, Merlin, Saint Paul, Spina,
Sont marris qu'encores pis n'a.

just a passive and neutral observer of this very important happening in the French Reformation.²³

Secondly, Vermigli was clearly seen to be a seasoned scholar by both sides at the Colloquy. His 'mental equilibrium' was not only important for the Protestant side at the Colloquy, but is his continuing legacy in the French Reformation.²⁴ If he is remembered for one thing it is that he was well-educated.

FRENCH PUBLICATIONS

Vermigli's works circulated in France in Latin and French. Since his Latin editions circulated throughout Europe it is difficult to trace their particular presence in French-speaking lands. Yet, we do have scattered evidence that his Latin works were owned by those living in France.²⁵ Even more helpful is the study of the French translations of Vermigli's texts made, obviously, for circulation in France and French-speaking Switzerland.²⁶

1. *Tractatio on the Eucharist*

The first major work of Vermigli to be translated into French was his treatise on the Eucharist in 1557.²⁷ With no place or publisher listed it was subsequently reprinted in a slightly larger format in 1562. Both editions print Martyr's letter to Cranmer, the views of the pope, Luther,

Sommaire Recueil des signes sacrez, sacrifices, et sacremens instituez de Dieu depuis la creation du monde. Et la vraye origine du sacrifice de la Messe (1561), [no page number, yet last page of book]. (Copy consulted at Johannes à Lasco Bibliothek, Emden, Germany).

²³ Martyr participated in the installation of Antonio Caracciolo, the only French Reformed bishop, on his return trip. For more on this see: Joseph McLelland, 'Episcopacy in the Reformed Church,' in his *Understanding the Faith: Essays in Philosophical Theology* (Toronto: Clements Academic, 2007), 103–04.

²⁴ 'sed eandem modestiam et animi equabilitatem perpetuo tenuit.' Josias Simler, 'Oratio,' in Vermigli, *LC*, C.i.verso.

²⁵ Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600–85* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 167, 272.

²⁶ For the complete list of Vermigli works in French see: *French Vernacular Books: Books published in the French Language before 1601*, 2 vols., eds. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson (Leiden: Brill, 2007); for more detailed bibliographic information on most of the works see Donnelly, ed., *Bibliography*.

²⁷ Peter Martyr Vermigli, *Traicte du sacrement de l'eucharistie* ([Geneva]: N. Barbier and T. Courteau, 1557).

and Zwingli, and the text of the *Tractatio*. Both seem to follow one of the Gesner editions of the Latin text.²⁸ Both also have a handsome index of 'notable arguments' contained at the end of the work.

It is not clear why the work was translated into French when works of other French Reformed theologians were already available. Besides economic reasons (analogous to the continual production of commentaries on biblical texts), one might think that Vermigli's voice was sought because it represented a more nuanced version of official Genevan sacramental theology. Huldreich's Zwingli's sacramental theology had already made inroads in France and Bullinger hoped also to tone down some of Calvin's more radical statements. Perhaps Vermigli was thus translated to mediate between the two diverging interpretations of the *Consensus Tigurinus*.²⁹

2. *Preces Sacrae*

A seizure of books in 1570 in LaRochelle came up with copies of Vermigli's books. We are not sure exactly which, but it seems they were of the non-polemical nature.³⁰ Interestingly this seizure of books was at the same publishing firm which would translate his *Preces Sacrae* ten years later—evidently they were committed to the cause.³¹ Aside from the *Loci Communes*, which Robert Masson, the pastor of the French congregation in London, compiled from Vermigli's theological work in 1576, the *Preces* proved the most popular of all Martyr's works.³²

²⁸ For complete bibliographic information on this see Donnelly, ed., *Bibliography*, 4, 6, 8 and 10.

²⁹ On the *Consensus Tigurinus* see: Joseph C. McLelland, 'Meta-Zwingli or Anti-Zwingli? Bullinger and Calvin in Eucharistic Concord,' in *Huldrych Zwingli, 1484–1531: A Legacy of Radical Reform. Papers from the 1984 International Zwingli Symposium McGill University*, ed. E.J. Furcha (Montreal: McGill, 1985), 179–195; Paul Rorem, *Calvin and Bullinger on the Lord's Supper* (Bramcote, England: Grove Books Ltd.), 1989; Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: The Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolization of Power in Sixteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), ch. 4; Karl Ulrich Gäbler, 'Das Zustandekommen des Consensus Tigurinus im Jahre 1549,' *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 104 (1979): 322–332.

³⁰ For example, see Francis Higman, *Lire et Découvrir: La Circulation des idées au temps de la Réforme* (Geneva: Droz, 1998), 48.

³¹ Henri Stein, 'Une saisie de livres protestants en 1570,' *Mélanges de bibliographie*, First series (Paris: Techener, 1893, 10–13; reprinted in Louis Desgraves, *Les Haultins: L'Imprimerie à La Rochelle*, vol. 2 (Geneva: Droz, 1960), x–xii.

³² John Patrick Donnelly, SJ, 'Introduction,' in *Sacred Prayers drawn from the Psalms of David*, Peter Martyr Library, vol. 3 (Kirkville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1996), xx.

The *Preces* was published in French on two separate occasions. The first edition was published in Geneva by Jean Durant in 1577 and the second at La Rochelle by Pierre Hautin in 1581.³³ Written by Vermigli to nourish anguished souls in a time of war, it was naturally fitting for the difficult existence of French Huguenots.³⁴ Written originally for the comfort of the Protestant faithful during the time of war between Charles V and the Lutheran princes united in the League of Schmalkald, it proved equally useful for the French faithful during the bloody wars of religion between the Catholics and Huguenots in France.³⁵ Both French editions were in *sexidecimo* for easy handling.³⁶ Emidio Campi writes that these prayers reveal the anguish and worry about the turbulent political situation, but also Vermigli's 'expression of an unshakable trust in the One who, in the greatest of adversity, remains and will remain victor.'³⁷

3. *Dialogus de utraque in Christo natura*

Until recently rediscovered in the *Médiathèque* of La Rochelle, France, Vermigli scholars had not found an existing copy of the French translation of Martyr's *dialogus*. A French translation was known to have existed, but no copy had been found.³⁸ In contrast to the two other major French translations, this edition is fascinating for it has an introduction by the translator and copious notes throughout.³⁹ It gives us a much clearer picture of the reasons for which Vermigli was seen to have been important for the French Reformation.

The translator, Claude de Kerquefinen of Paris, published his translation in 1565 at Lyon, 'à la Salemandre en rue Merciere.' The translation is addressed to Claude Senneton who was a book publisher and for a time one of the most influential Protestants in Lyon before his flight to

³³ Donnelly, ed. *Bibliography*, 75 and 77.

³⁴ Donnelly, 'Introduction,' in *SP* xiii–xxi; Emidio Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae* of Peter Martyr Vermigli,' in *Peter Martyr Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda*, ed. Frank A. James III (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 251–266.

³⁵ Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae*,' 252.

³⁶ Donnelly, 'Introduction,' in *SP* xxi.

³⁷ Campi, 'The *Preces Sacrae*,' 266.

³⁸ Donnelly, 'Introduction,' in *Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ* (Kirksville, Mo.: Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 1995), xvi; Silvio F. Baridon, *Claude de Kerquefinen, italianisant et hérétique* (Geneva: Droz, 1954), 16–17 and 27–28.

³⁹ *Dialogues sur les Deux Natures en Jesus Christ*, trans. and ed. Claude de Kerquifinen (Lyon: [Claude Senneton] à la Salemandre en rue Merciere, 1565).

Geneva in 1568.⁴⁰ As he translated this work Kerquefinen was himself living away from his home—his biographer thinks he was probably in Basel, a rather irenic city home to many other important humanists during the Reformation conflicts.⁴¹ Before translating the *Dialogus* he had already translated the *Cent-et-dix considérations divines* of Juan de Valdès.⁴² Further, after this translation, and this a note that his biographer ignores, Kerquefinen wrote the preface to the French translation of Musculus' *Common Places* in 1572—a very substantial translation project.⁴³ With these translation projects Kerquefinen more clearly stood with the French Reformed against the Roman Catholic Church.

Although Kerquefinen would turn back to the Roman Catholic Church during the later years of his life, he was during the time of this translation a committed Reformed Protestant.⁴⁴ One need only read the footnotes to the translated text to catch a glimpse of his clear position. For example, in a footnote on Luther he writes:

Martin Luther was native of Isleben, a town ruled by the count of Mansfield in Germany. He was in the beginning an Augustine, but when pushed by the Spirit of God he began to write against the crusade in 1517. After that he did not stop combating the abuses of Popery nor trying to place [the Church] under the purity of the Gospel which he saw being destroyed for such a long time. In 1547 he died in his native city being about 63 years old. He was a wonderfully strong person, the memory of which should be promoted among all the faithful. Most importantly he

⁴⁰ Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 13.

⁴¹ Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 13.

⁴² Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 22–23. Baridon's remarks are interesting here: 'Les *Cent-et-dix considérations divines* avaient soulevé un grand bruit dans le milieu protestant genevois peu disposé à laisser passer les 'erreurs' du libéralisme valdésien. Une bonne partie du silence qui, durant presque trois siècles, pesa sur l'œuvre de Valdès, doit être attribuée à l'hostilité que le calvinisme ressentit envers les doctrines de l'hérétique espagnol. L'intervention de Curion dans la publication des *Cent-et-dix considérations divines* ne devait certes pas diminuer la méfiance des Genevois qui, bien au contraire, virent se préciser encore mieux le danger que Valdès représentait pour l'orthodoxie réformée telle qu'on l'entendait dans la cité de Calvin... Les *Cent-et-dix considérations divines* étaient jugées comme contraires à l'intégrité de la foi. Pour les rendre le moins nuisibles possible, on persuada l'imprimeur lyonnais—le dévoué Senneton—d'ajouter des notes marginales au texte de la traduction française de Kerquefinen. Et lorsque Adrien Gorin donna une édition de cette œuvre de Valdès, en hollandais, Théodore de Bèze l'accusa gravement, dans une lettre (2 sept. 1566) adressée aux pasteurs de la Frise orientale, lui reprochant surtout d'avoir omis ces notes.' Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 23.

⁴³ Wolfgang Musculus, *Lieux Communs*, trans. Antoine du Pinet ([Geneva]: Eustache Vignon, 1572).

⁴⁴ Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 16.

clearly explained the doctrine of justification in his writings. Yet, when it came to the Lord's Supper, he failed deeply.⁴⁵

Kerquefinen obviously was, at this point, very supportive of Vermigli's writing and found it deeply convincing.

Kerquefinen was not, however, merely a simple 'yes-man' to Vermigli's position. By the copious notes in the text, notes which are surprisingly clear and helpful, one notes that Kerquefinen worked closely with Vermigli's argument. No person or reference is left without explanation. Unless he is citing a dictionary of theology and philosophy (which I have not verified), he has a very clear personal understanding of the history of these subjects. His discussion of the hypostatic union is a case in point. For a page and a half he gives a long and detailed discussion about the history of the Greek word 'Hypostasis'.⁴⁶ This discussion shows that he had an affinity for the particularities of Vermigli's argument. Most especially, one gets the impression that he appreciated Vermigli's incisive reading of the classical and patristic sources.⁴⁷

WHO READ VERMIGLI?

There is a great deal of evidence that Vermigli's writings were still being read a century after his death.⁴⁸ It is possible to get a glimpse of Vermigli's continuing influence in French reform through the writings of others. Two examples could stand for a great deal of literature where Vermigli is explicitly cited. First, the Genevan theologian Lambert

⁴⁵ 'Martin Luther, estoit natif de Islebe, ville de la seigneurie des Contes De Mansfeld, en Allemagne, il estoit au commencement Augustin, depuis estant pousse de l'Esprit de Dieu, il commença à escrire contre la Croisade, l'an cinque cens dixsept: et de là en avant il ne cessa de combattre les abus de la Papauté, et remettre sus la pureté de l'Evangile, qui avoit esté abastardie si long temps, iusques à l'an cinq cens quarante sept [sic], qu'il deceda en la ville de sa nativité, estant aagé d'environ soixante trois ans. C'a esté un fort excellent personnage, la memoire duquel doit estre recommandable à l'endroit de tous fideles. Il a sur tout bien expliqué l'article de la iustification en ses escrits: mais quand au point de la Cène, il a failli lourdement. Voyez l'Histoire de Sleidan.' Kerquefinen, ed., in Vermigli, *Dialogue*, note on Luther, 231–32.

⁴⁶ Kerquefinen, ed., in *Dialogue*, 25–26.

⁴⁷ Baridon, *Kerquefinen*, 12.

⁴⁸ See F.P. Van Stam, *The Controversy Over the Theology of Saumur, 1635–1650: Disrupting Debates Among the Huguenots in Complicated Circumstances* (Amsterdam & Maarssen: APA—Holland University Press, 1988).

Daneau appreciated Vermigli's work.⁴⁹ Olivier Fatio mentions that Daneau frequently cited the *Dialogus*, for example, as an example of how to refute heretical arguments.⁵⁰ We get a glimpse of Daneau's use of Vermigli in his dialogue on witches of 1575 and his treatise on gambling of 1586.⁵¹ In both works Daneau cites Peter Martyr as an expert witness for the case he is laying out.

In much the same way, Francis Turretin used Peter Martyr as an authority for several important theological arguments in his *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*.⁵² One sees clearly that for Turretin Peter Martyr was considered one of the authoritative 'Fathers' of Reformed orthodoxy—his theological opinion carried much weight. He is cited by Turretin in reference to several very knotty questions like those of hermeneutics and the origin of evil. Such references to Vermigli as theological authority are characteristic of his continuing influence on the French Reformation.

CONCLUSION

Peter Martyr Vermigli's relationship with the French Reformation is seen in most literature as short-lived and not very substantial. Generally scholarship has noted that his knowledge of the French language was weak, at best, and his direct participation is limited to his time at the Colloquy of Poissy. Yet, this common picture of Vermigli's influence is a substantial understatement of what can be seen in the actual sources.

⁴⁹ Speaking of Geneva, it is actually there, and not Zurich or Strasbourg, that the bulk of Vermigli's own books reside. After Vermigli's death his books were bought by the recently-organized Genevan Academy for its library. Most have remained in Geneva until this day. See Frédéric Gardy, 'Les Livres de Pierre Martyr Vermigli conservés à la Bibliothèque de Genève,' *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Geschichte* 50 (1919): 1–6; Alexandre Ganoczy, 'La Bibliothèque de Pierre Martyr,' in his *La bibliothèque de l'Académie de Calvin le catalogue de 1572 et ses enseignements* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), 19–27; Donnelly, *Calvinism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's doctrine of man and grace* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 208ff.

⁵⁰ See Olivier Fatio, *Méthode et théologie: Lambert Daneau et les débuts de la scholastique réformée* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), 50.

⁵¹ In 16th Century English translations see Lambert Daneau, *A diaogue of witches* (1575), Ch. 4; *True and Christian friendshippe...*, also with a right excellent inuectiue of the same author, against the wicked exercise of diceplay, and other prophane gaming (1586).

⁵² Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, trans. George Musgrave Giger, ed. James Dennison (Phillipsburg: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1997).

By re-examining the sources (many of which have never been studied in Vermigli literature to this date), a much better picture can be drawn. The new picture that develops is that of an important scholar whom French Catholics needed to critique and French Protestants wanted to defend and befriend.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

A LITERARY HISTORY OF THE *LOCI COMMUNES*

Joseph C. McLelland

I 'TOPICS': A LOGIC OF PERSUASION

Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562) did not compose the work for which he is best known, the *Loci Communes*. He was a biblical scholar and Professor of Hebrew whose lectures on both Old and New Testament books provided the basis for his published works. But since the commentaries contained many *scholia*, some amounting to treatises, after his death disciples found it logical—and irresistible—to gather them into a book of Commonplaces.

The method of doing theology by *topoi* or *loci* is a feature of Renaissance and Reformation. Erasmus took up the neologism *methodus* used by earlier logicians such as Peter of Spain in the thirteenth century (*Summulæ logicales*) which begins: 'Dialectic is the art of arts and the science of sciences, possessing the method for the principles of all methods.' The great humanist included a preface to his first edition of the New Testament (1516) entitled *Methodus*, which he 'preserved and amplified in the *Ratio* of 1518'.¹ Cornelis Augustijn has stated: 'The 'via the languages' leads Erasmus to the *loci* method—here meant in the narrower sense of a reasoned concordance—, in which biblical passages, but also old biblical exegetes and passages from non-Christian authors, are incorporated in order to arrive, by means of comparison, at the meaning of obscure passages.'² His grand aim was to offer a *Novum Instrumentum* in which grammar and rhetoric work in tandem. This distinction within reasoning was made explicit by Aristotle.

¹ Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Erasmus on Language and Method in Theology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977) 64ff.

² Cornelis Augustijn, 'Wittenberga contra Scholasticos,' in *Reformation and Scholasticism*, ed. W.J. van Asselt & E. Dekker (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 2001), 76.

1. *Aristotle*

Aristotle's *Topica* belongs within the *Organon*, the group of logical works dealing with the principles and method of proof. Socrates' 'desire to syllogize' inspired Aristotle's unique conception of the logical syllogism. It yields the method of science when based on premises determined by the nature of things—he calls them 'true and primary'—and provides 'demonstration;' this form is handled in the *Analytica Posteriora*. But when the principles under consideration are expressions of opinion only, the syllogism is dialectical or probable, and is the subject of the *Topica*:

Our treatise proposes to find a line of inquiry whereby we shall be able to reason from opinions that are generally accepted about every problem propounded to us, and also shall ourselves, when standing up to an argument, avoid saying anything that will obstruct us. First, then, we must say what reasoning is, and what its varieties are, in order to grasp dialectical reasoning.³

Aristotle mapped both kinds of reasoning. He begins his *Rhetoric*: 'Rhetoric is the counterpart of Dialectic. Both alike are concerned with such things as come, more or less, within the general ken of all men and belong to no definite science.'⁴ He once remarked: 'Not to know of what things one should demand demonstration, and of what one should not, argues lack of education.'⁵ In moral questions especially, 'it is the mark of an educated man to look for precision in each class of things just so far as the nature of the subject admits; it is evidently equally foolish to accept probable reasoning from a mathematician and to demand from a rhetorician scientific proofs.'⁶

This beginning of Western logic thus draws a crucial distinction, between the certain knowledge of scientific demonstration and the probable conclusions of dialectical reasoning. Partly because the *Topica* was the only work of the Philosopher that he knew, Cicero promoted the New Academy view that we can only approximate truth; therefore one needs a persuasive logic to convince others of probable truth.⁷ The difference between syllogism and enthymeme is symbolic. John Henry

³ Aristotle, *Topica* I.1, 100a18ff.

⁴ *Rhet.* I.1, 1345a1.

⁵ *Meta.* IV.4, 1006a6ff.

⁶ *Nic. Eth.* I.3, 1094b24ff.

⁷ Q. Breen, 'The Terms '*Loc communes*' and '*Loc i*' in Melanchthon' in *Christianity and Humanism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1968) 93–105. Breen cites the work of

Newman's 'illative sense' as key to the 'grammar of assent' reflects the insight that inference and illation (terms derived from the same Latin root) are two forms of valid reasoning.⁸

2. *Medieval Logic*

It is a familiar saying that there are several Aristotles in medieval interpretation.⁹ It is also significant for Vermigli research to note that it was The Philosopher's ethics that attracted most attention, for instance in the 13th-century Averroistic controversy. Moreover, from Aristotle and Cicero the tradition of *topica* continued as focus for 'the semantics of propositions,' not least in Gregory of Rimini, of great influence on Vermigli.¹⁰ 'Topic' is the infelicitous but by now standard translation for the Latin technical term '*locus*', designating a logical concept variously understood throughout ancient and medieval philosophy.¹¹

For the great terminist logicians such as Peter of Spain and William of Sherwood, topical arguments make for dialectical syllogisms based on probable premises. This *dialectica utens*, using topics to construct possible arguments, is an appropriate description of Vermigli's sophistic reasoning. Such study is art rather than science, producing opinion rather than knowledge. Topics now developed 'consequences,' viewed as relations among propositions, and drawing on Aristotle's types of argumentation, notably through demonstrative and topical syllogisms. The category of *consequentiae* was a general theory, in which 'the syllogism appears only as a special type of inference.'¹²

Meanwhile, disputation developed alongside, as a way of controlling argument by rules governing obligation: I grant, I deny, I admit the case (*concedo, nego, admitto casum*). Vermigli was introduced to debating at Padua, where his skill made him a popular figure in the set pieces of

G. Grote, *Aristotle* (2 vols, London, 1872) on this point, especially I.2, 'The Aristotelian Canon,' 94n5.

⁸ J.H. Newman, *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent* (London: Burns, Oates, 1870); cf. John Hick, *Faith and Knowledge* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

⁹ See *Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy* (CHLMP) 80ff, 97.

¹⁰ CHLMP 114, 203ff. A *propositio* was for Aristotle not only a statement but the first premise of a syllogism. See also H.A. Oberman & F.A. James, eds., *Via Augustini: Augustine in the Later Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 1991) on Rimini.

¹¹ CHLMP 273, introducing the section 'Topics: their development and absorption into consequences.'

¹² P. Boehner, Introduction to *William of Ockham: Philosophical Writings* (New York: Thos Nelson & Sons, 1957) xxxvii.

scholastic disputation.¹³ At Strasbourg he prepared series of propositions for debate by his students.¹⁴ It was the famous Oxford Disputation of 1549 that proved his mastery of the method. Martyr presided at the weekly debates in his own College, Christ Church, as well as the 'public disputations upon theological subjects' in alternate weeks. Oxford had used the debating method from 1340. Students took the role of *opponens* or *respondens* with a *prælector* presiding and summing up. An initial response (*aporia*) was described through conflicting opinions (*doxae*), resolved and redefined in the *conclusiones*.¹⁵ Thus both the categories for informed discussion and a fitting method of debate were in place in Early Modern Europe.

3. Humanism

The Humanist masters took the texts of Quintilian and Cicero as authoritative sources, particularly in the formative work of Rudolf Agricola, whose *De inventione dialectica* was published in 1534, and of Lorenzo Valla. The 'group of humanists from Valla and Agricola to Ramus and Nizolio...replaced the syllogism with the invention of topics and arguments, a method evidently borrowed from rhetoric.'¹⁶ Agricola was a leading influence on the *Topica theologica* of Melancthon, Sturm and Hyperius.¹⁷

Those great Humanists regarded dialectical 'invention' as the method of discovering the subjects to be classified in order to offer firm teaching of all doctrine and all arts.¹⁸ Each specific discipline must use its own 'powers of persuasion,' for the rhetorical canon of *inventio* implied reliance on persuasive discourse rather than demonstrative proof, to cite Aristotle's distinction.

Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) committed himself to the bold task of refuting Aristotelian and scholastic logic in behalf of a reformulated dialectics based on rhetoric; Erasmus said he had 'restored Italy to her ancient splendour of eloquence.' Thus his *Dialecticae disputationes* is

¹³ E.g. Philip McNair observes: 'Martyr, whose wit was as recognizable as his accent, appears to have been a favourite foil to the Professor, for [Branda] Porro often challenged 'his Florentine' to public disputation,' *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 109.

¹⁴ 'Theses for Debate,' *Early Works* (Peter Martyr Library Vol. 1, 1994) 83–159.

¹⁵ See *Oxford Treatise and Disputation* (PML vol. 7, 2000) xxvff.

¹⁶ P.O. Kristeller, 'Humanism,' *CHRP*, 135.

¹⁷ See W. van't Spijker, 'Reformation and Scholasticism,' in van Asselt and Dekker, *Reformation and Scholasticism*, 97.

¹⁸ Agricola, *De inventione*, Bk 2, ch. 2, 192.

considered 'a seminal work in humanist dialectic.'¹⁹ He was convinced that many problems in philosophy derived from the choice of such logic, rooted in Latin grammar. His proposal was to turn to Greek in search of a wisdom communicated through persuasive speech. In particular, he outlined a method of argumentation through topics that drew on broader criteria than traditional demonstrative proof with its reliance on strict inference. The apparently *ad hoc* nature of such extra-demonstrative cases points not at their irrational nature but at an alternative way of reasoning.²⁰

Valla's (and Agricola's) theory of persuasion is therefore an appropriate exposition of a way of thinking that had become overshadowed by the inferential reasoning associated with scholastic method.²¹ Lisa Jardine has remarked that 'humanist dialecticians were concerned with ratiocination in types of discourse whose structure they correctly considered opaque to syllogistic analysis, notably the increasingly fashionable dialogue form (arguing equally plausible alternative points of view to a balanced probabilistic conclusion).'²² Peter Ramus (d. 1572) recognized the force of Valla and Agricola, along with his own teacher John Sturm, in developing his dialogical form.²³

A further point in favour of the new logic was that it constituted a virtual 'logic of discovery,' compared with the scholastic logic of analysis and classification. It served a heuristic purpose, a way of enlightening hitherto obscure or hidden meaning. In a move strikingly like the breakthrough in modern physics, it provided a hermeneutic of imaginative constructs that solved old dilemmas and pointed the way ahead in exploration. Just as Einstein once bracketed Newton, so Valla

¹⁹ Lisa Jardine, *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, edd. Schmitt and Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 178; cf. Cesare Vasoli, 'Loci Communes and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions' in J.C. McLelland, ed. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, ON: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980), *op. cit.*, 19f. P.O. Kristeller helped rehabilitate Valla for scholars of Early Modern Europe, e.g. *Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964) 19–36. Cf. Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols (London: Constable, 1970) esp. 1:103ff, 2:563ff and 651ff.

²⁰ See *CHRP*, 'Humanism and Philosophy' (P.O. Kristeller) 133ff.

²¹ See Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

²² *CHRP* 187. Cf. her remark that the new dialectic assumes 'that inference forms other than those handled by medieval logicians might be entitled to serious and systematic consideration (a main plank in Valla's and Agricola's argument)', 190f.

²³ See W. Ong, *Ramus: method, and the decay of dialogue: from the art of discourse to the age of reason* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974).

brackets Thomas and challenges us to see things differently if we would grasp the whole truth.

4. *Reformation*

Such concentration on the rhetorical tradition may imply a contrast to 'scholasticism.' Much has been written on the tension between the two, including the thesis that the Reformers practised 'biblical theology' and so displaced the 'scholastic' method of their predecessors. Recent research, however, suggests a more positive assessment of scholasticism, both medieval and 'Protestant orthodoxy.' Richard Muller has done much to clarify terms and to establish more satisfactory categories for discussion.²⁴ He contends that 'the Reformed scholastics [of the seventeenth century] offer detailed discussions of their theological *principia* and *axiomata*' not through privileging predestination but by accepting the *axiomata* or *aphorismi* as foundational axioms, 'biblically-derived *loci* and their arrangement in a suitable order.'²⁵

Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560) adopted this tradition as he began to prepare university curricula about 1530. In the debate on linguistic *usus* he argues for teaching that inspires public action.²⁶ And on the issue of classical ethics—Luther had denounced Aristotle in his *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam* of 1517²⁷—he seeks to establish a realm of natural ethics useful to Christians, much as Vermigli later would expound the *Nicomachean Ethics* to the seminarians of Strasbourg. Thus he secures Aristotle for Christian pedagogy: theory serves practice, psychology serves moral philosophy.²⁸

Melanchthon's *Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae* of 1521 has been termed 'the first book of Protestant theology'²⁹ and as such provided a model for those who followed. Cesare Vasoli states: 'It is not by chance that the names of Melanchthon, de Bèze, and Vermigli represent essential landmarks for the understanding of this aspect of sixteenth-century culture between the Reforma-

²⁴ E.g. Richard Muller, *Christ and the Decree: Christology and Predestination in Reformed Theology from Calvin to Perkins* (Durham, NC: Labyrinth Press, 1996).

²⁵ See R.A. Muller, 'The Problem of Protestant Scholasticism' in van Asselt & Dekker, *Reformation and Scholasticism*, 55ff.

²⁶ See *CHRP* 100f.

²⁷ *WA* 1, 224–228.

²⁸ See 'Protestant Aristotelianism: Philipp Melanchthon' (by E. Kessler), *CHRP* 516ff.

²⁹ Breen, 'Loci Communes,' 93.

tion and the Counter Reformation.' They refused 'the heavy arsenal of logic' of medieval scholasticism, turning instead to the new humanist 'quest for *capita communia* or *loci communes* which would provide in short form the structures on which the new theological knowledge was built.' Vasoli concludes: 'Melanchthon, by following his method, collects clearly and obviously the essential corpus of a theology still founded upon the testimony of the Scriptures and which translates into extremely clear definitions the outcome of a great debate decisive for the history of Western Christianity.'³⁰

John Calvin (1509–64) published his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* at Basle in March, 1536; its Prefatory Letter to the King of France is dated the 23rd day of the previous August. 'My intention was only to inculcate some elementary truths by which those interested in religion might be trained to true piety.' Calvin expanded the work through successive editions culminating in the definitive volume of 1559. This was arranged in four books, using the credal model to group various *loci* and *disputationes* based on his exegetical work. Thus Calvin's method was practically identical with Vermigli's.³¹

As we will see, Robert le Maçon, the compiler of Vermigli's *Loci Communes* took Calvin's *Institutio* as his model. His milieu was the refugee Huguenot community in London, quite familiar with Calvin's works. It was one of its ministers, Jean Gravelle, to whom Martyr broached the possibility of producing a commonplace book.³² (The cross-references of a modern translation of the *Institutes* show the common method and theology clearly.)³³ Most recently, Christoph Strom, addressing the Vermigli Symposium in Zurich, 1999, has analysed the similarities under the headings of 'Rationalisierung, Moralisierung und Konfessionalisierung.'

³⁰ Cesare Vasoli, 'Loci Communes and the Rhetorical and Dialectical Traditions' in J.C. McLelland, ed. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform* (Waterloo, ON: Sir Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980) 17–28. Vasoli also refers to the *Erotemata dialectices* (Wittenberg, 1555) where Melanchthon reiterates his faith in the method.

³¹ See R.A. Muller, *The Unaccommodated Calvin: Studies in the Foundation of a Theological Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Calvin's search for 'the right order of teaching' led him to meld the credal structure with 'God's chosen method' in the Letter to the Romans. cf. Muller, 'Dicta probantia and the Protestant Exegetical Tradition' in *Post-Reformation Reformed Dogmatics*, v. 2: *Holy Scripture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1993), 525ff (on *loci* as combining exegesis and doctrine).

³² See note 38 below.

³³ *Institutes*, translated by J.T. MacNeill and F.L. Battles (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960: LCC vols. XX–XXI). See Index II, 1628–32 for the Vermigli references.

The terms signify an attempt to present 'a clear and rational method;' a strong interest in concrete ethical questions; a religious lifestyle as well as 'kontroverstheologische Akzenbtuierung'.³⁴

The noted London publisher Thomas Vautrollier (d. 1587), himself a refugee and member of le Maçon's congregation, printed the only Latin edition of Calvin's *Institutes* to appear in England, 1576. This edition is noteworthy for its 'elaborate set of marginal references to the *Loci Communes* and other works of Peter Martyr'.³⁵ He also printed the abridgement of Calvin's *Institutes* of his friend William Delaune (Laneus, d. 1610), the *Institutionis Christianae Religionis... Epitome*, 1583. He published his own edition of Martyr's *Loci Communes* in 1583.³⁶ Thus the Huguenot community based in London linked Calvin and Martyr in their publications; it was fitting that one of its ministers, Robert Le Maçon, should become Martyr's editor.

5. Peter Martyr Vermigli

As for Peter Martyr, we may begin by noting the letter of 1 July 1563, in which Theodore Beza urged on Heinrich Bullinger the need for a systematic theology to be compiled from Peter Martyr's writings, 'eine Dogmatik in nuce'.³⁷ At his death, Vermigli's colleagues were already preparing his manuscripts for publications, notably Conrad Hubert in Strasbourg, and in Zurich Josiah Simler, Ludwig Lavater and Vermigli's *famulus* Julius Terentianus (Giulio Santerenziano). This large task was substantially completed with the publication of his lectures on Genesis in 1569.³⁸ It seems that Vermigli himself had thought such a compilation

³⁴ C. Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes* und Calvins *Institutio Christianae Religionis*' in E. Campi, Frank A. James III, and Peter Opitz, eds., *Peter Martyr Vermigli: Humanism, Republicanism, Reformation* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2002), 77–104.

³⁵ MacNeill and Battles, *Institutes*, Introduction xlviii.

³⁶ See BIB 106f.

³⁷ See the excellent account of Christoph Strom, 'Petrus Martyr Vermigli's *Loci Communes*;' the correspondence between Beza and Bullinger, 79f. Cf. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* (Geneva: Droz, 1963) I, 21: 'Quidam hic putant utilissimum Ecclesiis laborem fore, si quis ex Martyris nostri scriptis, locos communes seorsim excudendos in unum corpus componat.'

³⁸ The only subsequent publication came in 1629 when the newly discovered manuscript of Martyr's *Lamentations* lectures from the first Strasbourg period (1542–47) was translated and edited by Dan Shute). Writing to Bullinger from Lambeth in 1552 he expressed thanks both to the printer (Froschauer) and 'our friend Gualter' for the publication of his Corinthians commentary, and expressed a desire to complete the Romans commentary. He adds: 'But as to my other commentaries on Genesis and

would be appropriate, since (as Le Maçon tells us in his preface to the *Loci Communes*) he consulted Jean Gravelle, a Huguenot minister at Dreux (Ile-de-Paris) and later London.³⁹ Just when and how this communication took place is unclear, since it appears that they never met personally, and no correspondence between them has been found.

Martyr's *Loci* therefore, while not compiled by his own hand, represent the substantive theological essence of his commentaries and debates, after the manner of Calvin's *Institutio*. Following the rhetorico-dialectical tradition noted above, Vermigli 'peppered' his biblical commentaries with *topoi* or *scholia* whenever a text seemed to him an appropriate place to raise question or discussion on a particular subject.⁴⁰ Some of these are mere paragraphs, while others blossom into full treatises.⁴¹ This custom reflects also the teaching method of the day, when the theological curriculum was not divided into subjects but was given in the form of biblical commentary. Martyr's disciple Girolamo Zanchi is explicitly associated with the question of the development of 'Reformed Scholasticism.' He used the syllogism as the formative method in his dogmatics; in 1567 he 'succeeded Ursinus as professor of 'common place' theology at the University of Heidelberg.'⁴²

The charge that Martyr was a 'scholastic' is true only insofar as he frequently adopted syllogistic reasoning. Joseph Scaliger's comment is apt: 'Peter Martyr, because it seemed to fall to him to engage the sophists, has overcome them sophistically with their own weapons.'⁴³

Exodus, I promise you, that as soon as I have leisure to revise them, I will forward them to you to be printed'—*Original Letters* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1847) II, 504.

³⁹ Jean Gravelle had been minister at Troyes and Dreux, exiled to London after the 'St Barthélemy.' Schickler, *L'Eglise*, lists him as 'Jean Gravelle, m. de Dreux (Ile-de-France)' (I.198). His letters to Calvin and Beza are preserved in the *Corpus Reformatorum* 47 (No. 3643, 3795) and in Beza's *Correspondance*, III, 109. See *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 44 (1895) 35–40: 'Jean Gravelle [or Dupin] qui fut le premier et le seul pasteur de Dreux au XVI^e siècle.' A native of Dreux, he stayed at Troyes for eighteen months from August 1662. (Thanks to Emidio Campi and Robert Kingdon for identifying the sources).

⁴⁰ Donnelly observes: 'The most striking feature of Martyr's commentaries... is the *loci* or *scholia*, digressions in the form of systematic tracts which pepper Martyr's commentaries.' *Calvinism and Scholasticism*, 60.

⁴¹ For instance, two from the commentary on Romans, on Justification and Predestination, constitute a single volume in the PML (Vol. 8, trans. & ed. F.A. James, 2003).

⁴² Harm Goris, 'Thomism in Zanchi's Doctrine of God,' in *Reformation and Scholasticism*, 123.

⁴³ Quoted by B.B. Warfield, 'John Calvin the Theologian' in *Calvin and Augustine*, ed. S.G. Craig (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing, 1956) 481.

Martyr's sophism is a debating tool; in fact it is the biblical context of his topical theology that provides the proper perspective.⁴⁴ It is unfortunate that Martyr's image is based on the *Loci Communes*; Karl Barth, for instance, speaks of the method adopted by Calvin 'and later by Peter Martyr in his *Loci communes* (1576).'⁴⁵ Vasoli observes: 'It is my opinion that the *Loci communes*, in common with all works of this type, represents an impoverishment in the theological thinking of this Florentine Protestant, a certain watering down of his most original themes; I would even say that the *Loci communes* represents at times an accentuation of those ideas which are closest to the beliefs held by Masson. All this goes to explain why not only his opponents but men of similar faith and doctrine tended to consider Vermigli a 'systematizer,' though a very perceptive one, of the doctrines of others, rather than a master who had made an original contribution to the century's extended theological debate.'⁴⁶

Thus Martyr's *Loci Communes* proved to be the vehicle that spread his influence throughout the Reformed world, in fourteen editions following the first edition of 1576. The English translation of 1583 held special place, travelling to the New World in good condition. In a recent lecture at Harvard, Diarmaid MacCulloch stated: 'the works of Peter Martyr were turned into a sort of themed theological textbook, *The Commonplaces*. If you looked into the library here at Harvard in 1616, I suspect that would be [the] most thumbed book you would find.'⁴⁷ In 1844 Charles Hodge would remark: 'We would adopt the *Loci Communes* of Melancthon or of Peter Martyr in preference to any dogmatic system which modern Germany has produced.'⁴⁸

⁴⁴ See Joseph C. McLelland, 'Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?' in McLelland, ed. *Peter Martyr Vermigli and Italian Reform*, 141–51.

⁴⁵ Karl Barth, CD II.2, 84. Elsewhere he cites Martyr from Alexander Schweizer (*Die Glaubenslehre der ev-ref. Kirchen*, 1884ff) about 'the subsequent period of orthodoxy' (I.1, 128). Cf. I.2, 460 with the same assessment. Perhaps this reflects Barth's early reliance on H. Heppe, who lists Martyr third in his sources, after Calvin and Bullinger (Heinrich Heppe, *Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-reformierten Kirche*, 2d ed. 1958). Barth acknowledged that the theologians in the anthology used 'in any case a reliable method'.

⁴⁶ Vasoli, 'Loci Communes,' 28.

⁴⁷ Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Can the English Think for Themselves? The Roots of the English Reformation' in *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* 30/1 (Spring 2001) 19.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Mark A. Noll, *The Princeton Theology 1812–1921* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Book House, 1983), 115.

II FIRST EDITION OF THE *LOCI COMMUNES*

The original compiler and editor of the *Loci Communes* was 'Robert Masson,' that is Robert le Maçon, Sieur de la Fontaine, minister of the French congregation in London, formerly minister in Orléans. His role signifies Martyr's influence on both French and English churches. The Huguenot congregation was one of two 'Stranger Churches' established in 1550 in response to the pleas of refugee communities, one Dutch ('German') and one French. The previous year, Martyr had joined Bucer, Alexandre the pastor, and Paul Fagius in petitioning Lord Cecil on behalf of the impoverished French refugees in London.⁴⁹ A charter was granted in Edward's reign, through the efforts of Jan Laski (à Lasco), supported by John Hooper, and with Cranmer's blessing. A Lasco was named Superintendent. It was intended to be a model reformed church, closer than Zurich to the ideal.⁵⁰ The French church in Threadneedle Street has been termed the Huguenot 'cathedral.'⁵¹

Robert Masson—alias 'Robert Le Maçon, dict La Fontaine,' 'M. de la Fontaine,' or 'R. Massonius Fontanus'⁵²—represents those aristocratic leaders that the Huguenots so admired. Calvin had released Nicholas des Gallars in 1560 at the request of the London congregation; he attended the Poissy conference in 1562 where Martyr joined Beza in upholding the Reformed cause. Masson was des Gallars' colleague at Orléans at the time of the siege and massacre of 1568. That same year, after the renewal of civil war in France, there were nineteen émigré

⁴⁹ Petition of 13 August 1549 (F. de Schickler, *Les Eglises* 1.25 (in Ch. 2, 'L'Eglise D'A Lasco' 24ff). Cf. Calvin's letter to the Church in London, September 1552, *Letters of John Calvin*, ed. J. Bonnet (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972) ii, 360ff.

⁵⁰ See Frederick A. Norwood, 'The Strangers' 'Model Churches' in Sixteenth-Century England,' in F.H. Littell, ed., *Reformation Studies* (Richmond, VA: John Knox Press, 1962) 181–96. Norwood strongly advanced the thesis that 'they were intended to serve as models of the pure church of apostolic times in comparison with which the church in England might be reformed' (181). Martin Micronius, leader of the Dutch community, told Bullinger that Hooper would prove 'the future Zwingli of England.' P. Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the Foreign Reformed Church in London,' in *Godly People: Essays on English Protestantism and Puritanism* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 248.

⁵¹ By Samuel W. Kershaw, *Protestants from France in their English Home* (London: Low, Marston, 1885); see A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) for the material in this paragraph.

⁵² Schickler, *Les Eglises*, I.124, 198, 240, 268.

ministers gathered in London from that country. Following the St Bartholomew's massacre in 1572, more than sixty French pastors took refuge in England. Although 'the archives for the French Church are incomplete,' the registers beginning only in 1600,⁵³ we know that Le Maçon prepared the 'Police et Discipline Ecclésiastique' (1578) for his congregation, accepted by all the French-Walloon churches in 1588, and a catechism preparing for Communion (1597); his sermons on Genesis were published in 1600, 'Les Funérailles de Sodome...'⁵⁴ He played a leading role in the national Synod of France, and was ambassador to France: Henry IV and Elizabeth I called him 'bon La Fontaine.'⁵⁵

As already noted, Le Maçon was on familiar ground, through his ministry in the French Church of London, when he took John Calvin's *Institutes* as a model for the order and arrangement of Vermigli's subjects, placing the topics in four books to produce the *Loci Communes* (London: John Kingston, 1576), fol. 1089.⁵⁶ Here is familiar credal order: God the Creator; sin and salvation; predestination, calling, union with Christ, resurrection; Holy Spirit: church, sacraments, magistrates and state. In his *Preface* he notes that he has added other material to the explicit *loci* of Martyr's commentaries. This first edition does not contain a collection of Martyr's letters and opuscula, nor Josiah Simler's short biography of Martyr that are found in most later editions. The description given by J.P. Donnelly provides an excellent summary:⁵⁷

Loci Communes. Ex variis ipsius Aucthoris libris in unum volumen collecti, & quatuor classes distributi... London: John Kyngston, 1576. Folio, ca. 18:27.5 cm. Pp.1089. Gatherings: *⁸A-Z, AA-RR⁶SS¹⁰TT-ZZ, AAa-ZZa, AAaa-YYyy⁶a⁴. STC 24667. There is a prefatory letter to Sir Anthony Cooke, dated 6 Calends of February, 1576, from Robert Masson, who edited the *Loci Communes*, and a short index 'rerum et verborum' [a¹-⁴].... There were at least four states to this edition, which can generally be distinguished by the fifth line of the title page, which reads as follows:

⁵³ Irene Scouloudi, 'The Stranger Community in the Metropolis 1558-1640' in I. Scouloudi, ed., *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background 1550-1800* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) 42-55. See Elsie Johnston, ed. *Actes du consistoire de l'Eglise française de Threadneedle Street, Londres*, (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1937) and Collinson, *Godly People*, 247ff.

⁵⁴ Schickler, *Les Eglises*, I.240, 273, 340. App. XXVIII (III.124ff) has his letter to Elizabeth of 1597, fragments of the Catechism, and a sermon from *Les Funérailles*.

⁵⁵ In royal correspondence of 1597—Schickler, *Les Eglises* i.267f.

⁵⁶ See J.P. Donnelly, *A Bibliography of the Works of Peter Martyr Vermigli* (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies Vol. XIII, 1990), 98f—hereunder *BIB*.

⁵⁷ *BIB* 98.

1) 'Ex varijs ipsius Aucthoris & libris in unam volumen—example in Edinburgh, Scots National Library; 2) 'Ex varijs ipsius Aucthoris & libris in unum volumen col-'—example in the Cambridge University Library; 3) 'Ex varijs ipsius & libris in unum volumen'—example in the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris; 4) 'Ex varijs ipsius Aucthoris libris in unum volumen'—example in the British Library. Some copies have the index [a⁴] at the end of the book, others right after the front matter [*⁸]. The latter copies add '*cum privilegio Regiae Majestatis*' before '*Ex Typographia Ioannis Kyngstoni*' on the title page. Locations: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek DDR; Bern SB; Bludov, Castle Lib.; Boston, PL; Cambridge UL; Chicago UCL; Dillingen, Studienbibliothek; Durham, Duke; Edinburgh SNL; Göttingen UB; Grenoble BP; Harvard; London, Dr. Williams's; Londonderry, Diocesan Library; Marburg UB; Munich BSB; New York, Union Theological; Oxford, All Souls, Bodleian; Paris BN, St. Geneviève; Prague, State Library; Regensburg SB; San Marino, Calif., Huntington; Strasbourg BNU; Torun, Univ. Lib.; Urbana UIL; Warsaw, Univ. Bib.; Williamstown, Williams CL.

III FURTHER LATIN EDITIONS

The Le Maçon volume formed the basis for all subsequent editions, although some add materials after the four classes.⁵⁸

1. In 1580 Christoph Froschauer (Froschoverus) reprinted Masson's text in a volume of 589 folios, issued again in 1587. He was the first printer in Zurich, an ardent follower of Zwingli, and friend of Martyr's.⁵⁹ His firm was the leading publisher of Martyr's works. After his death in 1564 the business was taken over by his nephew Christoph Froschauer II, who had spent some time at Oxford during Martyr's residence there.⁶⁰ They published Martyr's *Defensio vs Gardiner* 1559, 1562; *Judges* 1561, 1565, 1571 and 1582; *Dialogue on the Two Natures* 1561 (August and November), 1563 and 1575; *Nicomachean Ethics* 1563, 1582; *Samuel* 1564, 1567, 1575; *Prayers from the Psalms* 1564, 1578; *Kings* 1566, 1571, 1581; *Genesis* 1569, 1579; *Two Letters to Poland* 1561.

⁵⁸ See BIB XIII. 2–14 for further details.

⁵⁹ Data in BIB 100–101; see Richard G. Cole, 'Reformation Printers: unsung heroes,' *Sixteenth Century Journal* 15.3 (1984): 327–39.

⁶⁰ The young Froschauer arrived in Oxford in 1550, commended to Peter Martyr by Henry Bullinger; Martyr spoke well of him, and trusted him as courier for his correspondence—see *Original Letters* (Cambridge Univcrsity: Parker Society, 1847) II, 501–502 and 721–73.

The *editio secunda* of 1580⁶¹ includes a letter from Rudolf Gualther (1519–1586) to his students in Zurich, dated 22 August, 1580. Gualter married Zwingli's daughter and was third Antistes of the Reformed Church of Zurich, named by Bullinger himself as his successor. His prefatory letter cites theologians who have used the method of *loci*, including de Bèze, Calvin, Musculus, Melanchthon and Vermigli (a6r). The title page has a portrait of Martyr; above it are the words: *In D. Petri Martyris Vermigli / Florentini Imaginem / Ioannisa Parhursti Angli Tetrastichon*. Below is the quatrain:

FLORIDA QUEM GENUIT FLORENTIA, MARTYRIS ISTA
EFFIGIEM PETRI PICTA TABELLA REFERT.
DOCTRINAM, INGENIUM, DOTES ANIMIQUE; STUPENDAS,
NON POSSET CICERO PINGERE PRO MERITIS.

The second London edition of 1583, printed by Vautrollier but prepared by Masson, who wrote also a special preface, became the model for all the later editions published between 1587 and 1656.⁶²

2. A major step was taken by Peter Perna the Basel publisher, who had published Martyr's *Romans* in 1558, reprinted 1560, 1568 and 1570. He brought out an ambitious three-volume work in 1580–82, *Locorum Communion Theologicorum*.⁶³ Volume One contains the four classes from Masson, Volume Two has the *Dialogue on the Two Natures in Christ* (1561) and the *Defense Against Gardiner on the Eucharist* (1559). The third volume prints many minor works such as Martyr's confessions on the eucharist from Strasbourg and Poissy, sermons and treatises and letters. Included are Martyr's *Prayers on the Psalms*, and Simler's *Vita*, the whole amounting to almost three thousand pages. Many of the works in Tomus III are incorporated as appendices in subsequent editions of the *Loci* (see Marten's *Commonplaces* below). Johan Jacob Grynæus (1540–1617), professor at Basel University, composed the prefatory letter to Volume One (fol. a2–4). There follows a poem on Psalm 139: 'Carmine Expresses. Cuius prior versus heroicus est: posterior Iambicus Dimeter.' It is signed 'Volradus A Plessen Mecheburgensis' (15–7).

⁶¹ BIB xi.

⁶² *Loci communes D. Petri Martyris Vermilii: Florentini, sacrarum literarum in schola Tigurina professoris: ex varijs ipsius authoris scriptis, in vnum librum collecti, & in quatuor classes distributi. Quam multa ad priorem editionem accesserint, ex admonitione quam prima pagina exhibebit, facile lector deprehendet...* (London: Thomas Vautrollerius, 1583). See the frontispiece to this volume.

⁶³ Data in BIB 102–103.

3. Thomas Vautrollier, member of Masson's French congregation in London, as noted above, published an edition in 1583, consisting of 1147 folios.⁶⁴ He includes the four classes of the original, with poems written in praise of Martyr after his death, a collection of Martyr's letters, and the theses for debate at Strasbourg. He reprints the prefatory letters of Masson and Gualter, and adds Simler's *Vita*.

4. In 1603 J. Lancelot of Heidelberg published an edition that follows Vautrollier's format, 1147 folio pages. He repinted it in 1613.⁶⁵

5. Another Heidelberg edition followed in 1622, by Sumptibus Danielis, David Aubriorum and Clement Schleichi. This work of 908 pages includes the letters of Masson and Gualter, Simler's *Vita*, poems in praise of Martyr, the *Epitome* of the book against Gardiner, and the Strasbourg theses.⁶⁶

6. Pierre Aubert of Geneva published an edition in 1623, noteworthy for its detailed indices, including 'veterum theologorum' and a list of one hundred common places explained in the text. Aubert repinted his edition in 1624, 1626 and 1627.⁶⁷

7. An edition of 907 pages was produced in Amsterdam and Frankfurt by Johann à Ravesteyn in 1656. It includes the four classes along with the theses, orations, eucharistic confessions and letters.⁶⁸

IV THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The English translation of the *Loci Communes* by Anthony Marten (d. 1597), took Masson's book as base, with slight rearrangement of the topics but adding much new material, especially a large appendix, virtually Book Five. His title was *The Common Places of the most famous and renowned Divine Doctor Peter Martyr, divided into four principal parts, with a large addition of many theological and necessary discourses, some never extant before. Translated and partly gathered by Anthony*

⁶⁴ Data in BIB 106–107.

⁶⁵ Data in BIB 112–115.

⁶⁶ Data in BIB 116–117.

⁶⁷ Data in BIB 118–125. Donnelly states that the copy he examined in the Cambridge University Library was marred by 'badly scrambled' pagination, although the content was not affected.

⁶⁸ Data in BIB 126–27.

Marten, one of the Sewers of her Majesty's most Honorable Chamber (London: H. Denham and H. Middleton, 1583).⁶⁹

Anthony Marten was a 'Sewer of the Chamber' to Queen Elizabeth. The office of *scutellarius* was responsible for table setting and utensils to be set out and removed. He is listed among the eight Sewers from 1567 (last) to 1576 (third) and 1590 (second). Thus he would have been appointed shortly before 1567 and retired after 1590.⁷⁰ The office allowed holders to appoint a deputy, leaving them free to enjoy the benefits without the labor. The prestige of this office is indicated by Strohm's naming it 'Sénéschal'.⁷¹

In 1588 Marten published *An exhortation, to stirre vp the mindes of all her Maiesties faithfull subiects, to defend their Countrey in this dangerous time, from the inuasion of enemies / Faithfullie and zealouslie complied by Anthonie Marten, sewer of her Maiesties most honorable chamber*, (London: John Windet) 'to be sold [by A. Maunsell] in Paules church-yard, at the Brasen Serpent'.⁷² He also translated *The Tranquillitie of the Minde. A verie excellent and most comfortable oration, plainly directing eueye man, & woman, to the true tranquillitie and quyetnesses of their minde* by John Barnard, composed a prayer on the Spanish Armada,⁷³ and may be the author of a defence of episcopacy published in 1589/90.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Folio, ca. 21:31 cm. Pagination is by parts: I and II are pp 1–640, III is 1–398, IV is 1–335. The Appendix is 101–251 and 1–165. See BIB 108f.

⁷⁰ Dr William J. Tighe kindly supplied me with this information, and referred me to other sources as noted. Diarmaid MacCulloch suggests in correspondence that he may be the 'AM' listed as 'Steward of the Queen' in a grant of the bailiwick of Ledbury. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 21–22 Elizabeth I, vol. VIII, 1579, no. 718.

⁷¹ Strohm, 'Petrus Martyr' 81.

⁷² Harvard Hollis Library (Houghton STC 17489).

⁷³ The prayer is in *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Cambridge: Parker Society, 1847), 470.

⁷⁴ W.J. Tighe found three works on episcopacy in these years, two by Hadrian Saravia and Matthew Sutcliffe. The 'earliest and least conherent' was by A. Marten, one of the first 'conformist' writers to take a higher argument than that of indifference.

CONCLUSION

VERMIGLI'S 'STROMATIC' THEOLOGY

Joseph C. McLelland

We have enjoyed a feast of Vermigli studies, twenty-three papers exploring themes in his life and times, his exegesis and theology, with the central topic of hermeneutics as the point of convergence. Thirty years ago three members of this gathering were present to launch The Peter Martyr Library—Bob Kingdon, Pat Donnelly and myself. For us older Vermigli students, it has been of particular joy to see a new generation of younger scholars taking up the cause. Let me attempt to sum up the findings of our conference presentations.

LIFE AND TIMES

The first section built securely on our knowledge of Vermigli's Oxford and Zurich residencies, as well as both the Italian and the Strasbourg periods. The description of the religious and political ferment in Italy helps to enlighten Vermigli's early career, while R. Gerald Hobb's account of the 'upper Rhine school' probes the Bucer-Vermigli relationship further. We have also been treated to excellent analyses of Vermigli's anthropology (Selderhuis), theodicy (Shute), Christology (Klempa) and relation to French Protestantism (Zuidema). The last topic reminds us of his close connection with the French refugee congregation of London. One of its members was the publisher Thomas Vautrollier, who had published works of Calvin, including the *Institutio* (1567) noteworthy for its detailed references to Vermigli's *Loci Communes* and other works.¹ It was one of its ministers, Robert le Maçon, who compiled and edited the first edition of the *Loci* (1576).

In reconstructing Vermigli's career as Reformer, there is a distinct challenge in recovering the state of his theology prior to his leaving Italy

¹ See McLelland, *Peter Martyr's Loci Communes, A Literary History* (Montreal: McGill, 2007), 7ff.

in 1542. No doubt his first book, the *Credo* (February 1544), reflects that state rather than a newly minted theology at Strasbourg. Thus the nature of his Academy in Lucca—this ‘first and last reformed theological college in pre-Tridentine Italy—a miniature but brilliant university with Martyr as its Rector,’²—should prove decisive in reconstructing Vermigli’s theological position during his transition from Roman to Reformed.

THEOLOGICAL EXEGESIS

Peter Martyr Vermigli was a biblical exegete whose fame rests rather on his polemical writings, especially in the sacramentarian controversy. This irony is explained by our conference speakers. If we can restore the proper and positive image of Vermigli the scriptural scholar, we will have gone far to recovering a better understanding of the Reformed aim and ethos. This involves recognition of the fact that Vermigli ‘kept the practice of exegesis and theological reflection in close proximity’ (Amos). Our conference acknowledges this important historical fact, that theology was considered part of exegesis. This means that our emphasis on hermeneutics is a valid way ahead in approaching other themes and issues. In particular we note the profit from new attention to Vermigli’s correspondence (Moser) and his marginalia in Geneva’s Bomberg Bible (Engammare).

The significance of such exegetical theology for this Reformer lies in his erudite and skilful use of a wide variety of sources—perhaps greater than those of any other of his contemporaries. He is at home with classic literature (lecturing on Homer and on Aristotle), with the three biblical languages as well as the Chaldean family, with Church Fathers (David Wright asks astutely, just who were they for him?), schoolmen and contemporary philosophers and theologians. In short, he is a Renaissance man by both periodisation and learning.

Vermigli’s commentary on Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics* stands as the exemplary Reformed work of properly philosophical commentary. Here Vermigli shows that his doctrine of justification allowed ‘a more positive judgment of Aristotle’s ethics than that of Luther’ (Baschera). It also sheds light on the significance of Italian Humanism for the

² Philip McNair, *Peter Martyr in Italy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 221.

Reformed understanding of Aristotle (Opitz). Might it also prove helpful for our own time when both philosophy and theology seem lost in semantics and seeking a deeper meaning?

MODERN RELEVANCE

Contemporary philosophy regards itself as 'post-modern,' claiming to advance beyond the 'Enlightenment project' with its trust in autonomous reason. Let us therefore examine the 'pre-modern' scene to see whether alternatives in rationality, at least in epistemology, are on view. Martin Heidegger had charged classical theism, typified in the Thomist synthesis of nature and grace, with the error of 'onto-theology.' This implied that theology shares the identical aim as philosophy, namely highest Being rather than personal Deity. Heidegger's 'linguistic turn' helped end the hegemony of Enlightenment rationalism, and introduced the modern debate on hermeneutics.

So we find today's intellectual soil prepared for a thinking that seeks to recover a right use of reason and a proper ontology. Vermigli lived at the frontier of modernity, when traditional theism, forged largely by the Platonic world-view of Church Fathers, was being challenged by recovered texts and new ideas. Through Vermigli we recognize that Aristotle was a positive influence in the Reformed tradition, not a 'scholastic' turn away from scripture but the gift of a better method in interpreting the same.³

Vermigli's role in the development of philosophy and theology should be reckoned in terms of his remarkable ability to combine such polarities as humanist and scholastic logic, Platonic-Augustinian and Aristotelian-Thomistic method, Reformed hermeneutics and medieval rabbinic commentary. In particular, his characteristic use of *topica-loci* suggests a kind of theology that awards biblical theology its rightful place within strict commentating. In turn this implies the need for a new label beyond the tired clichés of the past. Here is my suggestion.

³ The Aristotelian corpus of logical works called the *Organon* introduced a superior understanding of methodology, grasped clearly by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas.

'STROMATIC' THEOLOGY

In Vermigli's day, as noted above, theology was taught as the biblical message, to be uncovered not by systematic reflection but by patient exegesis as the text gave rise to specific topics. Hence the method of *topica* or *loci* expresses the heart of the Reformed faith. I offer the name 'stromatic' as one way of understanding his theology. This term was used by Clement of Alexandria to describe his third crowning stage of theology. It may seem that Vermigli and Clement have little in common. Yet they do share a similar agenda, based on the divine accommodation (*katabasis*) and involving inquiry and discovery (*zêtêsis* and *heuresis*), though with differing method. Middle Platonism influenced Clement unduly, whereas Vermigli's Aristotelianism was both practical and modified by his overt Augustinianism (with its Neoplatonic dimension). But I submit that there is a striking similarity in their concept of *paideia*, the process of edification through reasoning out the logic of the articles of faith. Both scholars avoid forming an intellectual System, and strive for a more dynamic theology. Clement termed his *Stromateis*, Miscellanies or Patchwork, a deliberate collation of various 'notes,' gathered from the scattered and variegated flowers blooming in the scriptural meadow planted by Logos.⁴

I submit that 'stromatic' is an appropriate description of the commonplace method, carrying the flavour of delightful discovery characteristic of Vermigli's hermeneutics. Thus our various explorations in this and previous conferences are building a body of work that reflects the manifold interests of Vermigli, and their contribution to the wide agenda of Reform. If we are at all successful in our endeavours, we happy band of brothers and sisters, it will be to the advancement of knowledge concerning the Reformation as a whole, with special emphasis on the role of the *Schola Tigurina*. This has two implications.

One is the Zurich academy's complementary relation to Geneva. If Calvin was the more elegant commentator on scripture, the Zurich exegetes brought a breadth of learning, not least in Rabbinics. And its illustrious member, Peter Martyr Vermigli, evidenced an erudition and mastery of the biblical languages and literature second to none. Truly his was a stromatic theology issuing from a 'new hermeneutics.'

⁴ See McLelland, *God the Anonymous: a study in Alexandrian Philosophical Theology* (Philadelphia: Patristic Foundation, 1976), 49f, 58ff.

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¹ Special thanks to J.P. Donnelly, SJ, W.J. Torrance Kirby, Frank A. James III, Daniel Shute, Joseph McLelland, and Paul Fields.

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